

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Mass Meet for Marine Workers Defense New Forces Join Defense Committee

A mass meeting with the most representative list of speakers that New York has seen in many years will be held at Webster Hall, 125 East 11th St., on Thursday, January 7th at 8 P. M.

The meeting is called under the auspices of the Marine Workers' Defense Committee and will be devoted to an all-sided exposure of the New York "Dynamite Plot", in which an attempt is being made to railroad John G. Soderberg, Secretary of the International Tide-water Boatmen's Union, and Thomas Bunker and William Trajer, active member of the Union, in a typical frame-up case.

A dozen or more organizations are working to support the meeting and an overflow crowd is anticipated. All the speakers billed for the meeting are well known in the New York labor movement and have spoken to New York audiences on many occasions. Carter Hudson, a member of the Executive Board of the Independent Tide-water Boatmen's Union, will preside. The speakers include, James P. Cannon, A. J. Muste, Ben. Gitlow, Carlo Tresca, Walter Starrett and Ben Fletcher.

New affiliations to the Marine Workers' Defense Committee are being registered with increasing frequency and are rapidly giving to this body the character of a broad united front movement. The committee which has previously included two Communist groups, anarchists, I. W. W.'s, the Boatmen's Union and other organizations, seated additional delegates at its meeting Monday, December 28th. W. H. Hermann and Michael Gordon, presented credentials from Carpenter's Union 2090. The City organization of the Young People's Socialist League was represented by H. Luxemburg. Maurice Goldblum came from the Students Council of the League for Industrial Democracy and H. Stone from the Marxian Youth Club. The credentials of all the delegates were accepted and in addition, Walter Starrett, former editor of the *Road to Freedom*, was seated as a member of the committee.

The Conference for Progressive Political Action, which had sent a delegate to a previous meeting to secure information about the case and the work of the committee, has decided to participate officially in the committee and give full support to its work. The information of this decision was conveyed to the com-

mittee in a letter from A. J. Muste who is also scheduled as one of the speakers at the mass meeting on January 7th.

During the past week the work of the sub-committee in charge of the canvass of workers' organizations began to bear fruit. Herbert Capelis spoke in behalf of the committee at the meeting of Carpenters Local Union 2090 and the meeting voted a donation of twenty-five dollars to the defense. Forrest Edwards, who has been delegated to represent the committee at the Conference of the Jewish Anarchists on Sunday, December 27th, made an appeal there and secured a collection of \$17.40. The sub-committee has prepared a letter which will be sent out to more than three hundred unions and other organizations this week, appealing for financial and other support for the imprisoned marine workers. It was also decided to begin a wide circularization of individual addresses in a campaign for funds. Lists are being collected and prepared for this purpose.

Following the January 7th mass meeting, which will mark a new stage in the campaign to popularize the cause of the frame-up victims, the Defense Committee plans to proceed to the calling of a broad conference of workers' organizations in behalf of the defense. A decision to that effect was made at Monday's meeting and a sub-committee elected to draft a call and work out the preliminary plans.

All the activity of the committee has been carried on under the banner of the united front of labor against the frame-up system. The correctness of this policy and the effectiveness of the appeal for the imprisoned workers was indicated by the response that has already been gained. Organizations and groups having the widest differences on many questions of principle and tactics are uniting for a common fight for the imprisoned marine workers. For the first time in years, we see the signs of a genuine united front movement taking shape. The rank and file workers in all organizations that are standing aloof should take up the fight for united action. A victorious united front struggle will for Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer will give a powerful impetus to working class unity against the capitalists on other fronts.

OPEN FORUM

Trotsky at Work

Lecture by
ALBERT GLOTZER
Just Returned From A Five Weeks' Stay With Trotsky

at the
Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue
Friday, January 8, 1932
at 8 P. M.

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION
ADMISSION: 25 Cents
Unemployed Workers Admitted Free
Auspices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

We have received today an important and most timely article from the pen of comrade L. D. Trotsky.

The subject is:
"FOR A WORKERS UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM!"
What Constitutes The Mistakes of the Present Policy of the Communist Party of Germany?

The entire article will appear in the next, January 9th, issue of *The Militant*. No one will want to miss Trotsky's penetrating analysis of the significance of the events in Germany and the next tasks of the Communists.

MARTIAL LAW AT FOCHOW

FOCHOW, Fukien, (Fenprecor)—In this city as throughout China, the military authorities have demonstrated the character of their opposition to Japanese aggression in Manchuria by suppressing every attempt to organize a popular anti-imperialist movement.

The recent arrival at this port of four Japanese gunboats was made the occasion for a declaration of martial law. Ostensibly aimed at preventing disturbances "likely to be created by the Japanese", it is in fact aimed at the Chinese populace.

The Geneva Disarmament Bluff

«Disarmament» Conference Will Expose Imperialist Rivalries and Aims Against the Soviet Union

On February 2, 1932, the Disarmament Conference called by the League of Nations will convene at Geneva. This conference is to give consideration to the limitation of armaments by the various powers. It will devote much talk on the need to "outlaw" war as the means employed by nations to solve their economic and political differences and rivalries.

So uncertain and cynical are the capitalist powers on the matter of disarmament or even limitation of armaments, that for a long time there has been doubt that the Conference would even be held. But it will be, and each capitalist nation has or is selecting delegates who are to lie or to sow illusions on the prospects of peace for a weary world.

Characteristically enough, President Hoover has appointed Charles G. Dawes, Ambassador to Great Britain, to be chairman of the delegation from the United States Government. Dawes is one of the outstanding jingos in this country—a noisy war-monger who carries the appellation of "Hell N' Mavia". Dawes, a bitter foe of labor and the Soviet Union. The American delegation will, however, be perfumed with pacifist flowers, among them being Mary Emma Woolley, president of Mount Holyoke College. It is the same with the delegations from other capitalist powers. The bearers of pacifist illusions in a world armed to the teeth will mingle with the gentlemen who "keep their powder dry", and the latter will prevail. Arthur Henderson of the British Labor Party will give the proper touch at Geneva through his selection as Chairman of the Conference. Thus the militarists, pacifists and the labor betrayers will make up a trinity of forces who will talk loudly against war and militarism, come to the conclusion that nothing really can be done now about the matter—and the capitalist nations will continue to strengthen their war departments.

The Cost of Militarism

Armaments and wars are very expensive affairs and no doubt the imperialist powers would like to decrease expenditures, particularly so, if by topping off some small sums here and there, they can satisfy to some extent the demands of the workers and the petit-bourgeois middle classes for a reduction in armaments and their longing for peace. But in all these years of disarmament confabs, war "outlawry" and pacifist talk, the powers, particularly the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan have been increasing their armament

expenditures. The following figures, compiled by the World Peace Foundation from the League of Nations Armaments Year Book, give the expenditures for the fiscal year of 1930:

Government	Budget Expenditures
United States	\$ 707,425,000
France	400,300,000
Great Britain	463,255,000
Italy	248,946,500
Japan	236,861,500
Germany	171,923,040

War to maintain peace between the capitalist powers, and periods of peace to prepare for war again, are indeed costly matters—and, as always, it is the working class that carry the burdens, shoulder the guns, foot the costs—and then are honored with an "Unknown Soldier's" grave.

A Fake Disarmament Conference

And now we are to have another fake "disarmament" conference to lull the mass of people throughout the world to sleep, into a false security on the possibility of the maintenance of peace under capitalism. The Secretariat of the League of Nations has organized five commissions for this conference to deal with the land, sea, air, budgetary and political phases of the negotiations. This is the same League of Nations that has listened to the guns roaring, the cannon booming and the airplanes tossing bombs on the fields of Manchuria—and did nothing because it could not. The League is not the instrument that can solve or even diminish the capitalist rivalries. That lies in the hands of the international proletariat when it awakens to the problem and becomes conscious of its own unused power.

Since the World War there has been a growth of pacifist illusions, peace societies, declarations of "conscientious objectors" that they will not bear arms in times of war, etc., etc. All the while there has not been a day without war in some part of the globe: semi-colonial and colonial wars for national independence, capitalist warfare (Sino-Jap war in Manchuria today), wars of intervention (imperialist interventions in Soviet Russia, Nicaragua, etc.) and, lastly, the insurrection by an oppressed people against its rulers. Its highest and best expression was reached in the insurrection in Russia which brought the Bolsheviks into power and the dictatorship of the proletariat into being and by means of which the historical basis for the final elimination of exploitation and war was first laid. For with the assumption of political power by the working class which alone has no exploiting, imperialist or ulterior aims to serve, there will

in time be needed neither an oppressive or suppressive governmental apparatus with its military concomitants, etc.

The Proposal of the Soviet Union

These are times to restate fundamentals of class struggle on whatever front it manifests itself. An exposure of the fake disarmament aims of the capitalist powers and proofs that disarmament or peace are impossible and utopian under capitalism, is an absolute necessity if the proletariat is to be able to fight effectively against capitalist imperialism, understand the causes underlying another impending world war, and give the revolutionary answer to the imperialists.

The Soviet Union long ago showed up the hypocrisy of the capitalist nations on the issue of war or peace when it made a proposal for complete disarmament of all countries and laid its program for disarmament and peace on the table. The capitalist nations ran from this proposal as if from the plague. With a single stroke the Soviet Union demonstrated that the capitalist nations were not seriously interested in the abolition of war, but only in such measures as would maintain the capitalist system and serve to fool the working people on this scourge of humanity—capitalist war.

Imperialist Rivalries

This is an epoch when the imperialist rivalries are not lessened, but, on the contrary, approach the breaking point and can find solution only in capitalist war or proletarian revolution. It is the fear of the latter possibility in an awakening proletariat that holds off for the time being the "solution" of the first, capitalist war. Does anyone with half a mind seriously doubt that, despite all the claptrap about the "unity and close relations of the English-speaking people", the contradictions and imperialist rivalry between Great Britain and the United States are sharpened? Or that, notwithstanding the visit of the "pacifist" Ramsay MacDonald to the United States, the economic basis for warfare between nations, with the United States and Great Britain as the outstanding rivals, has increased manifold in the past years? Only fools would deny the facts. It is one of the great capitalist contradictions that is heading the world into another convulsion.

A United States of Europe or A Soviet United States of Europe

Pacifists and other well-meaning mud-heads have raised the slogan of a United States of Europe as a solution to the war danger and other problems in Europe. Little or no consideration is given by them to the economic differences of the capitalist groupings in each of these nations that have caused these conflicts and that have no solution on the basis of a capitalist program. There are treaties and agreements between "little ententes", among the Balkan States, France and Poland, Germany and Austria, etc., but no sooner are these understandings arrived at, then others break out—each steps on another's toes.

It is hoped, therefore, that a federated or United States of Europe, a political agreement on a continental scale, could reconcile the grievances and differences. But all these agreements and proposals are based upon the continuation of the system of exploitation, of capitalist relations in the individual countries. This is an insoluble capitalist contradiction. No sooner would such a United States of Europe be formed, then it would already begin to disintegrate, to establish rival groupings and—there would be an end to the United States of Europe.

There can be a United States of Europe, but it must take the form, as L. D. Trotsky has so brilliantly demonstrated, of a **SOVIET UNITED STATES OF EUROPE**. In other words, there must first be the elimination of capitalist exploitation, of capitalism itself, before there can be a solution to its effects—militarism and war. The 'abolition of customs tariffs and similar barriers between nations can have a meaning only under such conditions. German-Austrian Anschluss, for example, therefore can (Continued on page 3)

The Struggle for Power in Germany

The center of the political stage in the present international situation is occupied by Germany. What will transpire there in the coming six months will have a direct and immediate influence upon the whole development of the world revolutionary movement. The catastrophic economic and social conditions, the collapse of the ruling parties which are enforcing extra-parliamentary measures against the proletariat, the revolutionary feelings of the masses existing alongside of a menacing growth of Fascism have created a direct revolutionary situation in Germany and raise to the foreground the question of the struggle for power.

It is axiomatic for Marxists, that without the leadership of the Communist Party, based on a policy of revolutionary struggle, the thought of the seizure of power is impossible. It requires in the Party, independence, audacity and a will to victory. The absence of such a condition in the ranks of the Party spells defeat for the proletariat. It is precisely this absent condition which makes the situation in Germany today so fraught with dangers to the international working class. The German Communist Party does not understand its tasks. It has falsely evaluated the present state of affairs with the result that it pursues a policy that is little short of criminal.

The Basis For Fascism

The greatest obstacle in the path of the German proletariat is Fascism. Many workers will undoubtedly question: How is it possible that in Germany there should be such a huge growth of Fascism?

The defeat of the revolutionary situation in 1923 gave rise to the present Fascist wave. Fascism in Germany, composed of the militarists, the petty-bourgeoisie, the administrators, office workers, degenerated unemployed elements (a great part of them youth), sections of the working class disgusted with the betrayals of social democracy and the capitulation of the C. P. G. and seeking new ways out of the present difficulties, receives support from the industrialists and financiers and to an extent from international capital. German capitalism remembers only too well that in 1923, had the Party pursued a correct policy, there would at the present time be no capitalism in Germany. It is with this in mind that she prepares herself against a recurrence of 1923. Fascism receives its strength from the social crisis and the weakness of the proletariat (expressed in Ger-

many in the failure of Communism to unify the working class for the conquest of power). The bourgeoisie understands the nature of Fascism. "The bourgeoisie advances its Fascist shoulder only at the moment an immediate revolutionary danger threatens the foundations of the regime itself and when the normal organs of the bourgeoisie state prove themselves insufficient. In this sense active Fascism signifies the condition of civil war on the part of capitalist society facing the rebelling proletariat. Contrariwise, the bourgeoisie is forced to advance its Left, the social democratic, shoulder in a period that precedes the time of the civil war, so as to deceive the proletariat, to pacify and disintegrate it, or in a period following upon a serious and lasting victory over the proletariat". ("The Strategy of the World Revolution", L. D. Trotsky, Pioneer Publishers, New York, page 35.)

Fascist Growth And Threats

But neither the Party nor the Comintern has understood this. Confused themselves, they spread confusion in the ranks of their supporters. The lead is given by Stalin: "The social democracy is an objectively more moderate wing of Fascism". Therefore, between the Nazi and the social democracy there is no difference. Hitler is the more extreme wing, the social democracy, the moderate wing.

Within the last year the small party of Hitler has grown to be the most menacing antagonist of Communism. In the provincial elections held to date (Hamburg, Anhalt, Hesse and Stuttgart), the Fascists have won sweeping victories. They are moving forward to the seizure of governmental reigns through "legal" means—awaiting the general elections to be held in the early part of 1932. But Hitler makes no effort to conceal the fact that should the moment present itself, the Fascist Party will sweep into power through a putsch. The brown shirts in the meantime transcend parliamentary activity. They are carrying on violent reprisals against the proletariat in general, and the Communist Party, the trade unions and the Social Democratic workers in particular. They invade proletarian quarters and attack workers indiscriminately with weapons. Hitler promises that the moment he comes into power he will rid the country of the "pest of Marxism". Every effort then will be utilized to destroy the revolutionary working class and the Communist movement through sheer physical violence. It appears that the experi-

ences of Italian fascism should afford deep lessons for the Comintern and its Parties. But evidently this is not so.

The Capitalist Policy of the Party

The German Communist Party advances numerous theories regarding the Fascist danger—all of them signify capitulation, and the surrender of struggle. The Party first says: There is no Fascist danger. That is all an illusion. The German working class will never stand for the existence of a Fascist dictatorship. But, if this is not enough, the Party continues: It will be a good thing if Fascism comes to power. Such a condition would lead to the unification of the working class and lay the basis for our own seizure of power. In a word, this new theory means that before the working class can seize power it is necessary to go through the school of a Fascist dictatorship which lays the basis for the proletarian dictatorship.

In an effort to win the support of the working class against Hitler, (he recently paid a visit to Tyrol for the purpose of organizing his Fascist legions there and also to obtain aid from Mussolini and Italian Fascism), the *Rote Fahne*, official organ of the C. P. G. protests because Hitler saw fit to appeal to Italian Fascism which destroyed, "our language", "our culture", and "our traditions" in the Tyrol region. At the "elections front" (united front) meetings held throughout Berlin with the object of organizing "resistance" against Fascism, the Party officially invites Fascist reporters to participate in the discussions. We witness the unique spectacle of a Party speaker against Fascism and a Fascist speaker against Communism, speaking from the same rostrum. Left Opposition workers present at those meetings, who protest against such an arrangement, denounce the Fascist "reporter", and demand the floor themselves, are requested to maintain silence or be ejected from the hall by "Red Front Fighters".

For A United Front Against Fascism

Against a unified German working class the Fascists could never take power. The proletariat can successfully resist and destroy the heterogeneous Hitler movement only on the basis of a united resistance. The Party, instead of concentrating all its efforts in the creation of a genuine united front between the Communist and social democratic workers—rejects principally and practically this essential policy. Through the theories of the "Third Period" and

(Continued on Page 2)

Trotsky Pamphlet on International Situation

We are about to go to press with a new pamphlet by comrade Trotsky. It is entitled: **GERMANY—THE KEY TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION—SHALL FASCISM REALLY BE VICTORIOUS?** The latest work of the leader of the Left Opposition fulfills the most burning need of the moment for the revolutionary movement of the entire world. It analyses in clear and distinct strokes the problems facing Communism and offers the Bolshevik solution to them, concentrating particularly on the Fascist danger in Germany and the revolutionary situation in that country.

This new pamphlet will be out in two weeks. Every worker and Communist should read it. It is being printed by the Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th St. Order your copy now. The price is ten cents for the individual copy and seven cents for bundle orders.

JAPS USE RUSSIAN WHITE GUARDS TO PROVOKE SOVIETS

HARBIN, MANCHURIA, Nov. 1. (Fenprecor)—Japanese attempts to provoke the Soviet Union have been forced out into the open this week by the arrest of a White Guard named Ushakov, who was captured by the Chinese authorities at a small station along the Chinese Eastern Railway. Documents and letters were found on the man proving his connection with the Japanese military mission and proving the reported connivance between the Japanese and White Russians with a view to creating disturbances on the Chinese Eastern Railway and otherwise provoking the Soviet authorities into action.

Ataman, Semenoff, notorious White Russian bandit leader, has been closeted with General Chang Hai-peng, Japanese "rebel" puppet in Heilungkiang and it has been reported that he is planning to remobilize his White Russian guerrilla bands to stage raids

PROTEST MEETING

Hear the Facts of the

New York Dynamite Plot

Three Members of the Independent Tide-Water Boatmen's Union Face 40 Years In Prison!
John Soderberg, Thomas Bunker and William Trajer Are Being Framed Because They Dared Organize The Harbor Boatmen.

RALLY TO THEIR DEFENSE!

ON
Thursday, January 7, 1932 - at 8 P.M.

AT
Webster Hall
125 East 11th Street

SPEAKERS:

J.P. Cannon - C. Tresca - B. Gitlow - B. Fletcher
A.J. Muste and W. Starrett
CARTER HUDSON, Chairman

Admission: FREE

Auspices: Marine Workers Defense Committee

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ON
"The Industrial and Financial Conflict Reflected In Congress"

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at

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Auspices: Chicago Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition).

ON THE WORKERS' FRONT

In the Needle Trades

Tasks Before the Plenum of the Needle Trades Industrial Union

The Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union Plenary session of the G. E. B. has been announced for the first week in January. This Plenum will take the place of a convention and will therefore have to consider the work of the whole period since the last convention.

What has the Union to report and register as accomplishments for the last eighteen months? Have the policies adopted at the last convention been verified? To what extent have the resolutions adopted at the convention been instrumental in the building and strengthening of the Industrial Union?

Even a superficial glance will point to negative results. The last convention was held under the banner of the "third period." This was evidenced in the phraseology employed and in the policies adopted. The right wing controlled unions were branded as hopeless company unions and the building of Left wing opposition groups in them pronounced—futile. The policies proved wrong, to the root and disastrous for the Left wing. Not growth and expansion followed the convention, but isolation.

A Genuine United Front Imperative

The plenum is confronted at present with one basic problem from which all the others follow. The sentiment for united front and for one union has become the outstanding issue of the day. The Industrial Union, as well as the reformist unions, cannot any more dull the voice of the workers for unity. The future of the Left wing in the trade unions depends largely upon the correct solution of the problem of unity. The latest mechanical gesture of the leadership in going through the motions of united front action in the Dress Trade, and the distorted manner of applying united front tactics, as exemplified by the Furriers of which the *Militant*, (Nov. 24, 1931) spoke, confronts the Left wing with many new contradictions. The Left wing must strive for unity in such a way that it will rise in the eyes of the workers and gain strength in the struggle with reformism. What the Left wing has done up till now is the exact opposite.

Unity over the heads of the bureaucratic officials would be very desirable if it were possible—but unfortunately this is not the case.

The slogan of "united front from below" used aimlessly and mechanically by the leadership of the Party and the Union disregards all circumstances and is therefore not realistic and applicable as a weapon against the Right wing.

Lovestone For Liquidation

It is absolutely impermissible to follow the path of the Lovestone united front maneuvers. Here is a group that is always ready to stab the Left wing in the back; always ready to give the benefit of doubt to the Right wing; always ready to plead the case of the Right wing and to throw the blame upon the Left wing and unites for that purpose with any shady and unprincipled cliques. (Zimmerman's article in the *Revolutionary Age* (12-26-31).

It is wrong likewise to pursue united front tactics as were practiced by the

Golds and Wortises under the Lovestone Party regime—with Sorkin and others in the furriers.

But it is perfectly in line with Communist principles for the Left wing to demand unity from the Right wing bureaucrats on the basis of a struggle against the bosses, to call them to conferences for this purpose and at the same time call upon the workers to press the issue of unity; to send committees to the Executive and Joint Board, etc. Nor must we necessarily demand a majority at the conference as a prerequisite for trade union unity negotiations. As long as we are able to bring the message of unity before the workers and to make our demands known, we are in a position to expose the Right wing fakery and to educate the workers in the class struggle. In the struggle for unity, in the endeavor to build one union, we must strive to gain all possible "concessions" from the Right wing to assure a fighting chance for the militant workers. What the Lovestone group proposes is identical with the proposals made by Zaritsky a few years ago to Local 43 of the Milliners—not amalgamation but liquidation of the Left wing as an organized group.

Issues of Struggle Must Be Posed

The present intolerable conditions of the needle trades workers can be improved only through a united struggle of the workers. Because of the division in the ranks, the weakness of the Industrial Union and the utter ignorance of the Party leadership of how to lead the united front movement—the great need of a struggle for better conditions, shorter hours, the week work system, etc., is being lost sight of. The Left wing has as yet not considered nor made mention of these issues.

The great number of Italian, Spanish and Negro workers in the dress trade requires special attention and an organization campaign, well equipped with language speakers and language literature. This is being abandoned because of the organizational weakness of the Left wing. The Right wing is not interested to improve their lot. The result is brutal exploitation by the bosses.

The Plenum must deal adequately with each branch and with the Union as a whole, and lay emphasis where it's due. In some branches like the Millinery, for instance, the original base is practically gone. Here undoubtedly more attention must be concentrated on the building of a real opposition within the Right wing controlled union.

In the dress industry we are nearing the expiration of the agreements. Again we find ourselves in the midst of a great deal of confusion and indecision. The tactics to be pursued are handled behind the scenes—the open platform is decorated with a lot of name calling, denunciations, slander, etc. The dressmakers who come to meetings hear a lot of monotonous and meaningless speeches, but not a word about the real issue involved—namely, how to solidify the broken ranks; how to build one united

strike committee and when we will draw up demands. The time is short and too much of it is wasted by the Stalinist leadership of the Industrial Union.

Opposition Points the Way

This pre-strike period is very similar to the same period of last year, before the so-called general strike of the dressmakers under the direction of the N. T. W. I. U.

The *Freiheit* writes editorially (Dec. 7, 1931): "The strike of the Industrial Union of a year ago did not accomplish much, because in the preparation only general and often meaningless propaganda was made use of and very little healthy practical work." This is said now by the official organ of the Party a year after the strike was lost. It is said in a big-hearted way and in the name of self-criticism. These writers conveniently forget that members of the Industrial Union and adherents of the Left Opposition were called counter-revolutionists and betrayers for saying the same thing at the time of the strike discussions in order to avoid a failure of the strike.

The Left Opposition was and remains the only consistent fighter in the ranks of the Left wing. Our proposals to effect a united front for the dressmakers' strike (*Militant*, Oct. 24, 1931) should be taken as a basis.

The sooner we get on the job, the stronger we will be to undertake a struggle against the bosses and the Right wing bureaucrats.

The Plenum has a big job before it—Not a policy of one sidedness and the calling of names, not mechanical control over a small group of blind followers, but a free discussion on the matters before us will help the Plenum to solve the tasks before it. Not victimization of Left wingers and Left Oppositionists for disagreements with the official policy, nor the repulsion of tried devoted workers from active participation.

Will the Plenum measure up to the tasks before it?

—SYLVIA BLECKER.

In the Workmen's Circle

The Membership Begins to Awaken

Since the split in the Workmen's Circle in 1930, organized by the Left wing, tranquility has reigned there. The Socialist Party bureaucrats who are entrenched in the Workmen's Circle, and more so since most of the militant elements split away, expected easy sailing. The self-complacent bureaucrats of the S. P. school don't seem to have learned anything, nor, surely, have they forgotten anything. To them the cause of the Left wing is just the agitation of a few trouble-makers and not the product of objective conditions.

But this self-complacency didn't last very long. The working class elements in the Workmen's Circle, who still predominate (contrary to the contentions of the Stalinists) remained for a long time after the split, as if in a stupor. The organization was being pushed further to the right by the stupid tactics of the "third period" (by the way, what became of the "third period"?), by which every worker who remained in the Workmen's Circle, or in other mass organizations, was called a "social-fascist". Such tactics by the Left were only grist to the mill of the corrupt clique of Right wingers.

But the workers in the Workmen's Circle did not remain forever in a stupor. In the present period, when the foundations of the capitalist structure are being ever more undermined, the capitalists are driven to vicious attacks on the standards of living of the workers. Consequently the cleavage between the workers' ranks and the bosses deepens and widens. Impelled by the worsening of his economic conditions, the workers in the Workmen's Circle, especially the revolutionary elements among them, who would not respond to the Stalinist cry to split away from the Workmen's Circle, are awakening.

From occasional rumblings there finally resulted a statement by Branch No. 417, W. C., which was published. In no uncertain terms it declared its adherence to the revolutionary movement. With this definite act, new hopes arose in the hearts of many of these workers, and a readiness to renew the struggle.

The Paterson Strike and the W. C. Scabs

There is no need to tell the readers of the *Militant* that there was a strike of silk workers in Paterson, though the "wisecracker" Harrison George of the

Daily Worker isn't sure of it. Over 7,000 workers participated in it. Despite the misleadership, to which Lovestone and Co. contributed their share, the rank and file led a heroic struggle. The strike was lost, and no small share of this loss is due to over 200 members of the Workmen's Circle who scabbed during the strike, against the National Textile Workers Union (for which act the Lovestonites have excuses) and against the United Textile Workers of America, affiliated with the A. F. of L. The U. T. W. strike received the support of the leadership (S. Pites) of the Workmen's Circle, and over 300 branches of the Workmen's Circle contributed support to the strikers.

After the strike was over, a few of the more aggressive and militant workers of Paterson attempted to call on the strikers for action against those scabs still members of the Workmen's Circle. They discovered that many, if not most, of the workers are disheartened and brow-beaten by these same scabs who are co-members with them of their fraternal organization, the W. C.

Socialist Party Supports Scab Members

These workers realized that under these conditions it will be a difficult task to get rid of the scabs in the Workmen's Circle. They have appealed to the National Executive Committee of the Workmen's Circle to dispense with the ordinary rules of procedure because of the special conditions in Paterson, pointing out that when and if the workers bring charges against these scabs, the latter, small employers, etc. retaliate by black-listing them. They have asked the appointment of a special committee to deal with the scab problem in the W. C. of Paterson. The reply was: "We must obey the laws of the constitution." But in the struggle against the militants and Left wingers they spoke differently. "To hell with the constitution" was the slogan then.

The question will be asked, "What are the reasons that the Socialist Party leadership of the Workmen's Circle supports scabs?" The Socialist Party leadership everywhere is losing its hold on the workers. True to their breed, they follow in the footsteps of their comrades, Noske, Scheidemann, Renard, etc. They have thrown off the little baggage of revolutionary phrases they

still retained. Today they find their allies in the middle class elements in the Workmen's Circle, who have increased tremendously in numbers during and after the war. These S. P. bureaucrats cannot divorce themselves from these elements, their chief supporters, who have become a decisive factor in the Workmen's Circle.

A Movement For A Special Conference

The Paterson workers seem now to have realized this. They know that this is not a Paterson affair only. It involves the very existence of the organization, sometimes called the "Red Cross" of the Jewish labor movement. The Paterson workers, members of the Workmen's Circle, have sent out a clarion call to rally the broad membership of the Workmen's Circle around this struggle. So far, the New York District has responded, and the response is a very encouraging one. This call was first published in the *Jewish Day* and, after a delay of three weeks, in the *Freiheit*. An organization has already been formed for the purpose of calling a Special Conference of the branches of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut.

This movement must be supported by every class conscious worker. The issue is clear-cut. "The scabs must be driven out of the Workmen's Circle!" "The leadership that makes it possible for scabs to belong to the Workmen's Circle must go!"

There are great opportunities for the Left wing movement, as well, of course, as serious dangers. In another article I will deal with various points and the role the Party and Communists should play.

—J. B.

Carpenters' Local Supports Marine Defenses

When on Dec. 23 a member of the Marine Workers Defense Committee asked for the floor at our local Union, L. U. 2000, U. B. of C. & J. of A. to speak in behalf of the three framed up Marine Workers in jail, a member of the I. W. W. made a motion that the delegate be granted ten minutes to state their case. Immediately Spitzer, a leading member of the T. U. U. L. made an amendment, that the time be reduced to five minutes. A vote was taken and the result was that the speaker was given the floor for ten minutes.

The speaker was able in a few minutes to explain the frame up case. He appealed to the membership for its moral as well as financial support, when Friedman, chief leader of the T. U. U. L. made a motion that we send two delegates to their conference, to find out who this committee was. Having fully understood this act of sabotage, I made an amendment that since the case of these prisoners was already somewhat neglected and mainly due to lack of financial support, that we grant them twenty-five dollars immediately. My amendment was seconded. Again Friedman took the floor and spoke against my amendment. His argument was that we should send our delegates to this conference and then act in accord with their report. They had the whole thing summed up as follows: Since our meeting, on account of the holidays, was held on a Wednesday instead of Thursday, therefore we only had an attendance of a few hundred. Friedman thought that they would succeed in electing both delegates from their group and thereby the unfavorable report would automatically follow. But due to their efforts to get on the committee, when many of us knew that they never supported any proposition in our local Union except it comes from the I. L. D. or the Party), my amendment to Friedman's motion carried by three votes. Then, along with one of their supporters I was elected delegate.

With such unscrupulous tactics the T. U. U. L. intends to build up a Left wing movement in a trade union. Not even the reactionary Hutcheson machine cares to place itself in such a position. The T. U. U. L. must get wholeheartedly behind the Marine Workers Defense and help to smash the frame-up.

—W. H. H.

The Struggle For Power In Germany

(Continued from page 1)
Itself from the trade unions, and draws itself further away from the millions of social democratic workers. The C. P. "Social-Fascism" the Party has isolated G. has aped the Fascists in an effort to stem their growth. In these efforts it has traveled another step away from a policy of revolutionary struggle and adopted instead a line of nationalism, dragging along with it the demands of Hitler. Within the Party a strong wave of anti-semitism exists.

The huge growth of the C. P. G. (its membership is now over 200,000) only testifies to the revolutionary character of the present situation. But the negative features of the Party policy, which is a negation of struggle and signifies a surrender to Fascism, will have disastrous results for the international working class. A victory of Fascism in Germany would mean the destruction of the German Communist Party. It would mean the dissolution of the labor movement. Once in power, Fascism would strengthen and unify its forces. It would cause a reaction to the Right in other countries. With the destruction of the German Communist Party, the Comintern would find itself weakened tremendously. A Fascist Germany, would in a short period of time receive the support of the imperialist powers and result in a quick attack against the Soviet Union.

The Party has as its task to prepare the basis for the seizure of power. It is an unavoidable task. The struggle in Germany is between Fascism and Communism. A victory for Fascism is a defeat for the international revolutionary movement. The Soviet Union would be in immediate danger of a military attack of the imperialist powers. It

New York Open Forum

N. Y. FORUM

On Friday, January 8, 1932, comrade Albert Glotzer, member of the National Executive Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition), will speak on his visit to comrade Trotsky. Comrade Glotzer, who has just returned from a trip to Europe, spent five weeks with Trotsky and has much to relate to the American workers. The meeting is part of the program of regular forums held by the Left Opposition in New York. The meeting will be held in the *Labor Temple*, 14th Street and Second Avenue, and begins at 8 P. M.

PHILADELPHIA

MASS MEETING

PHILADELPHIA—On SUNDAY JANUARY 10, 1932, at 8 P. M., a lecture on "The Economic Crisis and the Communists" will be given by Arne Swabeck. The lecture will be held at OSTROPOLSKY HALL, 943 No. FRANKLIN ST. The admission is free and everyone is invited. There will be a period for questions and discussion by the audience. The meeting is being held under the auspices of The Philadelphia Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition).

would be the signal for a reactionary turn to the Right on a world scale.

The international Communist movement, and in particular the German Communist Party must block this development. It can do this if its line is reversed. If it realizes that the foremost task for it is the organization of the working class for the revolutionary struggle. In this situation the Opposition must exert all its energies to force a turn in the Party line, and must actively project itself into the situation.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

THE ECONOMIC MONTH

The American crisis continues to reach new depths. Steel production for the last week of December was at the rate of 21% of capacity, the lowest operating rate since 1921, against 29% at the beginning of the month. Undoubtedly there will be some increase during January and February in steel production, as there was in the early months of 1931 as well as 1930, due to some accumulation of orders in the automobile and other industries, but any such increase will have little bearing on the immediate perspectives of the crisis.

Railroad car loadings have kept on decreasing week after week; in the week ended Dec. 13 they amounted to 613,000 cars, against a weekly average of 740,000 for the year 1931 to date. These figures are of special significance because of the quickness with which they reflect any tendency to recovery out of the crisis.

Automobile production for November of 60,000 cars was the lowest reported for any month since 1921, and compared with an average of 203,000 cars per month for the first 11 months of 1931, and with 136,000 cars for November 1930.

Unquestionably the present crisis, in proportion to the present development of productive facilities in the United States, will go down in history as the deepest up to the present time, reflecting the accumulation and intensification of capitalist contradictions on the economic field on an unprecedented scale.

Senator Brookhart has introduced a bill to abolish the gold standard, and replace the gold dollar by a new unit equivalent to one-third hundred and sixty billionth of the national wealth of the United States as of July 1, 1931. The present currency is to be exchanged for Treasury notes redeemable in any of the commodities used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in computing its index numbers of prices, and the total volume of currency in circulation is to be manipulated on the basis of the 1926 level of prices. Senator Shipstead, Farmer-Laborite, wants to issue non-interest bearing Treasury notes having legal tender to inflate the currency.

It has been characteristic of the petty bourgeois liberal-reformist and agrarian movements in this country that they have tried to pick the pockets of the grand bourgeoisie through currency manipulations as a basic tactic rather than fighting them openly in the political arena. Senator Brookhart continues the traditions of the Greenbackers of the '70's, the Free-Silver movement of W. J. Bryan, the 1920-21 agrarian agitation against the so-called "Federal Reserve deflation conspiracy", etc. If these gentlemen need an ideological basis, they will find it in the Proudhonist theories of money

culminating in the "exchanging banks" which were so thoroughly exposed by Marx and Engels.

The grand bourgeoisie itself is not above using financial manipulations to create the illusion that there is a way out of the crisis through other means than the class struggle in the field of production. The National Credit Corporation, commented on previously in the *Militant* in connection with the acute phase of the banking crisis of September-October 1931, is being discredited even among bankers.

In a hearing before the Senate subcommittee on finance and banking, Melvin A. Taylor, president of the half-billion-dollar First National Bank of Chicago, said the N. C. C. would only transfer undesirable loans from bank to bank and in the end leave the stronger banks holding \$500,000,000 worth of such paper. The practical outcome of his criticism is an endorsement of Hoover's proposed Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which would make the government put up the money instead of the banks, and incidentally holding the bag. George L. Harrison, governor of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, said the N. C. C. "could not be employed in the general situation and had not done as much as desired in relieving frozen credit among the banks".

All of which does not prevent Mr. Hoover from proposing as Point 10 of his 12-point program in a statement of Dec. 11, "the safeguarding and support of the banks through the National Credit Corporation, which has already given great confidence to bankers and extends their ability to make loans to commerce and industry". The Germans have the word for it—"unverschämt"—something more than shameless.

The Bruening government has shot its last bolt with the group of emergency decrees cutting wages 10%, raising the turnover tax from 85-100 of 1% to 2% which tends to raise prices and the cost of living while it hypocritically "orders" a 10% cut in prices, etc. As the bourgeois financial press remarks, the 10% wage cut is sure, the 10% cut in prices may in practice "result in hardships" which will lead to modification.

While German capitalism thus strengthens itself internally, it is being forced to its knees internationally. In its relations with the capitalists of other countries, Foreign bank credits continue to be withdrawn; the short-term debt, which amounted to 4 1/2 billion marks on July 31, had been reduced by Oct. 31 to 3.7 billions, of which the American share declined during this period from 2.1 to 1.8 billions. The Rasle committee of bankers has had to throw up its hands and pass the buck back to the

governments, with the notation that Germany surely cannot pay reparations by July 1, 1932, when the moratorium expires.

The exploitation of the German proletariat which now has to carry on its back capitalists of other countries as well as its own bourgeoisie is raising international contradictions to a still higher level and hastening the relief of the accumulating social tension through an explosion in the form of war, revolution or fascist coup d'état.

One of the expressions of the intensification of the crisis in France is the growing inability of taxes to cover expenses; a point of special importance to France because the whole stabilization since 1927 was predicated on the ability of the government to balance its budget. For the month of October, 1931, the yield of taxes was off 11 million dollars from the same month of the preceding year; for the seven months to October, the decline was 31 millions! an official estimate before the Chamber of Deputies is that the 1933 budget will show a deficit of 240 million dollars. The unstable nature of the "equilibrium" of French economy, pointed out in a recent article in the *Militant*, will lead to an immense piling-up of contradictions and sharpening of the class struggle when French capitalism attempts to put through its solution of the crisis in Government finance—reduced expenses through cutting the pay of Government employees, and attempts to cut wages in industry at a time when living costs are adjusting themselves to the international level.

The sharpening of the industrial crisis and its development to a higher level, that of the financial crisis, has been exemplified by the declaration by Hungary of a moratorium on at least two-thirds of its foreign debt of \$715,000,000. So far it claims to be able to deposit the required amounts in Hungarian currency, but to be unable to sell this currency for gold without breaking down its foreign exchange values. The logical next step would be the declaration that it is unable to accumulate the 60-odd millions per year required, even in Hungarian currency.

Japan too has had to withdraw formally from the gold standard, after having lost gold consistently ever since the attempted stabilization. Yesterday the yen broke to about 37 cents, losing 6% of its value in one day, and the Tokyo Stock Exchange has had to be closed after a one-day gesture to restore confidence by reopening. Imperialist wars in the declining phase of world capitalism create fresh crises and contradictions as fast as they solve old ones, but the new crises are on a higher plane—this is what Japan is illustrating on a small scale now, as the European war has done since 1918, and as the next world-wide war will triumphantly prove.

—B. J. F.

Prospects for Jewish Paper Bright

The preliminary work for the early publication of the Jewish organ of the Communist League of America (*Opposition*), *Unser Kampf* is well under way. We are now ready to announce the editorial board of the paper. It will consist of comrades: M. Lewit, Albert Orland, and P. Rubinstein. Sylvia Blecker has been chosen Business Manager. As yet we cannot with certainty announce the exact day of its appearance. We are aiming to have *Unser Kampf* out on the fifteenth of January.

Will we succeed in that? The answer to this question lies with our comrades and sympathizers throughout the country. We have not yet received all the payments on the pledges.

Rush your contributions immediately, so that there may be no delay in the appearance of *Unser Kampf*.

From the manuscripts we have at hand, we can say that the first number of *Unser Kampf* promises to be very rich in content. No worker will want to miss the first issue—and we are sure—the issues following. The only way to assure yourself of a copy of *Unser Kampf* is to subscribe. For one dollar (Canada \$1.25) the paper will be mailed to you for one year (26 issues).

Forward all contributions and subscriptions to:

UNSER KAMPF
84 East 10th Street
New York, N. Y.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Stalin and the Chinese Revolution

-- Facts and Documents --

(Continued from Previous Issue)

6. How Did The Shanghai Uprising Occur?

In this connection we have the extraordinarily valuable testimony of a witness and participant, the Stalinite Chitrov, who arrived from China on the eve of the 15th Congress and who appeared with his information at the Congress. The most important points of his narrative have been deleted by Stalin from the Minutes with the consent of Chitrov himself; one cannot make the truth public if it so crushingly proves all the accusations of the Opposition directed against Stalin. Let us give the floor to Chitrov (Sixteenth Session of the XV Congress of the C. P. S. U., December 11, 1927):

"The first bloody wave has been inflicted upon the Chinese Revolution in Shanghai by the execution of the Shanghai workers, April 11-12.

"I would like to speak in greater detail about this Shanghai overturn insofar as I know that in our Party there is little known about it. In Shanghai there existed for a period of 21 days the so-called, **People's Government**, in which the Communists had a majority. We can therefore say that for 21 days Shanghai had a Communist government. This Communist government, however, manifested complete inactivity in spite of the fact that the overturn by Chiang Kai-Shek was expected from day to day.

"The Communist government, in the first place, did not begin to work for a long time under the excuse that, on the one hand, the bourgeois part of the government does not want to get to work, sabotaging it—and, on the other hand,—because the Wuhan government did not approve the composition of the Shanghai government. From the activity of this government three decrees are known, and one of them, by the way, speaks of the preparation of a triumphal reception for Chiang Kai-Shek who was expected to arrive in Shanghai.

In Shanghai at this time the relations between the army and the workers grew sharp. It is known, for instance, that the army (that is, the Chiang Kai-Shek officers—L. T.) consciously drove the workers into slaughter. The army for a period of several days stood at the gates of Shanghai, did not want to enter the city because they knew that the workers were battling against the Shan Duts, and wanted the workers to be bled in this struggle. They expected to enter later. Afterward the army did enter Shanghai. But among these soldiers there was one division that sympathized with the workers—the first division of the Canton army; the commander, Say-O, was in disfavor with Chiang Kai-Shek, who knew about his sympathies to the mass movement, because this Say-O himself came from the ranks. He was at first the commander of a company and presently he commanded a division.

"Say-O came to the comrades in Shanghai and told them that there was a military overthrow in preparation, that Chiang Kai-Shek summoned him to headquarters, gave him an extraordinarily cold reception and that he, Say-O, will not go there any longer because he is afraid of a trap. Chiang Kai-Shek proposed to Say-O to get out of the city with his division and to go to the front; and he, Say-O, proposed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party to agree with him not to subordinate himself to the order of Chiang Kai-Shek. He was ready to remain in Shanghai and together with the Shanghai workers to fight against the military overthrow that was in preparation. To these our responsible leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, Chen Du Hsiui included, declared that they knew about the overturn that is in preparation, but that they do not want a premature conflict with Chiang Kai-Shek and that they proposed to Say-O that either he goes to the front or that he retires, in order to prove his loyalty to Chiang Kai-Shek. The First Division was let out of Shanghai, the city was occupied by the Second Division of Bai-Sung Gee and, two days later, the Shanghai workers were shot down."

Why was this truly stirring narrative left out of the Minutes (P. 32)? Because it was not at all a question of the Chinese Communist Party but of the Polit Bureau of the Soviet Union.

On May 24, 1927, Stalin spoke at the Plenum of the E. C. C. I.: "The Opposition is dissatisfied because the Shanghai workers did not enter into a decisive battle against the imperialists and their minions. But it does not understand that the revolution in China cannot develop at a fast tempo. It does not understand that one cannot take up a decisive struggle under unfavorable conditions. The Opposition does not understand that not to avoid a decisive struggle under unfavorable conditions (when it can be avoided)—means to make easier the work of the enemies of the revolution..."

"This section of Stalin's speech is titled: 'The Mistakes of the Opposition'. In the Shanghai tragedy Stalin found mistakes... of the Opposition. In reality the Opposition at that time did not yet know the concrete circumstances of the situation in Shanghai, that is, it did not know how much more favorable the situation remained for the workers in March and the beginning of April in spite of all the mistakes and crimes of the leadership of the Comintern. Even from the consciously concealed story of Chitrov it is clear that the situation could have been saved even at this time. The workers in Shanghai are in power. They are partly armed. There is a complete possibility of arming them incomparably better. Chiang Kai-Shek's army is unreliable. There are parts where even the commanding staff is on the side of the workers. But everything and everyone is paralyzed at the top. We must not prepare for the decisive struggle with Chiang Kai-Shek, but for a triumphal reception to him. Because Stalin gave his categorical directives from Moscow: not only to resist his ally, Chiang Kai-Shek, but on the contrary, to prove loyalty to him. How? Lie down on the back and raise all four paws.

In the May Plenum of the E. C. C. I. Stalin on technical tactical grounds still defended this terrible abandonment of positions without a struggle, which led to the crushing of the proletariat in the revolution. Half a year later, at the XV Congress of the C. P. S. U., Stalin already kept silent. The delegates at the Congress extended Chitrov's time to give him a chance to end his narrative which gripped even them. But Stalin found a very simple way out of it, by deleting Chitrov's narrative from the Minutes. We publish here this truly historic document for the first time.

Let us note additionally one interesting circumstance: While smearing up the course of events as much as possible and concealing the truly guilty ones, Chitrov singles out the responsibility of Chen Du Hsiui whom, on the contrary, the Stalinists until then had defended in every way against the Opposition, because he had merely carried out their directives. But at this time it was already becoming clear that comrade Chen Du Hsiui would not agree to play the role of a silent scapegoat, that he wanted openly to analyze the reasons for this catastrophe. All the hounds of the Comintern were let loose upon him, not for the mistakes fatal to the revolution but because he did not agree to deceive the workers and to be a cover for Stalin.

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7. The Organizers of the "Influx of Workers and Peasants Blood"

The leading organ of the Comintern wrote on March 18, 1927, about three weeks prior to the Shanghai overturn: "The leadership of the Kuo Min Tang is at present ill with a lack of revolutionary workers and peasants blood. The Chinese Communist Party must aid in the influx of this blood, and then the situation will radically change."

What an ominous play of the words! The Kuo Min Tang is in "need of workers and peasants blood". The "aid" was rendered in the fullest measure: in April-May, Chiang Kai-Shek and Wang Chin-Wei received a sufficient "influx" of workers and peasants blood.

In regard to the Chiang Kai-Shek chapter of the Stalinist policy the eight Plenum (May, 1927) declared: "The E. C. C. I. assumes that the tactical of the block with the national bourgeoisie in the already declining period of the revolution was absolutely correct. As historic justification of this tactic even (!) this one northern expedition serves..."

8. Stalin Repeats His Experiment With the "Left" Kuo Min Tang

Further on, the following remarkable point is left out of Chitrov's speech: "After the Shanghai coup, it has become clear to everyone that a new epoch is beginning in the Chinese Revolution: that the bourgeoisie is retreating from the revolution. This was recognized and immediately so stated. But one thing was left out of sight in connection with this,—that if the bourgeoisie retreats from the revolution, the Wuhan government did not even think of leaving the bourgeoisie. Unfortunately among the majority of our comrades this was not understood: they had illusions in respect to the Wuhan government. They considered the Wuhan government all an image, a prototype of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry". (The omission is on page 33).

"After the Wuhan overturn it became clear that the bourgeoisie is retreating..." This would be ridiculous if it had not sounded tragic. When Chiang Kai-Shek stayed the revolution in the face of the workers disarmed by Stalin, then the penetrating strategists finally "understood" that the bourgeoisie is "retreat-

ing". But having recognized that his friend Chiang Kai-Shek is retreating, Stalin ordered the Chinese Communists to subordinate themselves to that same Wuhan government which, according to Chitrov's information at the 15th Congress, "did not even think of leaving the bourgeoisie". Unfortunately "our comrades did not understand this". What comrades? Borodin, who was hanging on to Stalin's telegraph wires? Chitrov does not mention any names. The Chinese Revolution is dear to him, but his hide—still dearer.

However, let us listen to Stalin: "Chiang Kai-Shek's coup d'Etat means that in south China there will from now on be two camps, two governments, two armies, two centers: The center of the revolution in Wuhan and the center of the counter-revolution in Nanking."

Is it clear where the center of the revolution is? In Wuhan!

"This means that the revolutionary Kuo Min Tang in Wuhan, leading a decisive struggle against militarism and imperialism, will in reality be transformed into an organ of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry"...

Now we finally know what the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry looks like!

"From this it further follows," Stalin continues, "that the policy of close collaboration of the Lefts and the Communists inside the Kuo Min Tang acquires a particular force and a particular significance at the present stage... that without such a collaboration the victory of the revolution is impossible". ("Problems of the Chinese Revolution", pages 125-27).

Without the collaboration of the counter-revolutionary bandits of the "Left" Kuo Min Tang, "the victory of the revolution is impossible!" This is how Stalin step after step—in Canton, in Shanghai, in Hankow—assured the victory of the revolution.

9. Against the Opposition—For the Kuo Min Tang!

How did the Comintern view the "Left" Kuo Min Tang? The VIII Plenum of the E. C. C. I. gave a clear answer to this question in its struggle against the Opposition.

"The E. C. C. I. rejects with all its determination the demand to leave the Kuo Min Tang... The Kuo Min Tang in China is precisely that specific form of organization, where the proletariat collaborates directly with the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry."

In this manner the E. C. C. I. quite correctly saw in the Kuo Min Tang, the realization of the Stalinist idea of the "two-class workers and peasants party".

The not-known Rades, who was at first a minister under Petlura* and afterward carried out Stalin's directives in China, wrote in May, 1927 in the theoretical organ of the C. C. of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

"Our Russian Opposition, as is known, also considers it necessary for the Communists to leave the Kuo Min Tang. A consistent defense of this viewpoint would lead the adherents of the policy to leave the Kuo Min Tang, to the famous formula proclaimed by comrade Trotsky in 1917: 'Without a Czar, but a labor government'... which for China might have been changed in form: 'without the militarists, but a labor government'. To such consistent defenders for leaving the Kuo Min Tang, we have no occasion to listen". (Proletarian Revolution, page 54).

The slogan of Stalin-Rades was: "Without the workers, but with Chiang Kai-Shek." "Without the peasants, but with Wang Chin-Wei!" "Against the Opposition, but for the Kuo Min Tang!"

10. Stalin Once Again Disarms the Chinese Workers and Peasants

What was the policy of the leadership during the Wuhan period of the revolution? Let us listen to the Stalinist Chitrov on this question. Here is what we read in the minutes of the 15th Congress:

"What was the policy of the C. C. of the Communist Party at this time, during this whole (Wuhan) period? The policy of the C. C. of the Communist Party was carried on under the slogan of retreat..."

"Under the slogan of retreat"—in the revolutionary period, at the moment of the highest tension of the revolutionary struggle, the Communist Party works and under this slogan surrenders one position after another without a battle. To this surrender of positions belongs: the agreement to subordinate all the trade unions, all the peasant unions and other revolutionary organizations of the Kuo Min Tang; the refusal of independent action without the permission of the central committee of the Kuo Min Tang; the decision for the voluntary disarming of the workers' pickets in Hankow; the dissolution of the pioneer organizations in

*A Ukrainian White Guard general.

**In reference to this nonsense see L. Trotsky, "The Permanent Revolution" Pioneer Publishers, New York, page 84.

Wuhan; the actual crushing of all the peasant unions in the territory of the national government, etc."

Here is pictured quite frankly the policy of the Chinese Communist Party, the leadership of which actually helps the "national" bourgeoisie to crush the people's uprising and to annihilate the best fighters of the proletariat and peasantry.

But the frankness here is treacherous; the above citation is printed in the minutes after the omission cited above by the line of periods. Here is what the section concealed by Stalin says:

"At that time some responsible comrades, Chinese and non-Chinese, invented the so-called theory of retreat. They declared: The reaction is advancing upon us from all sides. We must therefore immediately retreat in order to save the possibility of legal work, and, if we will retreat, then we will save this possibility, but if we will defend ourselves or attempt to advance, then we will lose everything."

Precisely in those days (end of May 1927) when the Wuhan counter-revolution began to crush the workers and peasants in the face of the Left Kuo Min Tang, Stalin declared at the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. (May 24, 1927):

"The agrarian revolution is the basis and content of the bourgeois democratic revolution in China. The Kuo Min Tang in Wuhan and the Wuhan government are the center of the bourgeois democratic revolutionary movement" (page 154).

To a written question of a worker, why there are no Soviets created in Wuhan, Stalin replied:

"It is clear that whoever calls, at present, for the immediate creation of Soviets of workers' deputies in this (Wuhan) district, attempts to jump (!) over the Kuo Min Tang phase of the Chinese revolution, and he risks putting the Chinese revolution in a most difficult position."

Precisely: In a "most difficult" position! On May 13, 1927, in a conversation with students, Stalin declared:

"Should Soviets of workers and peasants deputies, in general, be created in China? Yes, they should, absolutely they should. They will have to be created after the strengthening of the Wuhan revolutionary government, after the unfolding of the agrarian revolution, in the transformation of the agrarian revolution into the revolution of the proletariat."

In this manner Stalin did not consider it permissible to strengthen the position of the workers and peasants, through Soviets, so long as the positions of the Wuhan government, of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, were not strengthened.

In reference to the famous theses of Stalin which justified his Wuhan policy, the organ of the Russian Mensheviks wrote at that time:

"Hardly much can be objected to in the essence of the 'line' laid down in the theses. As long as possible not to leave the Kuo Min Tang and to cling to the last to its Left wing and the Wuhan government: to avoid the decisive struggle under unfavorable conditions; not to advance the slogan, 'All Power to the Soviets', in order not to give the enemies of the Chinese people a new weapon in their hands in the struggle against the revolution, for the creation of legends about the fact that in China there is not a national revolution in progress, but an artificial transplanting of Moscow Sovietism!—what in reality can be more sensible?..." (Socialistische Vestnik, 9-151, 9-v—page 1).

On its part the VIII Plenum of the E. C. C. I. which was in session at the end of May, 1927, that is, at a time when the crushing of the workers and peasants organizations in Wuhan had already begun, adopted the following decision:

"The E. C. C. I. insistently calls the attention of the Chinese Communist Party to the necessity of all possible measures for the strengthening and developing of all mass organizations of workers and peasants... within all these organizations it is necessary to carry on an agitation for the entrance into the Kuo Min Tang, transforming the latter into a mighty mass organization of the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie democracy and the working class."

"To enter the Kuo Min Tang" meant to voluntarily bring one's head to slaughter. The bloody lesson of Shanghai passed without a trace. The Communist as before were being transformed into cattle herders for the party of the bourgeoisie executioners (Kuo Min Tang), into suppliers of workers and peasants blood for Wang Tin Wei and Company.

—L. D. TROTSKY.

IMPRISONED FOR CHALKING COMMUNIST SLOGANS

SHANGHAI, Nov. 20 (Fenprecor) Two and one half years in prison for chalking Communist slogans on a wall! Such was the sentence meted out to young Lee Kwong-pun in the First District Court here. The student claimed he was only reading the slogans when arrested, but police evidence to the contrary was accepted by the court which proceeded to inflict the outrageous penalty.

Two printers, Loh Zung-pao and Yu Shu-ching were sentenced to six months each for "publishing a reactionary paper called the Shanghai Sin Pao", an anti-

The Geneva Disarmament Bluff

(continued from page 1)

have, under capitalist conditions, only a transitory significance. Of the imperialist rivalries and contradictions in the Near and Far East, we need not comment. They are only too evident. There is need only to cite the present war in Manchuria. The League of Nations has proved powerless there. The Disarmament Conference can once again in February "outlaw" war by passing another resolution—but the Japanese guns will boom and possibly others as well.

The Fundamental Struggle: For Capitalism or Communism

And lastly, there is the outstanding contradiction, the historical contradiction between the imperialist powers of the world and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. For this the "Disarmament Conference" has no solution except war. And it is this war against the Workers' Republic, based upon the fundamental contradiction of capitalism and Communism, that the capitalist powers are preparing. There is no answer to the existence side by side of a capitalist world and a country aiming for the abolition of all forms of capitalist exploitation and ideology, except a struggle between them for supremacy. That can only be by the destruction of one and the victory of the other on a world scale. This economic, social and political contradiction in the world today—a capitalist world and a Soviet Russia—can find no solution, nor even a beginning of one, in a League of Nations, the Kellogg Pact or Disarmament Conferences. The answer can only be: the domination of international capitalism or international Communism.

The Soviet Union, under the aegis of Stalin, Litvinoff, et al, has most unfortunately assisted in the sowing of illusions of pacifist nonsense, of fraudulent peace talk, by being a signatory to the Kellogg Pact, a capitalist instrument aimed, in the last analysis, at clipping the wings of the Soviet Republic, disarming and destroying it. The propagation by the Soviet Union of the theory of peaceful co-habitation side by side, indefinitely, of the Soviet Republic and the capitalist world only plays into the hands of the bourgeoisie and the muddled pacifists and confuses the working class which must see the problem of war and peace as a class problem.

Pacifism—A Middle Class Movement

Pacifism, which finds its greatest expression and hope in "disarmament conference", League of Nations, etc., has been swelling its forces numerically. In all countries pacifist movements have grown. Yet the pacifist movement is impotent to solve the problem of militarism and war. Pacifism represents the outlook of the middle class, the petty-bourgeoisie; it represents the flower of its idealism. We find here a diffused economic class, declassed elements too, caught between the main classes of society, the capitalist class and the indus-

trial proletariat, crushed from all directions, also, victims of capitalism, militarism and war.

Pacifism is the only way in which this group finds it possible, with its limited consciousness of today, to express its resentment and opposition to capitalist warfare. Students, overwhelmingly from the middle class, make up the "militant" section of the pacifist movement. But, when all is said and done, when the war drums begin to throb, they will answer the call of "Tommy Atkins" and the "doughboy". Until these elements, the petit-bourgeois, grasp the class outlook, the proletarian concept of the causes of war, their movement is doomed to sterility.

"Conscientious objection, anti-war strike, and so on," says Lenin, "are just stupidities, pitiful and poor-spirited dreams of unarmed struggle against the armed bourgeoisie, of the ending of capitalism without a desperate civil war or a series of wars... Away with the personal, sentimental, absurd dreaming about 'peace at any price'!"

That is why, too, all the post-war literature of pacifism, the horrors of war, have no lasting impression or genuine value for a solution to the war problem.

Militarism and War: A Class Problem

War and militarism must be approached by the working class from a class standpoint. They are class problems. War is a manifestation of capitalist society: it occurs when there is no other way out of the impasse of capitalist rivalries or rivalry today between contending social systems: capitalist society and the Soviet Republic. War remains as long as capitalism remains. Armaments, navies, armies, airships—all are unavoidable while these class divisions and rivalries exist. Capitalist Disarmament Conferences can do nothing about this—except to play the game of the capitalists. It is a matter of class struggle. Capitalist militarism has found in the imperialist epoch its class rival—the Red Army of the Soviet Union, the protector of the class interests of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and the entire world.

The future lies, not with pacifism, but in a recognition by the working class of the world that it must prepare the organization of all its forces for the impending final struggles between the workers and the capitalists. Not pacifism—but class war. Not "national security and defense"; not social-patriotism and nationalism—but international solidarity and organization of the proletariat.

The Geneva Conference will settle nothing; it has not the power to settle anything. Geneva will only serve further to expose the futility of pacifism, the impotence of the League of Nations, the incapacity of the imperialist powers, their unwillingness to give up any part of their spoils. The only thing peaceful at Geneva will be its peaceful waters. Otherwise, it will only reveal the imperialist contradictions once again and be a warning to the proletariat to be on guard.

—MARTIN ABERN.

Mother Mooney Denounces Gov. Rolph

Writings from St. Joseph's Hospital, Tom Mooney's Mother, Mary Mooney, sent a letter to Gov. Rolph requesting pardon for her son. Excerpts from it follow:

St. Joseph's Hospital, San Francisco, Calif. December 13, 1931

Governor James Rolph, Jr. State Capitol, Sacramento, California.

Dear Governor: Sure and I'm sick and in the hospital or I'd come to see you myself to talk to you about my son, Tom Mooney, so I'm writing you this letter. In all the long years since my boy was in prison, I've never bothered any Governors, as I thought I'd look like I wanted pity and I didn't and don't want any now. And I want my boy to get a square deal like any other man and it's up to you to give it to him.

Governor Rolph, I came to this country from old Ireland before you was born. I've lived here over sixty years. I raised my children to be honest. Our whole family was hard-workin' people. Tom was the oldest child; he worked his head off to help the rest of us. His father died when Tom was a small boy. He never in his life did anything that wasn't honest.

Sure, I was because he was honest and a brave boy and stood up like a man to fight for his own people, the workin' people, that they framed on him and putty near hanged him. Faith, and I'm proud of my son because he wouldn't sell himself to nobody for money or an easy job. That's the way I brought him up.

My son was framed on by the corporation because he fought for the workin' people. They wanted him out of the way. Take the main witness in the case: Oxman. Sure, and I told the scoundrel when he was walkin' out of the court after he swore my boy's life away for a few dollars "You're lyin' on my boy and tryin' to put the rope around his neck..." He never answered me, but hung his head for shame.

You're the fourth governor since my boy went to jail and his putty black hair turned gray. He became an old

man in jail. Sure and it's the sixteenth Christmas he'll be spendin' in jail.

Now it looks like you're usin' my boy for a football like all the other governor did. You kick him to Mr. Sullivan and I guess he'll kick him back to you. You say it'll take three or four months to look over the facts. Faith, and it makes me old Irish heart sick to hear that old blarney. Sure, any schoolboy could know all the facts in three or four hours. And you were mayor when it happened and marched in the parade and sure should know all the facts.

Three or four months might not be long for you, Governor, or for Mr. Sullivan, but it's a long time for me what's been waitin' for over fifteen years and for my boy what's had almost sixteen years stolen from his life.

Motherly yours, (Signed) Mrs. Mary Mooney

Entertainment

In New York for Young Spartacus

An Entertainment and Dance for the benefit of Young Spartacus, official organ of the Youth Section, Communist League of America (Opposition), will be held on Saturday, January 9th, 1932, beginning at 8 P. M., at the headquarters of the League, 84 East 10th Street.

The Youth Committee in charge promises a very lively and entertaining Musical and other features, as well as excellent refreshments have been provided. All workers are cordially invited to attend the Young Spartacus entertainment, Saturday, January 9th. The affair is under the auspices of the New York Section of the Communist League (Opposition).

EDITORIAL NOTES

EVIDENCE MADE TO ORDER

The trial of the gangsters, Coll and Giordano, on murder charges, which resulted in the acquittal of the defendants, throws a glaring searchlight on "justice" as it is administered in New York. The men were "positively identified" as the men who fired the shots in the baby killing last summer by a witness who had been on the police payroll for months and kept secluded in a hotel under guard. Brecht, the police witness, did not merely think they might be the killers. He knew it. He was an "eye witness" to the shooting, and he swore that Coll and Giordano were the men he saw spraying bullets from the auto. And then, all of a sudden, the prosecution's case went to pieces. Brecht was exposed by the defense counsel as a professional "identifier" and perjurer, a thief, ex-convict and all-around scoundrel—a sort of a Boyle. It was even disclosed that he had "identified" the defendants some years ago in a similar case in St. Louis and that on that occasion, also, his testimony had been discredited. Following this bomb-shell the case collapsed and the court ordered an acquittal.

Victims of the frame-up system of American justice are not always so fortunate. The police in this case made the mistake of picking on real gangsters with money and influence. They were able to employ competent legal counsel. They had the means to finance investigations. They owe their acquittal to these circumstances. If they had been small fry, if they had been friendless men, without money or connections, they would be on the way to the electric chair already without a doubt.

The police frame up their victims all the time as a matter of routine, as a habit. We have seen the revelations of the Seabury investigation regarding women framed as prostitutes. During the Greco-Carillo case a few years ago a veteran newspaper man covering the trial remarked: "Half of the fellows who go out of this court room to prison are convicted on fake evidence. Everybody knows that. If these two men don't go up, it will be because they have good lawyers and influential friends." This is the record and the reputation of the New York police and prosecution system among all informed people. If the use of perjured evidence and third degree intimidation are used systematically in ordinary criminal cases day by day, what man in his right senses would trust them to deal justly and fairly with defendants in a labor case?

The stage was all set for a speedy railroad by the time-honored methods in the case of the indicated marine workers, Soderberg, Bunker, and Trajer. The formation of a defense committee and the employment of qualified attorneys have introduced a few "complications" into the game. It is already obvious that there is going to be a fight and not a one-sided victimization of helpless prisoners who have no means of defending themselves. They will have to be more careful with their cooked-up perjury out of fear of another annihilating exposure. The whole question of whether they will have the nerve to go through with their brazen frame-up will depend on the public interest in the case, and particularly the interest of the labor movement.

This interest is growing and is being organized. But not fast enough. If we work harder, if we extend our fight on a broader front, if a real movement of the working class comes to the support of the prisoners, they will be liberated. And that will not be a victory for them alone. It will be a form of protection to the labor movement as a whole against attempts to disrupt it by frame-ups and dynamite plants. To that end we must work with all our strength in the time that is left before the trial.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

The appearance of a Greek organ of the Left Opposition in America, and the projected early publication of a Jewish paper, will no doubt extend the propaganda effectiveness of our movement to a considerable extent. At the same time these developments pose before the Communist League for the first time in its experience as a distinct organization, one of the most difficult and complicated problems—the problem of coordinating and centralizing a movement which is compelled, by the force of circumstances in the country, to speak in many tongues.

Foreign language speaking workers constitute an important—even if not the most decisive—section of the American proletariat. To carry the message of Communism to them and to unite them with the native workers in a single movement is a task that American Communism has stumbled over more than once in the past. We ought to learn from the costly mistakes of the past Party experience in order to avoid them in our own work as a faction.

The problem is political, first of all. Organizational difficulties, which have in the past assumed tremendous importance, flow from the political essence of the question. As Marxists we can do no other than aim at a centralized movement which carries an identical message in every language, and always acts as an organizational unit. Special language organizations cannot have an independent existence under our banner. The Left Opposition has no use for autonomous language groups.

The strength of the Left Opposition, in all of its manifestations, is the strength of its ideas, its granite foundation of

principle. Every special language grouping or propaganda expression must be built from the very start on this conception. It follows from this that all of our language papers, as well as all other propaganda mediums, are organs of a single National Committee. The references all our language organs make to specific problems of the immigrant workers have to be subordinated entirely and directly related to our fundamental principle line.

The right wing of American Communism is also having an experience in this field. In the contrast between that experience and ours can be seen the contrast between a movement that lives from day to day, as best it can, and a movement that goes by principle. The Revolutionary Age complains about its Lithuanian twin Naujoji Gadyne which has recently made its first appearance.

"There is a distinct tendency to treat the struggle of the Lithuanian Opposition as if it were an isolated 'Lithuanian' fight. The fundamental political struggle . . . is almost completely neglected. . . . It does not as much as mention the Communist Party (Majority Group)."

Well, what do you expect? Of course they leave aside the big questions and devote themselves to the comparatively petty "national" issues to catch the support of people with transitory grievances. "The opportunists always do that. The Naujoji Gadyne is only repeating the method it learned from the Revolutionary Age."

Such exhibitions cannot happen in the Left Opposition. The Revolutionary Age also criticized the manifesto of the Communist League in the Greek language—but from an opposite standpoint. The manifesto, it said, talked too much about the Anglo-Russian Committee and the Chinese Revolution, and not enough about the so-called "Greek" questions. We need not worry about such criticism. Let us go to the workers in all languages with a uniform propaganda on the fundamental questions of world import. In that way we will build a movement among the foreign language speaking workers that is ideologically united with the Communist League and an integral part of its organization. If we go ahead with this aim we will be armed in advance against most of the difficulties and contradictions which hampered the Party in the past in the foreign language field.

WHERE DID THEY LEARN?

Honor to carpenters' union Local 2090 of New York. This is the first union to respond to the appeal of the Marine Workers Defense Committee and to vote a donation for the expenses of its work. This action took place at its meeting last Wednesday when a representative of the Defense Committee spoke before it on the case.

This act of solidarity was not performed without an internal struggle. Of course nobody flatly opposed the idea of helping union men to defend themselves in the capitalist court. Nobody ever does. The opposition to the contribution expressed itself in the form of proposals to delay, to "investigate", to find out more about the facts, and similar fraudulent devices and subterfuges. And whom do you think were the exponents of these worthless and dishonorable maneuvers to cheat the imprisoned workers of the aid that is their due? As the news report in another column in this issue tells, it was the members of the Trade Union Unity League, the revolutionary trade unionists if you please who spoke for this counterfeit caution. The reactionary elements in the union voted with them. An incongruous lineup, indeed.

Militants in the labor movement who have served their time on various occasions in the fight to gain trade union support for persecuted workers have grown familiar long ago with the technique of obstruction to this work. Never, or in any case hardly ever, do you encounter a straight out fight against the prisoners in question. The impulses of the workers are always on the side of their persecuted brothers; their tendency is to respond generously and unquestionably to their appeal. The reactionaries know that. That's why they resort to flank movements, tricks, traps, maneuvers to put off and wear out the question. The favorite maneuver of all, when they are taken unawares, is to postpone action and "investigate". They are never opposed to helping the men in prison. God forbid! They only want to know more about the case. If it comes to trial and results in a conviction, before they get the necessary information—all the better.

This, as has been said, is the well known strategy of the reactionary bureaucrats. But here we have "the vanguard of the proletariat" resorting to this hypocritical shrewdness. Is it not time for the trade union militants who draw their inspiration from the Communist Party to stop discrediting themselves in this manner? You cannot violate all the ethics of labor solidarity and then expect to be taken seriously as a revolutionist. You cannot fight reaction with methods and practices borrowed from the reactionaries.

—J. P. C.

THE NATIONAL TOUR

The balance of the schedule for the National Tour of comrade Arne Swabeck is as follows:

Balance of schedule follows:
Cleveland, Ohio January 5th
Youngstown, Ohio January 6th
Pittsburgh, Pa. January 7th
Philadelphia, Pa. January 9, 10.

A Sojourn With Comrade Leon Trotsky

— Five Weeks in Kadikoy —

Kadikoy is an Anglo-American resident suburb of Constantinople, twenty minutes by boat from the Pera quarter of the city and located on the Asiatic side of Turkey, where the Bosphorus flows into the Marmora Sea. At the outskirts of this suburb, in the section called Moda, located on the bluffs overlooking the eastern shores of the Marmora, dotted here and there with many islands, is the home of comrade Leon Trotsky.

Comrade Trotsky has been living here for almost a year—since the lamentable fire destroyed his home of exile on the island of Prinkipo. The present house is a simple two-story, wooden-frame dwelling, that boasts of no historic pre-occupants. It is surrounded by a high picket fence, reinforced with barbed wire. In the garden running about the house is the abode where the two policemen, the cook and the fisherman live. It is here together with his wife, Natalia Ivanovna, his daughter's son, his secretary comrade Frankel, and a stenographer, that Trotsky lives and works.

We arrived at the house early in the morning and after making our identity known gained admittance into the house. In a few moments we found ourselves in the workroom face to face with the leader of the International Left Opposition. Comrade Trotsky pushed aside his manuscripts and greeted us warmly. Little time was wasted with formalities. We were too eager to question each other. We talked for over two hours, drifting from subject to subject and then proceeded to outline our discussions to cover the length of our stay.

A subject of intense interest to every revolutionist, one that came first to our lips and which our American readers undoubtedly are anxious to learn about is the state of comrade Trotsky's health. In the past a variety of reports circulated regarding the numerous ailments with which he was afflicted. When we inquired as to his health comrade Trotsky replied: "My two chief ailments are malaria and an ulcerated stomach. I suffer of these from time to time. The condition of my stomach forces me to adhere to a rigid diet and occasionally I have been laid low through this illness. Regarding my malaria I can add very little to what I have already told the comrades previously. There is very little that can be done for it in Turkey. The climate is extremely bad for malaria. Particularly in hot weather do I succumb to spells accompanied by terrific fevers which forbid me from continuing my work. If it were possible to live in a climate where the heat were not so intense it would help considerably but, as things look now, I must consider Turkey my home for some time to come. My heart functions well and otherwise I feel well. If only for these two ailments I would consider myself a healthy man."

We observed particularly, during our stay, the enormous energy of comrade Trotsky. While we were there he was completing the last chapters of the second volume of the "History of the Russian Revolution". (The first volume will be out in February, published by Simon and Shuster Company). Comrade Trotsky lives very methodically. He goes to bed early and rises early. He begins to work in the morning and continues until he is ready to go to sleep. All his energy is directed toward the completion of his present work. In addition to the book, Trotsky maintains a correspondence with the leading sections of the International Left Opposition. He reads the most important international periodicals of the Comintern, the organs of the various parties and the capitalist press of the leading countries. The only break in this program of immense work of the leader of the Opposition, comrade Trotsky finds in fishing occasionally and, on rare moments, to hunt. "This is the only form of relaxation from the terrific pace with which he works."

America absorbs a great deal of comrade Trotsky's interest. To him the United States symbolizes capitalism at the height of its development. "This period sees America assuming the leadership of the capitalist world," he told us. He continued: "While it is not excluded that America can rise out of the present crisis and attain its former strength, she will have to do this at the expense of the rest of the world. The United States will turn its attention to the quest for a redification of the world markets. And in this development she will exhibit her ruthlessness. One of the weaknesses in the present situation is the subjective factor. It is not enough to say that statistics point to the impossibility for America to rise out of the present difficulties. We must not forget that from the subjective point of view there does not exist a revolutionary working-class to harass America at home. She apparently feels free to proceed without much protest with wage-cuts on a national scale and repressions against the American working class."

"But in spite of this we have reason to be hopeful for the American working-class. The effects of the crisis have a tremendous influence in shattering their bourgeois and petty bourgeois longings, which came as a result of the stupendous rise of American capitalism during the almost uninterrupted growth of industry there. But America has passed that 'golden era'. I think that it is correct to say that from now on her development will be a far more difficult one, made at the expense of the rest of the world and in particular through increased persecution of the working class at home. It is nowhere written that the United States must be last on the calendar of

the revolution. The world character of economy, plus various combinations, can push the United States to the upper portion of the list. I have spoken on this same question to the American comrades before. The problem, however, assumes even more importance now."

"A great deal depends upon the preparations made by the Communists for the struggles of the future. The Comintern heretofore refused to recognize the role of American Imperialism and only after a criticism by the Opposition made a belated turn about face. But it is absolutely necessary for the Communist to realize the role of American capitalism, to see its development and prepare for the future."

Jokingly we asked comrade Trotsky whether he would like to come to the United States to live. He expressed a real desire to be here, but replied: "I think it is best to wait until the revolution and I trust that you comrades will push a little faster to accomplish this."

Comrade Trotsky is deeply interested in the youth movement. Repeatedly he asked us questions regarding the youth in the States. "Have you any youth in the Opposition?" "What kind of youth activity have you been carrying on?" "What are the possibilities of organizing a youth movement supporting the Opposition and training, educating and preparing the cadres of youth for the future?" He expressed himself as follows: "It is absolutely necessary that the Opposition concentrate on winning the youth to its support. Unlike the thoroughly corrupted bureaucrats, it is quite possible to win large sections of the youth to the Opposition. They are less corrupted and are more susceptible to the ideas of the Left Opposition. We must concentrate especially upon winning them to our banner. They will become a tremendous reserve for us. I should really like to see efforts made in this field of work."

The steps already taken by the National Executive Committee in promulgating youth work through the issuance of *Young Spartacus* and helping to create the Youth Clubs will find a favorable support from comrade Trotsky. He is especially interested in our efforts in this field of work.

America is not altogether strange to him. He asked about the role of the Socialist Party in the present crisis. "Does the Socialist Party take an active part in the struggles of the workers in the present crisis? Are they really making efforts to build their organization? Do the workers support the anti-working class activity of the Hillquists and liberal matters of the Thomases? American Socialism has not changed its reformist approach to the problems confronting the proletariat. It remains a constant danger to the working class."

In connection with the Socialist Party, comrade Trotsky asked about the role of the Jewish workers in this country. He told us that it was quite possible to win their support. But for this it would be necessary to publish our literature in the Jewish language in order to make it accessible to them. "Yes, you should not neglect the Jewish worker. He will be a great help to you and the American comrades should try to attract them to the Opposition and win them to the support of our ideas."

Comrade Trotsky takes a deep interest in the minutest tasks of the Opposition. He asked many questions about the *Militant*, which he regards very highly. "The *Militant* must be maintained as a weekly at all costs. It is a powerful weapon and no doubt is your strongest phase of work." He questioned us regarding its sales, whether it was read by the members of the Party, what our financial condition is, and numerous other questions regarding the existence of the Lovestone group and the activity of the Party. He often repeated the absolute necessity to win the Party members. "They are most important," he told us, "and for this you must organize your Party factions. They must be active bodies, participating in the life of the Party. We must not lose sight of the fact that we are a Party faction, and our future depends directly upon the whole future of Communism and the Party."

We found comrade Trotsky in good spirits despite the extreme hardships of his exile. He must write in order to live and this in a sense is a handicap in that it does not allow him to concentrate all his thoughts and energies on the International Opposition. We talked about life in Turkey, and often his humorous though tragic sides would come in for discussion. The fire that broke out almost a year ago destroyed his library and a box of valuable clippings that were collected over a period of years. Comrade Trotsky is planning a book on the International Situation following the completion of his present work. It was for this that he had been collecting material. "When we first arrived, I made inquiries regarding a library in Turkey, which I might be able to use in my work. But unfortunately, I learned that such an institution was not to be found in Turkey. After the fire, I sent comrade Frankel to the National University of Stambul requesting the use of the school library. They were anxious to help, but found that impossible because the university did not have a library which I could use. So you see that I am really handicapped in this sense."

We learned from the comrades there

that the fire destroyed almost everything. It broke out late at night and before much could be done, it spread through the entire house. All that was saved from the ruins were the archives, Lenin's letters and documents. His library consisting of 2000 read and annotated volumes and clippings were burned. The clothes belonging to the entire family were destroyed and \$150.00 in cash was burned. "But even so," comrade Trotsky said smilingly, "it could have been very much worse."

Comrade Frankel related the following incident to us: "Shortly after the fire we engaged a room in a nearby hotel. All of us felt dejected and were very much disturbed by the irreparable losses of the fire—all except comrade Trotsky. No sooner were we settled, when he laid his manuscripts out on the table, called the stenographer over and began to dictate chapters of his book as though nothing at all had happened during the night."

Upon news of this loss, books were sent to Trotsky from different parts of the world. These help to rebuild the library that he lost. Books on economics, history, politics and labor movement are especially needed and welcomed by him. In this article we appeal to our comrades, sympathizers and anybody who is interested, to communicate with us in regard to rebuilding the library of comrade Trotsky.

Comrade Trotsky is much troubled by the situation in Germany. He regards the situation there to be decisive in its influence on the whole trend of events internationally. "A victory of Fascism in Germany would have disastrous effects everywhere," he told us. "The Party does not realize that should Hitler come to power he would destroy the Party and the labor movement. But instead of that it plays with the situation in a most criminal manner. It recalls to my mind the period of 1923 when Brandler and Company capitulated. Then the Party followed behind events instead of leading the proletariat in the struggle for power. From all appearances the Party is continuing the very same course today. The Opposition must do all in its power to prevent this attitude of the Party from continuing. This is one of our chief tasks. We must make the Party realize that its task at present is to organize the working class resistance to Fascism and prepare for the revolutionary struggle."

From Germany we went on to a discussion on the situation in the Soviet Union. We asked comrade Trotsky just what effects the world crisis would have on the Soviet Union. Comrade Trotsky was of the opinion that "the world crisis will have severe repercussions there. It appears now that the five year plan is experiencing a number of difficulties about which we warned long ago, but the relation of economy on a world scale to national economy will cause a crisis

of the five year plan and only increase the economic difficulties of the proletarian dictatorship." Even now, while Stalin and Litvinov speak of the possibilities of the peaceful development side by side of Socialism and Capitalism, the capitalist powers only work to make matters more difficult for Soviet Economy. For the Opposition it means more determined efforts than ever.

"The capitalists find things more difficult than ever. Those who were influenced by the step of Radok and the other older comrades, and who sincerely felt that a change was taking place in the policy of the Party, found themselves returned to exile shortly after they were taken back into the Party. Radok tries to establish himself in the Party by continuously denouncing the Opposition and reminding every principled idea that he ever held. He has become the most vicious of them all. Most of the capitalists do not exist politically. They have sold their ideas for the right to return to the centers to enjoy the existence of 'marked men'. The genuine Oppositionists remain steadfast. There are many thousands in exile. It is hard to estimate how many. Official figures will tell nothing. Those in exile are forced to go through terrific persecution and in spite of the extremely unfavorable conditions of work (lack of writing materials, lack of books, periodicals, relations with other Opposition colonies, or with the Party itself) exhibit a fearlessness that should encourage every Oppositionist. There are in exile today between three and five thousand young Oppositionists as well as a few thousand old Bolsheviks. In the Party ranks there are currents of Oppositionists everywhere. Stalin thinks that by his severe repressions he can stamp out the Opposition. But he can never do this in spite of everything that he does. The Opposition lives because its ideas are the ideas of Marx and Lenin. Because their ideas are the ideas of the October Revolution."

It was not easy to part when the time came to leave. But there was no other choice and we made ready to go. The thought came often to us: What a horrible crime Stalinism has committed to the revolutionary movement. The exile of comrade Trotsky is a terrible blow to the Russian Revolution and to the Communist International. Trotsky in Turkey is Trotsky endangered. The nest of white-guardists in Constantinople and in the Balkan countries always loom up as a constant threat to the life of our leader. The great handicaps in the work, his health made more aggravated in this country, his general separation from the centers of the movement, are not easy to overcome. Comrade Trotsky keeps on fighting. The greatest tribute to him is to build the International Left Opposition and to carry on the historic fight against Stalinism—that virus which has brought these conditions upon the Communist movement—and thereby to regenerate the International Communist movement for the conquest of proletarian power.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

Successful Banquet for Press Held in Mpls.

MINNEAPOLIS—The first of a series of events, which marked comrade Swabeck's visit to Minneapolis, the banquet held for the benefit of the *Militant* and the forthcoming Jewish organ, *Unser Kampf* was held on Saturday, December 26 and was unanimously considered a success. After an excellent dinner of over 50 comrades and Left wingers, comrade Carl Cowl, the chairman, gave greetings in the name of the Left Opposition and then introduced comrades Carl Skoglund and Vincent Dunne who made appropriate remarks befitting the occasion. Albert rendered some violin selections, and then comrade Miles Dunne favored the audiences with a few monologues. Comrade Avrin next read Trotsky's farewell remarks upon Lenin's death. "Farewell, Ilyitch!" and then delivered a speech on Lenin. Comrade Arne Swabeck then spoke on the tasks and duties of the Communist movement and dealt particularly with our press. In response over \$50.00 in cash and pledges was collected, as well as a number of subscriptions to the Jewish paper, *Unser Kampf*.

The cash contributions were as follows: Vincent Dunne, \$10.00; Carl Skoglund, Louis Roseland, S. Zalmanoff, Ladies Auxiliary of the L. W. C. and L., each \$5.00; Hoberman—\$1.50; comrades Averbach, Malinsky, Chas. Johnson, Lucatsky, J. Schwartz, Pat Rogers, Frank Glaser, Grant Dunne, Miles Dunne, Carl Cowl, Avrin, Fanny Barach, Lessin, M. Schwartz, Mogilefsky, Lubitsch—\$1.00 each; Clem Forsen Bertha Sauer and others—50 cents each.

The Committee is grateful to all those comrades who worked to make the banquet for the Left Opposition a success.

DEBATE IN MINNEAPOLIS

"Resolved that COMMUNISM CAN EMANCIPATE THE WORKING CLASS"

Affirmative: V. R. Dunne, representing Communist League of America (Opposition).

Negative: Jean Spielman, representative of the A. F. of L. Printing-Presses.

Time: SUNDAY, JANUARY 3rd, 1932 at 3 P. M.

Place: WORKERS OPEN FORUM HALL, 1530 EAST FRANKLIN, (corner of Bloomington).

Questions and Answers From the Floor Admission: FREE

Attention!
Minneapolis Open Forum

Among the lectures arranged for forthcoming weeks at the Minneapolis Forum are the following:

All meetings, unless otherwise mentioned are at 3 P. M.:

Sunday, January 10, 1932: "Tom Mooney and the American Frame-Up System;" Speaker: Carl Cowl.

Sunday, January 17, 1932: "Imperialism; What Next?;" Speaker: Vincent R. Dunne.

Sunday, January 24, 1932: DEBATE: "Socialism versus Communism;" Speakers: O. P. Victorian, representing the Socialist Party against Carl Cowl representing Communist League of America (Opposition).

Sunday, January 31, 1932: "The Proposed Railroad Wage Reductions;" Speaker: C. R. Hedlund.

All these lectures and debates will be held at the Workers Open Forum, 1530 East Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn. The Admission is free.

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THE MILITANT

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Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck

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OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



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Our Martyrs

Liebknecht and Luxemburg

On January 15th 1919, the leaders of the revolutionary German working class, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, were murdered in the streets of Berlin. The ruling class of Germany, fearing these two heroic and dauntless fighters, their ability to mobilize the proletariat for the proletarian dictatorship and socialism, called upon the lackeys of the capitalist class, the social democrats, Noske, Schiedeman, Ebert, to stem the revolutionary tide, to murder its outstanding leaders and fighters. (The official social democracy carried out these instructions; murdered Liebknecht and Luxemburg, destroyed the Spartacus movement. For the time being it saved Germany—by wage slavery and exploitation. Luxemburg and Liebknecht remain the symbol of proletarian struggle for emancipation; the German and international social democracy continue as the active henchmen of capitalism.)

Both Rosa and Karl had, long before 1919, fought the treacherous policies of the social democracy within the official movement. Luxemburg took up the struggle against both the revisionism and opportunism of Bernstein, David, Legien, and Noske, and the academic centrism of Karl Kautsky. Previous to this she had been active in the Polish movement where she fought tooth and nail against the nationalist position of the leaders. Closely in contact with the Russian social democracy she followed the revolution of 1905 with the greatest interest. She recognized the importance of the leading role of the proletariat in the democratic revolution. She wrote a brochure in which she drew some lessons on mass political strikes, trade unions, relations between trade unions and for the German party and international working class from the Russian events.

Luxemburg not only popularized the writings of Marx, especially on economics but wrote a theoretical work which attempts to apply the economic laws discovered by Marx to the stage of the imperialist capitalism ("Accumulation of Capital"). Her knowledge and treatment of Marxism, not as a dogma but a revolutionary method of penetrating, knowing and transforming social reality, made Rosa one of the few original thinkers of the revolutionary movement has produced since Marx and Engels. She actively participated in all phases of the social-democratic movement, women's work, practical politics, theoretical discussions, anti-militarist and youth work.

It was in the latter two fields that she worked arm in arm with Karl Liebknecht. Both stressed the importance of work within the armed forces—a proposal which sounded Blanquist to the pacifist and ultra-legalistic social democratic leaders. Karl and Rosa fought for the organization of special youth leagues which would attract young workers and students to the socialist movement, educate them in Marxism, struggle against capitalist militarism. Liebknecht in "Militarism and Anti-Militarism" analyzed the class nature of present day militarism showing its two-fold character: against the enemy capitalist nation and colonial peoples; to suppress the working class at home. Luxemburg exposed the sham and hypocrisy of the proposals for disarmament and pacifism under capitalism, and castigated them as "pacifist utopias". The activity of Rosa and Karl prepared them for the war period role.

The coming of the World War, which like all deep social crises poses the questions of class struggle sharply, found social democratic opportunism develop logically into social chauvinism, social imperialism. The policy of class collaboration during peace time led to support of the bourgeoisie during the war. On the other hand, the advocacy of class struggle, a relentless fight against the capitalist class during "peace" time, found Liebknecht and Luxemburg during as prior to the war in the vanguard of the proletariat struggling against the capitalist conflagration and for proletarian revolution.

Luxemburg and Liebknecht aided by such fighters as Jogiches, Mehring, Levine, organized the Spartacus Bund, unfurled the banner of revolutionary Marxism and proclaimed the struggle against the war, the social democrats, the mainstay of capitalism, and for socialism. Karl hurled the defiant voice of the militant working class in the Reichstag when voting against war credits; in the Kaiser's army he agitated the soldiers for socialism; in the streets of Berlin at the height of the war in May 1918, he echoed the class interests of the German proletariat. For these actions Liebknecht was arrested and thrown into jail.

Luxemburg had also been incarcerated by the Kaiser's government; the other Spartacists were issuing illegal literature and conducting other forms of propaganda under the able leadership of Leo Jogiches. Rosa, while in prison, wrote her now famous brochure on "The Crises in the German Social Democracy"

explaining in a scientific manner the reasons for the degeneration of the official social democratic movement, for its war position and the road the Marxists should take.

When the Russian workers overthrew capitalism and established a proletarian dictatorship, Liebknecht and Luxemburg unhesitatingly supported the Bolshevik Revolution. Rosa, while criticizing some of the policies of the Bolsheviks, stressed (in contrast to Kautsky) that they were in the main conditioned on factors independent of their (the Bolsheviks) will and on that bases were justified.

The German revolution of 1918 released Luxemburg and Liebknecht from prison. The Spartacus Bund, which had been part of the Independent Social Democratic Party (the Centrist party of Kautsky, Hilferding, etc.) withdrew and on December 31, 1919 founded the Communist Party of German (Spartacus Bund). The questions of armed insurrection, barricade fighting, the proletarian dictatorship and socialism, in a word, precisely those matters which put horror and fear in the hearts of the capitalists and their labor lieutenants, were illuminated with a lucidity which only a brilliant Marxist like Rosa Luxemburg could use. Not fearing to struggle against the stream though only a handful, Rosa and her Spartacan comrades, with faith in the working masses, intransigent in their Marxist principles, with a heroic will to struggle for socialism, launched the organization which will lead the German proletariat to power.

The German Communist Party was founded at a time when street fighting took place in Berlin. In a few days, on January 15th, 1919, Luxemburg and Liebknecht were arrested and shamefully murdered by the social democratic henchmen of the German bourgeoisie. A short time later, Leo Jogiches was brutally killed while in prison. The traitorous social democracy established "order" in Germany. But "order," "peace," "stabilization," cannot be permanently established under capitalism. The class struggle leads inevitably to revolution as shown by Germany today.

The Left Opposition considers itself the rightful inheritors of the traditions of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. Rosa more than once was at logger-heads with Lenin and the Bolsheviks. She undoubtedly made mistakes. But in spite of this she remains one of the few Marxist leaders of our times. Her works are almost unknown to the American comrades; most of her critics have never studied them. It is the task of the Left Opposition to publish and make known the writings of Luxemburg so that we will not only be able to judge wherein she erred, but learn a great deal from one of the most brilliant Marxist teachers.

—JOSEPH CARTER.

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OPEN FORUM

Revolutionary Currents in Spain Today

Lecture by
MAX SHACHTMAN

Just Returned From A Four Weeks' Stay In Spain.

at the
Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue

Friday January 15, 1932
at 8 P. M.

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

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Capitalist Politicians Favor Russian Credits; Stalinists Mark Time

The flat proposal for trade with the Soviet Union made by Mr. Rainey, Democratic leader of the House of Representatives, in a speech delivered over the radio for the National Broadcasting Company last Monday, brings one more prominent capitalist politician into the column of those who have already advanced the idea before. In this programmatic speech, widely reproduced in the press, which is intended as a semi-official indictment of the Hoover régime and as the plan of action of the Democratic House majority for "solving the crisis", Rainey advocates large-scale trade with the Soviet Union which, he adds, constitutes one of the world's largest untapped markets at the present time, and particularly necessary for the United States with the present state of its industry.

Further indications of the trend of capitalist opinion are contained in a speech delivered in the house by another Democratic politician, William Sirovich, who recently returned from a visit to the Soviet Union, but also the diplomatic recognition of the country by the United States as a solid preliminary to such trade.

It is clear that the thoroughly bewildered American bourgeoisie, rendered desperate by the deepening of the crisis and the growing discontentment of the working class, and somewhat flabbergasted by the fact that all the nostrums hitherto invoked by the bourgeois statesmen and economists for the solution of the difficulties have failed, is even beginning to orient itself—at least in certain quarters—towards the Bolshevik devil in the hope of finding some way out.

That trade with the Soviet Union, no matter on how large a scale, will not solve the convulsive contradictions inherent in the capitalist system, is of course incontestable. For the bourgeoisie,

Japanese-American Conflict

The Recent Manchurian Incident as a Factor in World Politics

Outstanding in last week's news is the diplomatic incident around the American consul, Culver B. Chamberlin, in Manchuria. Many versions of the story have appeared in the press. There are already "official" Japanese versions and "official" American versions. Developments are not moving with the speed characteristic of such incidents. It is true. The cloud-burst following Sarajevo was much more prompt. But that is not at all sufficient reason to interpret the slowness of procedure in the vulgar and watered manner of the Stalinists, who attribute it solely to the imperialists' anxiety not to spoil the solid (?) front against the Soviet Union. For the Stalinists, the internal contradictions of imperialism constitute just one more hollow phrase with which to adorn a "thesis" or a manifesto, nothing more.

Every serious observer, every serious

revolutionist could not help but see the growing dissatisfaction of the Western capitalist brigands with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. In a world economic crisis like the present, gripping industry as tightly as it does, every scrap of market is the subject of the greatest avarice and envy for every one of the robber states. All the more so, when it concerns so promising and so valuable a market as China. It would be rank stupidity to assume for even a minute, that the United States, Great Britain and the others would so readily cede such a treasure to the Nipponese. On the contrary, a revolutionist, a disciple of Lenin cannot doubt at all that conflicts of a high order among the imperialist powers are bound to result. The tempo in which these conflicts are sharpened and the forms that they take on are controlled by other factors in the world situation, with which we shall deal

further on.

At the present time, the United States State Department appears to restrict itself to the invocation of the Nine Power Treaty and the policy of the "Open Door", in its struggle against the Japanese. There has been talk of action along these lines for some time. The Chamberlin affair has merely served as the pretext for giving this line of action the necessary impulse. The State Department is calling upon Great Britain and France to support its side of the conflict. It is doubtful, to say the least, whether France would give its aid. Strained relations between the bourgeoisies of the two countries in the past few months confirm us in our doubt. The British are confronted with rising revolutionary activity among the Indian masses and in jockeying for position might be more amenable to American plans, especially due to the temporary decline of American "sympathies" for Indian independence. For the time being, American-Japanese relations are characterized by less active hostility than would normally be expected. Imperialist alignments in days of economic stress like the present are fickle things. But it is only a matter of time for the lines to be drawn.

The community of interests between the working class of the world and the oppressed colonial peoples of the Orient, is the lesson taught by political necessity. Today, this becomes clearer than ever. The imperialist powers are preparing to strike. While centering our attention on the struggle in Germany, we must not forget the danger threatening from the East. The coordination of the aims of the imperialists will undoubtedly be achieved by devious routes.

Clarity on War Danger!

Yes, the Soviet Union is in danger. The capitalist world is desperate. For the present, this danger is most acute on the Western frontier, to be more precise in the menace of Fascism facing the German working class, which is an invaluable ally of the Soviet Union. It is there that the greatest watchfulness is necessary. It is there, that the whole Communist movement is standing a test that will be decisive for the working class and for the oppressed peoples of the entire world for many years to come. But historical development does not proceed along one straight line. Any "incident" is bound to serve as a spark with which to set off the explosive forces inherent in world politics today. That is why all Communists must pay the closest attention to the turns in imperialist policy, that is why they must not underestimate them, distort their importance. The Chamberlin incident and the further progress of Japanese-American relations requires the utmost attention of the workers, not as an incident in itself, but as a factor in the world situation as a whole.

—S. G.

OPPOSITION LEADER ARRESTED IN ARGENTINA

We are informed by letter of the arrest of comrade Camilo Lopez, the secretary of the Left Opposition in Argentina. The letter from our comrades reads: "Our secretary, Camilo Lopez was arrested and his home raided by the police. They took all his papers and propaganda material. We have been very busy since trying to prevent his being sent to Ushuaia, the Siberia of the Argentine. Comrade Lopez has been given twenty days to get ready to go to Ushuaia or to be deported to Spain..."

MOONEY CONFERENCE IN BELLEVILLE

On Sunday, January 10, the first session of a united front conference to demand Mooney's release will take place in Belleville, Illinois. This conference has been organized along the lines of Mooney's August 20 appeal by the local comrades in Belleville, cooperating with the St. Louis branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). Reports of its sessions and activities will appear in forthcoming issues of the Militant. All active workers are urged to give all support to the Belleville conference.

JAPANESE COMMUNIST WINS VOLUNTARILY DEPARTURE TO RUSSIA

Sadaichi Kenmotsu, young Japanese graduate, who has been held in San Francisco two years facing deportation as a Communist, has finally been granted voluntary departure to Russia by the Department of Labor. This ends a persistent contest to prevent Kenmotsu being sent to Japan, where he would have been subject to drastic punishment as a Communist. Proceedings against him were based on his attendance at a meeting at which alleged "subversive" literature was distributed.

The Impending Danger of Fascism in Germany

A Letter to a German Communist Worker on the United Front Against Hitler : - : By Leon Trotsky

road is unthinkable for them. It is stupid to believe that the Nazis would grow uninterrupted, as they do now, for an unlimited period of time. Sooner or later they will drain their social reservoir. Fascism has introduced into its own ranks such dreadful contradictions, that the moment must come in which the flow will cease to replace the ebb. The moment can arrive long before the Fascists will have united about them even half of the votes. They will not be able to halt, for they will have nothing more to expect here. They will be forced to resort to an overthrow.

But even apart from all this, the Fascists are cut off from the democratic road. The immense growth of the political antagonisms in the country, the stark brigands' agitation of the Fascists will inevitably lead to a situation in which the closer the Fascists come to get a majority, the more heated the atmosphere will become and the more extensive, the unfolding of the conflicts and struggles will be. From this perspective, civil war is absolutely inevitable. Consequently the question of the seizure of power by the Fascists will not be decided by vote, but by civil war, which the Fascists are preparing and provoking.

Can we assume even one minute that Hitler and his advisers do not realize and foresee this? That would mean to consider them blockheads. There is no greater crime in politics than that of hoping for stupidities on the part of a strong enemy. If Hitler cannot help being aware that the road to power leads through gruesome civil war, then that means that his speeches regarding the peaceful democratic road are only a

cloak, that is, a stratagem. In that case it is all the more necessary to keep one's eyes open.

What is Concealed Behind Hitler's Stratagem?

His calculations are altogether simple and obvious: He wants to kill his antagonists with the long-run perspective of the parliamentary growth of the Nazis in order to catch them napping and to deal them a death-blow at the right moment. It is entirely possible that Hitler's courtesies to democratic parliamentarism may, moreover, help to set up some sort of coalition in the immediate future in which the Fascists will obtain the most important posts and employ them in turn for their coup d'état. For it is entirely clear that the coalition, let us assume, between the Center and the Fascists will not be a stage in the "democratic" solution of the question, but a step closer to the coup d'état under conditions most favorable to the Fascists.

We must Plan According to the Shorter Perspective

All this means that even regardless of the desires of the Fascist general staff, the solution can arrive in the course of the next few months, if not weeks. This circumstance is of tremendous importance in elaborating a correct policy. If we allow the Fascists to seize power in two or three months, then the struggle against them next year will be much harder than in this. All revolutionary plans laid out in advance for two, three or five years will prove to be only wrecked and disgraceful twaddle, if the working class will allow the Fascists to achieve power in the course of the next two, three or five months. The calculation of time in the polity of rev-

olutionary crises, is just as in war operations, of decisive importance.

Let us take another, more remote example for the clarification of our idea. Hugo Urbahns, who considers himself a "Left Communist", declares the German Party bankrupt, politically done for, and proposes to create a new party. If Urbahns were right, that would mean that the victory of the Fascists is certain. For, in order to create a new party, years are needed (and at that it is not at all proved that the Party of Urbahns would in any sense be better than Thaelmann's Party: When Urbahns was at the head of the Party there were in no ways fewer mistakes).

Yes, should the Fascists really conquer power, that would mean not only the physical destruction of the Communist Party, but veritable political bankruptcy for it. An ignominious defeat in a struggle against bands of human rubbish—the many millions of the German proletariat would never forgive the Communist International and its German section. The seizure of power by the Fascists would therefore most probably nullify the necessity of creating a new revolutionary party and in all probability also of a new international. That would be a frightful historical catastrophe. But to assume today that all this is unavoidable, only genuine liquidationists are capable of. That is, those who under the mantle of their hollow phraseology are in actuality capable only of capitulating in a cowardly manner in the face of struggle and without a struggle. With this conception we Bolshevik-Leninists, who are called Trotskyites by the Stalinists have nothing in common.

We are unflinchingly convinced that the victory over the Fascists is possible not after their coming into power, not after five, ten or twenty years of their

(Continued on page 4)

Stalin Makes Party History to Order

In recent weeks the world has been enriched by two "theoretical works" of Stalin. There are two articles of the "Master" published in the Russian party press, dealing with questions of party history. One of them, which has appeared in the foreign official Communist press, deals with Lenin's attitude towards the pre-war Social Democratic Party of Germany and is a polemic against the article of Slutsky, a young Marxist historian. We have no room here to go into the material content of this polemic at the present moment, if only for the simple reason that we do not know the work of Slutsky. Here we call attention to two things. With unexcelled grossness and brutality, Stalin launches into poor Slutsky who dared, on the basis of documents, to consider possible an overestimation on Lenin's part of the S. P. G. (Kautskyans). This thought of Slutsky's is called by Stalin, who demagogically reduces the polemic to this question: Was Lenin a Bolshevik? Yes or no? Is there to be any doubt about Lenin's Bolshevism? The Bolshevism of Lenin is an "axiom" for Stalin, a dogma, just as the sanctity of some Mary is a dogma for the church. There is nothing to doubt about this, nothing is to be looked into concerning it, nothing is to be discussed; it must simply be believed.

It is clear that such a way of putting a question, for people whose every second word is "dialectics", is stupid and vulgar. Lenin was not a Bolshevik from his first days, while he still lay in his cradle. He developed himself in the course of all his revolutionary activity to the position of a Bolshevik. He was not "infallible", like Stalin and other priests and holy men, but made mistakes, acknowledged his mistakes openly in order to rectify them. It is curious that Stalin, wherever he speaks of the "infallibility" of the absolute "dogmatic" Bolshevism of Lenin, adds in parentheses "(the Bolsheviks)". This creates the appearance as though all the Bolsheviks were always at one with Lenin in all questions—we shall show below that this is wrong—and as though every Bolshevik, just because he was a Bolshevik, because it lies in the very essence of Bolshevism, was a Lenin. And just as little as one may entertain doubts about Lenin's Bolshevism or discuss the question, so is one prohibited to doubt the Bolshevism of the "only" Bolsheviks, the Stalinists, or even discuss it, least of all concerning the Bolshevism of Stalin—the Lenin on a higher level—who conceals his holiness behind a canonized, "embalmed" Lenin. Out with it! This doubting! These hypocritical, mendacious, priestly, jesuitical morals, which hit Marxism-Leninism in the face with a blackjack, are a phenomenon worthy of the degenerated Comintern, which every Communist will spurn.

"Scoundrelly" "trivial", "degenerated" in the words of Stalin, are both the article and its author, Slutsky, because the article is supposed to be "semi-Trotskyist" and its author a disciple of Trotsky. And with this we come to the reason why Stalin's article was written. Surely not out of scientific eagerness to secure historical truth. "I believe that rotten liberalism, which at the present moment enjoys a certain vogue among a section of the Bolsheviks (the editorial board which also gets its share, together with Slutsky), has pushed them along this path. Some Bolsheviks are of the opinion that Trotskyism is a faction of Communism, a mistaken one, it is true, committing no few blunders, even anti-Sovietist for that matter, but nevertheless a faction of Communism. Hence a certain liberalism towards the Trotskyists and those thinking like them." There's the nigger in the woodpile. "Trotskyism" is gaining an influence in Russia among the party members. Stalin is becoming

Killing a 'Dead Trotskyism' For the 1,000th Time

frightened. He fears the "Trotskyist" truth. He is therefore giving the signal to the G. P. U. by articles and commands for a new reinforced annihilation campaign against the Left Opposition.

The second Stalin article is concerned with party history of the February revolution and the arrival of Lenin in Petrograd, and with Yaroslavsky. This period is exceptionally painful for Stalin himself and it is highly important that all the party comrades learn the "historical truth" about this affair.

Who would have believed it? And yet it is a fact! The Soviet journals accuse Yaroslavsky openly of having favored the smuggling of Trotsky's conceptions on the history of the Bolshevik party at the beginning of the February revolution into the books on party history of which he is in charge.

As everybody knows now (after the revelations of comrade Trotsky) the Bolshevik party at the beginning of the February revolution (before the arrival of Lenin) conducted, under the leadership of Stalin and Kamenev, a policy of confidence in the provisional government and supported a bloc with Tsereteli in the Soviets. Arriving in Petrograd, Lenin wrote his "April theses" which gave the party a completely different orientation, an orientation towards the winning of the revolutionary masses with a view towards the assumption of power by armed insurrection. For Lenin it was a question of "forgetting the reminiscences of the past", not to be bound by the old formula, outstripped by events, of the "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants", but to steer a course resolutely towards the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is what Trotsky called the re-armament of the party. This historical fact is undeniable

and all the eye-witnesses of the February revolution, who left memoirs of the early moments of the revolution, establish the vulgar opportunism and social patriotism of the party under the leadership of Stalin-Kamenev. Of all these memoirs, those of Schlapnikov, who was in the leading center of the party from the very first days of the revolution in Petrograd, are the most convincing and authoritative. The memoirs of Schlapnikov constitute an invaluable document for any conscientious historian who wants to present a true picture of the role of the party in this period of February 27 up to April 3, 1917 (old style), that is, up to the arrival of Lenin in Petrograd.

That is just what the young Marxian historians, Slutsky and Volossevitch, did in their historical works. They based themselves upon the evidence of Schlapnikov and spoke of a "re-armament of the party" in April 1917. Another Marxian historian spoke of it right in the party history which appears under the exalted supervision of Yaroslavsky. This is where Yaroslavsky's sins begin. How did he let it pass? Has he not succumbed himself to Trotskyism? The whole Soviet press, from the *Izvestia* to the *Krasnaya Gazeta* is aroused by this scandal. Yaroslavsky is openly attacked and the demand is made that in the "next edition of the party history, sections calumniating the party be expanded" Stalin himself published his article in the *Bolshevik* in which he "reconstructs" the historical truth after his own manner.

The all-powerful apparatus of Stalin fears nothing so much as the historical truth. That is why it will lightly obey any commands of the Master and "expunge" all onerous sections from the history. But like all other historical falsifications, this one too will not succeed in concealing the mistakes and the crimes of the "organizer of defeats".

—E. O.

With the Opposition in Minneapolis

Recently a worker approached the League and applied for membership. He is sullen, shy, keenly observant, but not very talkative. He said he had just completed a 90 day sentence at the workhouse for participation in the February 25 Hunger Demonstration last year. He had been picked up by the police after the event as a "suspect", in reality as a hostage pending the arrest of the T. U. U. L. and party organizers of the affair. The breaking into the Gateway Meat Market on that date, the product of the party's "third period" adventure in Minneapolis, found the party bureaucrats unwilling to go through with the move for which they alone were responsible. When the three rank and file workers were arrested, Karl Reeve, Powers and Grecht, the erstwhile working class heroes on the party payroll, sneaked out of town. The party officially announced they had nothing to do with the affair and refused to participate in the defense of the workers fearing this would implicate it, and be used as prima facie evidence of the party's responsibility. All idea of working class solidarity was thrown to the winds. The workers of Minneapolis got a lot of secret satisfaction out of the daring act of the demonstrators literally refusing to starve and going into the store and "taking it". But chaos was felt at the manner in which the party shamefully deserted the workers arrested, tried and railroaded to the workhouse.

The flight of Reeve and Powers threw the party into a panic. For months no challenge was made to the edict of the Republican Mayor Kuhnze against all Communist assembly. The T. U. U. L.

headquarters on Hennepin was left open by the police perhaps for the purpose of trapping Powers. The Communist League headquarters, however, were raided twice and meetings broken up. Our headquarters were finally closed. To all appearances, the police department considered the Trotskyists as the more dangerous menace in the given situation.

In the workhouse, the I. L. D. machinery was again gunned up. Or was it deliberate sabotage and cowardice again? The I. L. D. lost a unique opportunity to exploit this local issue along with its national campaign. After all, nothing rallies local workers so much as a case they personally know about. Never for years has there been as good a case. Innocent, framed workers. The I. L. D. officially did nothing for the victims. A few friends brought fruit and cigarettes and very little of that. The boys felt the bureaucrats had betrayed them, and that their own comrades had deserted them. It rankled. They resolved never to be made scapegoats again.

After serving their sentence, one comrade dropped out altogether, one came back into the I. L. D. much "wiser" for the experience, and the third, after several months of thought and study of the situation, joined the Communist Opposition. In his own words he says, "I'm going to do what I can to help put the Communist party back on the right track."

SWABECK IN MINNEAPOLIS

After the successful banquet held last Saturday with comrade Swaback for the

joint benefit of the Militant and the new Jewish organ of the Left Opposition, two public lectures were held: one on the Plight of the MacDonald government in England with lessons for the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, which was held right in the 11th Ward P. L. P. headquarters, and the other on the role of the Left Opposition in the Present Crisis, held at the Labor Lyceum. Though the audience in both cases was not extraordinarily large, it was very attentive and interested in the message of the Opposition spokesman. The meetings were marked by serious questions and discussion from the floor, as well as by certain provocative heckling and speeches by the Stalinists, all of which gave comrade Swaback an opportunity to deal concretely with the questions raised. One party member reiterated the argument that the Trotskyists were "individualists" who would not abide by Communist discipline; and that furthermore, in the face of the mass work the party was doing, the Opposition did nothing but criticize the party. It was obvious to all after Swaback's answer that the very participation of party members in our meetings were a recognition of the revolutionary work the Opposition is carrying on, and that our constructive criticism and conduct in the W. I. R. and the Mooney conference, etc., was rallying increasing numbers of workers to our standard.

In addition, comrade Swaback addressed the Labor Lyceum Open Forum on the Manchurian Crisis and the Workers Open Forum on the Future of American Trade Unionism, the latter conducted every Sunday Afternoon, 3 P. M. at 1530 East Franklin Ave.

Nearly seventy dollars was raised from these meetings and a number of subscriptions to Opposition papers, especially to *Unser Kampf*, the new Jewish organ. We hope soon again to get a speaker from the National Center. C.

MINNEAPOLIS WORKERS FORUM

1530 East Franklin

Sunday, January 10th, at 3 P. M.

The next meeting of the Minneapolis Workers Open Forum will feature Carl Cowl who speaks on "Tom Mooney and the American Frame-up System". Last week's debate on the proposition "That Communism will emancipate the Working Class" between comrade Duane and Jean Spielman of the A. F. of L. aroused a great deal of interest among the workers. Even the capitalist newspapers carried notices of this event. 200 attended! The usual question and discussion period will feature the Mooney Forum meeting.

CORRECTION

In the article on the Workmen's Circle by J. B. (Militant 2-1-32) there is stated that the Patterson members of the W. C. issued a call which "was first published in the Jewish Day and, after a delay of three weeks, in the Freiheit." This is a technical error due to the wrong placement of the sentence. The call refers to that issued by Workmen's Circle, Branch No. 417, N. Y. It was this call which was published in the press, first in the Day, and then, after a delay of three weeks, in the Freiheit.

PHILADELPHIA

MASS MEETING

PHILADELPHIA—On SUNDAY JANUARY 10, 1932, at 8 P. M., a lecture on "The Economic Crisis and the Communists" will be given by Arne Swaback. The lecture will be held at OSTROFFER HALL, 943 No. FRANKLIN ST. The admission is free and everyone is invited. There will be a period for questions and discussion by the audience. The meeting is being held under the auspices of The Philadelphia Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition).

Swaback's Tour Results

KANSAS CITY—A successful mass meeting, with an attendance of 50 workers, was held in Kansas City on December 18, when comrade Arne Swaback spoke on the "Economic Crisis and the Communists". The talk was very well received and aroused a greater interest in the program and work of the Communist League (Opposition). The Stalinists, who are as a rule at the development of, as they call it, "A Trotskyist Center" in Kansas City, set to work to hinder the meeting. At first they boasted they would send their "big guns" to heckle the speaker but none of them showed up. But several party rank and file members did attend, despite the intimidation and order by the Stalinist bureaucrats not to attend the meeting. The meeting gave an impetus to the Opposition Open Forum which is soon to begin.

On the following Sunday night a banquet was held. A good time was had by all and a collection was taken up to aid in the work.

The study class in the Fundamentals of Communism is now well under way. The class, conducted by comrade Geo. Clarke, has ten members with good prospects for growth. Those wishing to join should get in touch with George Clarke, care of Buchler's Bookstore, 220 West 12th Street, Kansas City, Mo.

—GEORGE CLARKE.

CHICAGO, ILL.—

It was a hall packed to the doors that greeted comrade Arne Swaback yesterday as he delivered his remarkable lecture on "Trotsky's Views of the World Crisis". Despite the departure from the rule that admission was charged for this meeting, Redfield Hall, 30 N. Wells St., was packed with about a hundred workers present promptly on the hour announced for the meeting.

Comrade Swaback very ably presented the viewpoint of the Left Opposition, winning the applause of all present. He dealt with the perspectives for the crisis, the role of the Communist advance guard of the working class, and the debate of Stalinist policy. He spoke of the vindication of the policy of the Left Communists as expressed in the results of the class struggle and the world situation. He exposed the farcical denunciation of the "Long terms credits to the Soviet Union" slogan of the Left Communists by Stalinists and prophesied that before long these bureaucrats would have to eat their words and conform to the demands of life.

During the discussion period one lone Stalinist took the floor in a weak attempt to answer Swaback's arguments. As soon as he was through he left the hall and did not hear the scorching answer of comrade Swaback.

A good collection was taken, a good literature sale was reported by the literature agent and many new contacts were made with workers eager to get more information on Communism and the policies of our faction. It was the opinion of all comrades that this successful meeting will inject new pep into the work here in Chicago.

—J. S. G.

ism which have in this period been corrupted and dragged through the mire of Stalinist revisionism.

Comrade Swaback was the last speaker. He spoke on the problems of our movement stressing on the necessity for more activity and devotion on the part of all comrades. The comrades of the Left Opposition must realize that today they stand at the head of the whole Communist movement in Marxist clarity and training for the class struggle.

The very successful program proceeded into the early hours of the morning in unabated hilarity. Jack McBeth of the Liberal Science Institute, present for the occasion, displayed unusual genius in fun making.

Much credit for the gastronomic success of the affair goes to comrades Jim Economou and H. Judd who were in full charge of the kitchen. A collection of \$27.00 was taken and presented to comrade Swaback to help strengthen our Militant.

—J. S. G.

OUR MIND IS UNCHANGED

As we announced several months ago, in an exclusive interview with our printer's devil, Kent, the name *Revolutionary Age* was proving to be too radical for the Lovestone faction. Despite the denial at that time, we stuck to our guns and we're glad of it. For we now have the official announcement that the *Revolutionary Age* is now to pass into an unlamented limbo so that its place may be taken by the more modest *Workers' Age*. Harmonious as this change is with the course of the Right wingers, we still stick to our old proposal. Our readers will doubtless recall it. We want it changed to the *Victorian Age*. Thus far, nobody has been able to advance a single reasoned argument against our proposal and we take that to mean that it is unassailable. In spite of that, we're satisfied with one step at a time. Slowly but inevitably, the name we proposed will yet wave coyly at the masthead of the Lovestone sheet. What does perturb us a trifle is that the name we proposed for the organization has not yet made any headway. We want the "Majority" group to be called C. P. L. A. (Minority Group), if for no other reason that political accuracy and clarity. As our readers may be sure, our proposals are never motivated by mercenary considerations—we want no money prizes—but solely in the sacrosanct interests of truth and justice. . . .

DEATH PENALTY FOR ANTI-IMPERIALIST AGITATION

HANKOW, (Fengprecor) Death to anti-imperialist agitators! This is the decree of the Wuhan military authorities posted throughout this city today. The Garrison Headquarters has issued a warning that "would-be law breakers" will pay with their heads for attempting to create disorders "that would develop into a diplomatic issue". The order is aimed against the outbreak of incidents involving foreign, particularly Japanese, nationals.

Decapitation will be meted out to agitators in Hankow, Wuchang, and Hanyang factories.

Public meetings and organization of societies are forbidden.

"Peace and order" are thus being maintained in the Wuhan area by Governor Ho Chen-chun, notorious White Terrorist.

These orders, duplicated throughout the area under Kuo Min Tung or other military control, reveal the precise extent to which the present "rulers" of China have sold themselves to foreign imperialism.

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The Red Movement in Bulgaria

On June 21 last, the C. P. of Bulgaria obtained a big parliamentary victory. This victory is distinguished in part by the complete defeat of "Democratic Unity" (Zgovor), and in part, by the great number of votes that the illegal C. P. B. received.

The C. P. received 166,000 votes, while the socialist party received only 25,000 votes. The C. P. gained 32 seats, the S. P. got only 5 seats.

We can all still recall that in consequence of the election, the Tsankov-Liapchev government resigned and made place for the bourgeois opposition parties, the so-called "people's" bloc led by Malinov.

It could be foreseen that the proletariat had little to expect from the "democratic" people's bloc, by the fact that the latter did not promise even in the period of the election campaign, that it would abolish the notorious law "for the protection of the state" in case it came into power, nor grant a general amnesty or bring any sort of relief to the striving native proletariat in the field of social legislation.

In recalling the number of votes the C. P. obtained in the elections of April 22, 1924 (206,540) and those of the S. P. (22,404), we must admit that the loss of votes by the C. P. is relatively greater than that by the S. P.

The aim of these lines is to analyze the profound causes of this loss, as well as those for the decrease in the influence of the C. P. in general.

On the basis of a detailed and objective analysis of the situation of the C. P. of Bulgaria, we first want to declare that the loss of influence by the party is to be

ascribed to the thoroughly false line and policies of the C. I. and therefore we permit ourselves to speak primarily of the general framework of the defeat of the Bulgarian proletariat in 1923, and in connection with that, to scrutinize the entire policy of the C. I. from the critical point of view of Marxism-Leninism.

Despite the official optimism, it is nevertheless a regrettable, a disagreeable and disquieting fact that the influence of the C. P. has been declining in practically all the capitalist countries, and that the proletarian masses are not being won over to Communism. In the eyes of the present leadership, this statement is regarded as "Trotskyism", "deviation to the right", posing a lack of confidence in the revolution. The simple mention of this fact suffices to merit the designation of "renegade". Nevertheless, we need above everything, a thorough analysis on our own part, in order to find the causes of this stagnation, or rather, this decline. The causes must be revealed and uprooted; this is the fundamental condition for the success of the proletarian revolutionary movement. The decline in the influence of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries, their inability to secure the support of the proletarian masses, all this is all the more deplorable and disquieting because it occurs not in a period of ebb, but in a period of general radicalization for the working class. In other words: precisely at the moment when the objective conditions for the victory of the revolution are maturing, the subjective factor is lacking and falling behind the possibilities that the situation offers.

Only open and pitiless criticism can

serve as a remedy. The absence of it indicates the sickness. The only means of putting a stop to the disintegration, is the clearing of the road for criticism. In the first half of its history, the C. I. showed almost exclusively its positive side.

Under Lenin, the International gave the growing parties their clear and principled position. It elaborated the general principles of Communism, the fundamental lines of strategy, of Communist tactics and organization. Lenin was able to profit by the experiences in the struggles of the western parties, he was able to interpret them in a broad theoretical sense. He did not think it possible to invent the tactics for the other parties from the center, nor to outline and prescribe them to the smallest details.

The negative side became more and more apparent in the second half of the existence of the C. I., after 1923, after the death of Lenin and after the revolutionary waves in central and western Europe had calmed down. Then we witnessed the era of "Bolshevization". It consisted in the attempt to boast methods, forms and tactics artificially and schematically upon the European movement, completely neglecting the peculiarities in the class relationships of different countries as well as the necessity of adapting the proper general Communist principles to them.

This crisis in the C. I. was accentuated and prolonged by the formation of a bureaucratic regime inside the leadership which eliminates and is still eliminating mechanically every opportunity that arises and fails to profit by the experiences of the non-Russian struggles. Linked directly with this is the habit, now become deep-seated, to make the Russian factional struggles a general criterion for the tactical questions in the other parties, and to transpose them uniformly on the other parties.

The causes for the crisis are naturally not only of a personal character,

although personalities play a role in them, and are not at all to be neglected. The absence of a man of Lenin's scope in the Russian party, counts, no doubt. But there are, of course, deeper roots to the matter.

It is responsible first of all, for the penetration of bureaucracy into the Russian party and its transportation to the other parties.

On the other hand, we must consider the difficulty of the sections of the C. I. in working out special ways and means of the proletarian revolution and its preparation in the different countries, which has been increased by the bureaucratically entrenched preponderance of the Russian party in the leadership of the C. I. that no longer corresponds to the moral preponderance of its leadership in international questions.

The inability to draw the lessons of the experiences characterizes the crisis of the Bulgarian Communist Party as well as that of the entire movement of the C. I. It is not a crisis of the movement itself, but of its leadership. The criticism of the past mistakes will result in the condemnation of the leadership responsible for these mistakes. The lack of a healthy, creative criticism which the present leaders fear, is accompanied by a deplorable moral stagnation, which under the mask of loyalty and under the mantle of mechanical discipline, sows disorder. As a consequence, instead of the mistakes being corrected, they create new mistakes. In order to justify intellectual and political shortcomings, all regard for truth has been sacrificed. Theories are built up not on the basis of vital facts, but for the purpose of covering up mistakes committed through ignorance or through empirical experimenting.

On the basis of these lines, which deal more or less with the International, we intend to speak, in our next article, of the crisis in the Bulgarian C. P.

—XX.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Developments in Spanish Revolution

"The conservative classes of Spain," said Alcalá Zamora recently, "cannot be conservative; they are simply reactionary." This is true. As in all backward countries, the Spanish bourgeoisie is tied up with the most reactionary castes of the country. Its political torpor, its fear, which make it embrace the first cut-throat that comes along, or the arrogant fanatic of Lerroux like a shipwrecked man holding on to a plank, these are an irredeemable evil in our bourgeoisie. Señor Zamora's exhortations to come out of its present state are wasted. The evil has deep roots.

The Spanish bourgeoisie will disappear as a class without changing its characteristics. The structure of our economy, and consequently the role which Spain plays in world economy, fix a limited circle of necessity, within which our bourgeoisie must move. The contradictions of Spanish economy cannot be solved by the bourgeoisie and logically tend to become sharper. It is enough to see that after eight months of the Republic, and in spite of the declarations of the republicans, not only have the bonds which subordinated Spain to world capitalism remained, but they have even drawn tighter. The Republic has not made the least change in the internal structure of the country. Nothing is more natural, then, since the same state of affairs continues, than that its consequence should keep on manifesting themselves. Our bourgeoisie will continue to be, while it exists, among the most reactionary in Europe.

In reality the Republic changed nothing, but retained the same state of affairs. The activity of Maura and of Alcalá Zamora, the same before as after the change of regime, was a continual exhortation to their clans to convince it of the necessity for a change; and in spite of the notable success which they achieved, the bourgeoisie could not be calmed down until it saw itself protected by a regime of force.

Overthrow of Monarchy Inevitable

The monarchy had reached a situation which could no longer be sustained. Since the coming of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera it had been evident that monarchy and dictatorship would fall together. The forces which the monarchy exerted at the last moment to avoid being uprooted with the dictatorship could not be successful. Their responsibilities overtook the dictatorship could not be successful. Their responsibilities overtook them alike. The immense majority of Spain felt that the problem posed was a constitutional one. The bourgeoisie, for its part, had a special interest in not moving the question off this plane. It posed in the first place the question of responsibilities, not with the purposes of demanding retribution, but to prevent the revolution from exceeding strictly political limits.

The monarchy could not at that time resort to a regime of force—the dictatorship had just collapsed for lack of a base—nor did it have within itself a democratic solution. The most conservative solution was therefore to unload all responsibility on a regime for which there was no remedy, and to weaken as much as possible the consequences of its fall. It was the duty of a consciously-guided movement not to let itself be deceived.

Nor was there any call to be deceived as to the meaning of the Republican-Socialist combination. Apart from the fact that in all its activity before the change of regime it has displayed a consistent counter-revolutionary line, the combination as an historical phenomenon was nothing new. In all countries there have occurred political conditions which have tended to blur the class struggle under the excuse that the revolution interests various classes. Certainly—but it interests them in opposite ways. For the bourgeoisie, the important thing in a revolutionary situation, and the thing that determine its maneuvers, is the fear of being tied up by the proletariat; for the proletariat, the interest of the revolution is the occasion which it offers to impose its will on the bourgeoisie, to subjugate it, and suppress its class domination.

At the distance of a few months, it seems incredible that the working class could be hallucinated by the Republican-Socialist combination. All the weakness,

where it was not conscious complicity, of the leaders of the revolutionary working class, stood out sharply on this occasion. In spite of the ambiguity of their phrases, and the abundance of promises did not hesitate to make statements of a most alarming character to the working class. If the delay of the Republican-Socialist combination in coming to a struggle did not suffice, the declarations of some of its eminent members could not leave the least doubt as to the policy which the combination was to pursue. On April 9 Manuel Azana made the following special statement for "Workers' Solidarity": "It has been agreed that the participation of the workers will not turn aside the political revolution, by changing it into a social revolution. Besides, what they call the Communist danger is no reason for resigning ourselves to the present regime and letting it continue."

(Ah these words, if properly understood, have more than one meaning? No: it is clear that the leaders of the C. N. T. took advantage of the meaning which they had for the revolutionary masses influenced by anarchism. The aversion to Communism, which the leaders of the C. N. T. tried so hard to maintain, was in this case a source of deception for the workers themselves. The revolutionary workers who were against Communism repudiated it as a working-class

plorable echo in the working class. The socialist and anarchist leadership of our workers' movement, which had delivered up the whole revolution to the bourgeoisie, made its faults still worse on the change of regime. If the socialists and anarchists, for separate reasons, immediately deprived the proletariat of any class action, they devoted themselves immediately to presenting as a victory what was only the result of their mistakes.

On the proclamation of the Republic, the working class received nothing but poison from all sides. "At one stroke, and with dizzying speed, Spain has placed itself at the head of Europe and perhaps of the world," said Workers' Solidarity on April 16. It took all the vulgarity of anarchism to interpret the situation in such a manner. What a grotesque meaning have certain words of Workers' Solidarity today!

"Our attitude is one of full expectation and hope. Even if the opposite may seem to be the case, the political perspective of the moment represents a good promise for the working class" (April 17). "We are convinced that the blow which has been struck at Spanish reaction will throw into the abyss of death the fascism of Europe and America" (April 18). The leaders of the C. N. T. gave the workers an interpretation which was the

A Series of Articles on Spain

Beginning with the next issue, the Militant will commence the publication of a series of articles on the present situation in revolutionary Spain, by Max Shachtman, editor of the Militant. Comrade Shachtman has just returned from two months in Europe, part of which was occupied with a visit to Spain. In both Madrid and Barcelona, he had the opportunity of speaking with prominent and authoritative spokesmen of the socialist, anarchist, syndicalist, Catalanist and Communist movements, and to view the general situation at close range. The series of articles will deal with the economic conditions of the workers under the republican regime, the possibilities of a socialist government, the struggle in the trade union movement between the conflicting political tendencies, the interesting dispute developing between the anarchists and the syndicalists in the National Confederation of Labor, the situation in the Communist party, the Maurin group, and the Left Opposition, and so forth. Our readers are urged to watch for these articles every week and to call the attention of other workers to them.

tendency. But when the bourgeoisie talks of "Communist danger" it does not refer to a struggle among tendencies, which it generally neither understands nor distinguishes, but to the working class all together, to the danger of a social revolution.

Change in Spain Reactionary

The bourgeoisie, without losing its fears, was abandoning the monarchy in proportion as the combination kept lessening the distance between monarchy and the revolution. Finally the rapprochement of the two camps was so close that in view of the municipal elections of April 12 the bourgeoisie politicians, who were defending their class against the monarchist entrenchments, understood that all resistance was useless and harmful. If the Republic was installed in Spain almost unanimously it was because the bourgeoisie saw the possibility of effecting the change almost without losses. The pacific and original manner in which the change of regime was effected in Spain proves the profoundly reactionary character of the change. In reality it was the monarchy that was saved. Neither the interests which the fallen regime sheltered, nor its most representative men, suffered a major damage. The whole monarchy became republican to save itself. Even the king conducted himself, in a way, as a sympathizer.

Moreover, if the change of regime as it was realized was the natural result of the deeply reactionary downward slope which the revolution had taken, at the very beginning of the change the bourgeoisie found an excellent opportunity to emphasize to the full the reactionary character of the Republic. The fact that the Republic had been installed without violence and as a result of a few elections, provoked throughout the country the greatest democratic confusion ever recorded in history.

A revolution which was pacific because it was no revolution, but the most perfect maneuver that the bourgeoisie could have executed in the face of a revolutionary situation, found the most de-

opposite of the truth of the Spanish revolution. The one thing that was not struck down in Spain was reaction. The monarchist elements scarcely suffered punishment from the Republic. On the other hand, the working class, when it began to show itself as such, was the object of the most brutal repression. On the 1st of May, that is, a fortnight after the proclamation of the Republic, the repression began. In Barcelona and in Bilbao the police force was aimed at the workers.

The promptness with which the Provisional Government called the Constituent Assembly was in response to the need of profiting by the prestige which the Republican-Socialist combination enjoyed. The halo thus created assured it the monopoly of the Assembly. It was in the interests of the bourgeoisie that the Republic was fixed up by means of the combination, which also made the electoral law. Things were so organized that all groups apart from the combination could scarcely influence the progress of the Assembly.

The Deception of the Cortes Left

The distinguishing feature of the combination has been the complete subordination of the Left wing to the Right, which makes the organization even more deceptive. When the elections were held, the working masses and the middle class of our country were being radicalized. Within the combination, this was reflected in the growth of the Left wing, and above all, in the Socialist Party, which is the most numerous group. Still, in the Assembly, the internal mechanism of the combination was put into motion, and then we saw that the one who gave orders was the Right wing.

The Assembly began to play a most indecent farce. The bills presented were almost ultra-Left. In the course of the discussions they were constantly mutilated. If at the last minute there still remained anything that the right wing considered dangerous, Señor Alcalá Zamora would intervene and "create clarity." These results could not be justified by the composition of the Assembly, since the Left elements were in the majority; they were explained by the manner in which the Assembly functioned. The Lefts said, "Since this Government is a mixture of tendencies we must submit, we must work out compromise formulas." In the name of formulas of agreement, we notice that although there is a left majority in the Assembly, these lefts are politically impotent.

The left elements of the combination are only the tools which the right uses for its own advantage. For this the Republican-Socialist combination was created. If it had not fulfilled this function, the Right would have dissolved it. At all difficult moments, the coalition was in danger of being broken up. At the time when the religious question was being discussed, for instance, if the socialists had defended the point of view of the projected Constitution, it would have won in the Assembly, and all the rights, including the radicals, Maura and Zamora, would have undertaken an open fight against the Constitution and the Assembly.

The deceptive role which was represented by the elements of the Left created the necessity of compelling the socialists to form a homogeneous Government. This slogan, given out by us, was poorly understood even by the Communists. The Workers' and Peasants' Bloc called it reactionary. Trying to adopt a revolutionary position, the Bloc gave out a slogan which seems a joke; it announced itself in favor of a Government of Pestana-Vallina-Peiro.

The progress which the bourgeoisie has made are shown by the fact that now it dares to take off its mask. The same bourgeoisie, which took such pains at the beginning to cloak itself in socialism and radicalism, now feels it necessary to get rid of the subaltern personnel. It is natural that the latter should resist the abandonment of its privileged position, and propose coalition Government; so long as the Assembly exists, the reaction will govern through a coalition Government. The short space of time left for the Assembly is the last concession that the bourgeoisie makes to his assistance.

The Liquidation of the Left

The political liquidation of the Left, of which we can speak as if it were an accomplished fact, was accomplished, not by the revolutionary offensive of the working class, but it was the bourgeoisie that got rid of this tool after having used it to the full. The bourgeoisie has made a step forward, and if the situation demands, can come back to using successfully bourgeois radicalism, since no revolutionary force has arisen to take its place, since it has not been liquidated in a revolutionary manner. The revolutionary liquidation of the bourgeois left and of socialism must be carried out now, taking advantage of its political decadence, not letting it—deceive the workers into trying out its denigrating radicalism as an opposition.

Communism, which, we can say, has not figured or known how to figure in the revolution, must make up for lost time by a broad policy of unification of the working class. In the new phase of the class struggle, without fraud or concealment, the unity of the labor movement, the union of all forces, will be the firm base on which the offensive against the reaction must support itself, and the only base one can bring the working class a sound revolutionary leadership. Now that the new Communist bureaucracy has done its best to convert the Soviets into a fetish which the masses feel to be out of reach, the Factory Committees, even if they cannot fill the function which the Soviets did in Russia, must nevertheless be the place for the united front of the workers.

Madrid, December, 1931.
—L. PERSEN.

Under the Banner of Marxism

Opposition in England

Party Members Form Nucleus to Fight for Leninism

On December 19 of last year, a group of members of the Communist Party of Great Britain who have been active in it for years, met in London to constitute formally the English section of the International Left Opposition.

The absence of such a formally organized and active group of Oppositionists in England has always been felt acutely in our ranks, not only because of the general need of extending the influence and strength of the Marxian wing in all countries, but because in England specifically the official Communist party has, in relation to its strength and to the magnificent possibilities for revolutionary growth that the situation has offered, outdone itself to pile defeat upon error and error upon defeat. More than ten years of official British Communism have elapsed today without the party having yet made a deep impression upon the proletariat. The striking decline of British imperialism has barely, if at all, been accelerated by the revolutionary activity that the British party should have displayed. The unexampled movement of the British workers in the coal and general strikes of 1926 simply swept over the English party without depositing anything but the thinnest layer of new strength upon it, a layer which, moreover, it promptly proceeded to lose. From the disgraceful record of the first and even the second Labor government, the party has been able to make only the smallest minimum of capital among the working class. Even now, when a section of the British workers are being driven by the contradictions of capitalism, driven by the hundreds to join the party, indicating by the flow to Communism which takes place in spite of the Stalinist bureaucracy that the revolutionary standard is capable of attracting the most advanced workers—even now, the party acts largely as a sieve into which the hundreds of new Communist workers come only to drop out in almost equal numbers after a brief stay.

The grave crisis of the ruling class and its institutions is convulsing the latter in every one of its parts. And in this process, such institutions as the Labour party and the Independent Labour Party show themselves to be very

quickly affected. In both of them, and particularly in the last-named, there is a growing discontentment with the leaders and their policies. Especially in the I. L. P. are there now tremendous possibilities for winning thousands of good revolutionary militants who are in its ranks. But in face of these possibilities, the Communist party, held in the strait-jacket of Stalinism by its Ruskis and Pollitts, merely skims the very thinnest surface and disdainfully ignores the real opportunities which are offered it.

With the British situation as a whole, and with the position of the British party, we shall soon have occasion to deal in greater detail. But even these brief and sketchy comments, together with what is now general knowledge about the state of affairs, demonstrate plentifully the need and the prospects for growth of a well-knit section of the Left Opposition in England.

Small as our young British section is at its commencement, the Left Opposition has been significantly fortunate in winning to its banner a good group of active militants who do not seek in the ranks of our movement a safe refuge from the class struggle, as have many in the past who sought to cover up their own retirement from the revolution with the prestige and the great tradition of our movement. On the contrary, our English group is composed of party members who are not only well known for their activities in the movement but whose adherence to the Opposition is a continuation on a higher plane and in an organized manner of a struggle against bureaucracy and opportunism which they have conducted, under other forms, in the recent past of the party.

Every one of the comrades who came together to constitute the group—with perhaps one exception—is a member of the party and, without fearing the consequences which the Stalinists nowadays impose upon the struggle for the ideas of Marx and Lenin, they are determined to carry on the fight within the party and, at all events, as a faction of the Communist party. By this alone, the English Opposition describes a clear line of demarcation between itself and those dilettantes and children of fantasy who have, in England, sometimes taken the name of the Opposition, for a thousand and one reasons, but not for a single one which justified the assumption. On the fringes of the movement in England—as everywhere else—are a number of tiny little sects, stowing hopelessly and in quiet isolation in the stale juice of their own superiority; individuals and individuals; in short, opportunists, do-nothings, sectarians of all kinds who have painted themselves up with the colors of the Opposition in the expectation that it would not only obligate them to nothing serious but that it would relieve them of a slashing criticism and separation from the Left Opposition. Of this too we shall have another occasion to speak.

The group has decided to issue a bulletin immediately, in preparation for the printed paper to come. The group, which was constituted with the aid of a representative of the International Secretariat who was present decided to establish relations with the latter body immediately.

EXPIRATION OF SUBSCRIPTION

If the number of your wrapper is 97 or under, your subscription has expired. To ensure that you do not miss a single issue of *The Militant*, send in your renewal immediately to *The Militant*, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

Sunday, January 10, 1932: "Tom Mooney and the American Frame-Up System;" Speaker: Carl Cowi.

Entertainment

In New York for Young Spartacus

An Entertainment and Dance for the benefit of Young Spartacus, official organ of the Youth Section, Communist League of America (Opposition), will be held on Saturday, January 9th, 1932, beginning at 8 P. M., at the headquarters of the League, 84 East 10th Street.

The Youth Committee in charge promises a very lively and entertaining Musical and other features, as well as excellent refreshments have been provided. All workers are cordially invited to attend the Young Spartacus entertainment, Saturday, January 9th. The affair is under the auspices of the New York Section of the Communist League (Opposition).

New Trotsky Pamphlet Coming

WE ARE ABOUT TO GO TO PRESS! with a new pamphlet by comrade Trotsky. It is entitled: **GERMANY—THE KEY TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION—SHALL FASCISM REALLY BE VICTORIOUS?** This latest work of the leader of the Left Opposition fulfills the most burning need of the moment for the revolutionary movement of the entire world. It analyses in clear and distinct strokes, the problems facing Communism and offers the Bolshevik solution to them.

The Communist International, the vanguard of the whole international working class is approaching a decisive historical task in Germany. Every month, every week, every day brings us closer to the critical moment. In 1923, the defeat of the German proletariat inaugurated a sweep of reaction that affected the working class of every capitalist country and served as a brake on the stormy advance of the post-war revolutionary movement. Today, we are confronted with a similarly decisive situation in Germany.

The forces of Hitlerism, the prospective butchers of the German workers, are continually growing. World imperialism, seized in the grip of an unprecedented economic crisis, is casting ravishing and greedy glances at the Soviet Republic in the East. These two processes are not divorced from one another. It lies in their very character for each to aid and abet the another.

In the meantime, the German working class remains divided. The social democrats still have a free hand in their deception of the workers. The Stalinist leaders of the Communist party, only yesterday the bold prophets of the "third period", are overcome with panic by the growth of the Fascists. They are falling into passivity, acquiescing helplessly and resorting to futile ejaculations. The situation is not lost yet, but the German Communist party, and with it the whole Communist International, is in danger of committing a blunder as tremendous in its consequences as the defeat of 1923.

Every Communist, every serious revolutionary worker must consider it his duty to pay the closest attention to what is now going on in Germany. Every conscientious proletarian fighter must keep his eyes peeled, use the utmost objectivity in his judgment.

In his new pamphlet, the leader of the first Red Army, the closest co-worker of Lenin, is appealing to all the worker Communists. What he has to say is of extraordinary historical importance. Every member of the Communist party, every sympathizer of Communism who is sincerely attached to the cause of the

revolution, must consider it his duty to obtain a copy of the latest work of Leon Trotsky and to read it carefully. The fate of the world revolution is at stake. Let no genuine revolutionary stand aside. Every worker and Communist must get a copy 10c per copy; 7 cents in bundles of **GERMANY—THE KEY TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION**. Order through Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

CHICAGO Open Forum

Every Sunday, 3 p.m.

JANUARY 17 By JOHN EDWARDS ON "LENIN & MARXISM" Free Admission at HALL, 1435 NO. WESTERN AVE. Auspices: Chicago Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition).

ST. LOUIS

ST. LOUIS—An Open Forum is being conducted each Friday evening by the St. Louis Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) at the Crunden Branch Library, 14th & Cass Aves. The first of the open forums at which comrade George Roberts spoke, was on "Unemployment and the Unity of the working class". All meetings, unless otherwise indicated, begin at 7:30 P. M. The list of Open Forum meetings is as follows:

Friday, January 15, 1932: Speaker—Martin Payer on "Tom Mooney and the Frame-Up System".

Friday, January 22, 1932: Speaker—George Roberts on "Is Socialism in One Country Possible?"

Friday, January 29, 1932: Speaker—John Scott on "Fascism or Communism in Germany."

The Admission is free. All workers are cordially invited.

Young Spartacus can be purchased at all newsstands, bookstores, meetings, etc. where *The Militant* is now sold. If you are unable to get a copy at these places, write to Young Spartacus, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

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EDITORIAL NOTES

PROLETARIAN PARTY SPLIT

Engels once wrote that every workers' party must necessarily develop in a process of internal struggle, according to the dialectical laws of development in general. This observation is again called to mind by the factional struggle now taking place in the ranks of the Proletarian Party. It is a sign of vitality that is well worth watching. For over a decade this sectarian offshoot of American Communism devoted itself to a tranquil observation and "explanation" of social phenomena. The depression in the American labor movement during the period of prosperity, and the indifference of the workers to revolutionary propaganda which ensued from it, created special conditions for the existence of such a group. And this was further facilitated by the errors and exaggerations of the official Communist Party. The pseudo-Marxist policy of Keracher and Co. was a complement to Pepperistic adventurism. Thus a number of revolutionary workers were maneuvered onto a side-track. Everything was quiet in the Proletarian Party. Its leadership waited it off from the class struggle and from the fierce disputes which raged within the general Communist movement.

By that state of affairs could only be temporary. The accentuation of the class struggle in the country, and the great conflicts over principle which have brought the world movement of Communism to a crisis, have posed questions which can no longer be evaded. Controversy is sweeping through the Keracher party like a tornado, making up in fury for its long postponement. Almost overnight the Keracher group of leaders, who ask only for peace and quiet, have been confronted with a stormy internal struggle. Following the national convention of the organization, where criticism was smothered and all the burning questions of the moment were evasive opportunism, an opposition has come to life and is waging a militant struggle on a national scale. The opposition is publishing its own bulletin and has even gone so far as to project a national conference. A split appears to be the inevitable outcome of the conflict.

In fact, the split has already begun. The leaders of the Proletarian Party, who borrow so much in principle from Stalinist revisionism, have revealed themselves also as apt pupils of the administrative methods. The criticisms of the opposition everywhere are being answered, not with arguments but with expulsion. According to the "Proletarian Opposition Bulletin" six of the leading oppositionists in Chicago have been expelled and 25 members have resigned from the Party. "Members of the N. E. C. are being sent out on a witch-smelling and heresy-hunting campaign, with power to expel, suspend, or otherwise punish members, without the formality of a 'trial'. Three members have been suspended and one expelled in Elkhart, Indiana. The entire branch of 40 at Buffalo has been expelled. At New York and other places secessions have taken place.

The course of the opposition movement within the Proletarian Party remains unclear. It is quite obvious, from a reading of its campaign material, that the opposition has not yet undertaken to answer the main question which arises inevitably from its struggle against the leadership and policy of the party. That question is: Where are we going, and why? "Proletarian Opposition Bulletin" Number 2, which we have at hand, directs a sharp criticism against the bureaucratic regime within the party; it condemns the opportunist election campaign in Detroit, and insists on a struggle for immediate demands on the question of unemployment. On all these points the opposition is undoubtedly in the right as against the leadership. But when all is said and done these questions have a secondary importance. They are by no means an adequate armament for a real political struggle. The opposition must equip itself with an all-around platform. It must take a position on the basic questions of principle, and make its tactical deductions accordingly. Otherwise it will not be able to avoid a rapid disintegration. Such a fate will threaten it immediately.

One thing at least may be said with certainty; the opposition cannot stand alone as an independent movement. Having made a decisive break with the sterile circle of Keracherism—and this is a sign of its vital proletarian impulse—the opposition confronts the necessity of attaching itself to the living movement of Communism. This is the first and most pressing implication of the revolt. With which faction will the new grouping affiliate?—that is the question. Those whose seek to evade that question, who hold up the prospect of a "fourth" faction, can only deceive and mislead the movement. That is only the Keracher policy on a small scale; and the present upheaval is, in the first place, a sign of the utter bankruptcy of this policy. The fact that a part of the insurgent elements in New York and other places have already gone over to the Stalin faction, without waiting for the movement as a whole to clarify its policy, is a warning against temporizing and delay with this fundamental problem.

To save the new movement, or at least a substantial part of it, from this fate is the task of the serious Communist elements within it. Keracherism is only a weak sprout of Stalinism; the ideology at bottom is fundamentally the same. A transfer of affiliation from the Proletarian Party to the Stalin faction signifies nothing more than an organizational secession and a capitulation in principle.

Every tendency to limit the opposition to the secondary tactical points is a preparation for such a debacle. A serious study and consideration of the great principle questions, and the adoption of a precise attitude toward them, are now indispensable for a fruitful outcome of the revolt in the Proletarian Party.

BOMBS FOR NEW YEAR'S

It looks like a big year for the bomb and dynamite racket, if one can judge by the spectacular start that has been made by the people who specialize in it. The new year was ushered in with the loud explosion of a bomb in Pennsylvania, and by still noisier propaganda about other bombs which were found or planted or imagined in various parts of the country. Connected with this was the inevitable hue and cry about a conspiracy of the Communists, the anti-fascists and other radicals. The bombs—it is claimed—were addressed to a number of the leading fascists of the country. Of course, none of the Mussolini agents were injured. They never are. The miraculous escape of the intended "victims" in these affairs is as unending as the change that the radical workers are the guilty parties.

Nine times out of ten—or, better, 99 times out of a hundred—this is the real meaning of the "discovery" of bombs and dynamite: to lay the ground for an attack against the workers and to railroad some individuals as an example. This is American labor history. And the Mussolini regime has introduced this "American plan" all over Europe in the fight against the anti-fascist movement. If we take the New Year's hubbaloob together with the "dynamite plot" in the New York harbor there is every ground for the assumption that a new offensive against the workers, introduced with a series of typical frame-ups—is in preparation.

The Daily Worker speaks of the latest bomb scare as the prelude to an attack on the Communist Party, and limits its concern and protest to that. If the new machinations take on real proportions a blow at the Party will undoubtedly be the objective. But the specific point of attack in the present instance seems to be the anti-fascist movement; and the New York harbor affair is aimed at the Tidewater Boatmen's Union. For our part, these circumstances do not in the least mitigate the danger nor the necessity of fighting the conspiracies. We are on the side of any worker, or any workers' organization, regardless of its political complexion, in such a situation.

Communists make a fatal error when they limit their protests to cases of direct attack against their own party. Such questions must be approached from a principle, that is, from a class point of view. There is practical wisdom, also, in this attitude. The Communists cannot fight successfully alone against an onslaught of the capitalists. They need the support of the working class. The more readiness they show to join in the defense of any workers' organization under attack the stronger become their own claims for similar support, and the more readily will they receive it.

—J. P. C.

"The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word."

Communist Manifesto.

Minneapolis Open Forum

Among the lecture arranged for forthcoming weeks at the Minneapolis Forum are the following:

All meetings, unless otherwise mentioned are at 3 P. M.:

Sunday, January 17, 1932: "Imperialism; What Next? Speaker: Vincent R. Dunne.

Sunday, January 24, 1932: DEBATE: "Socialism versus Communism". Speakers: O. P. Victorian, representing the Socialist Party against Carl Cowl representing Communist League of America (Opposition).

Sunday, January 31, 1932: "The Proposed Railroad Wage Reductions" Speaker: C. R. Hedlund.

All these lectures and debates will be held at the Workers Open Forum, 1530 East Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn. The Admission is free.

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The Workers United Front against Fascism

(Continued from page 1)

rule, but now, under the given conditions, in the coming months and weeks. Thaelmann Considers the Victory of Fascism Inevitable

A correct policy is necessary in order to achieve victory. That is, we need a policy appropriate to the present situation, to the present relationship of forces and not to a situation that may develop in one, two or three years, when the question of power will have been decided for a long time.

The whole misfortune lies in the fact that the policy of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party, in part consciously and in part unconsciously, derives from the recognition of the inevitability of a Fascist victory. In fact, in the appeal for the "Red United Front" published on November 20, 1931, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, starts out with the idea that it is impossible to vanquish Fascism without first defeating the social democracy. This same idea, Thaelmann repeats in all possible shades in his article. Is this idea correct? On the historical scale it is unconditionally correct. But that does not at all mean that with its aid, that is, by simple repetition, one can solve the questions of the day. An idea, correct from the point of view of revolutionary strategy as a whole, turns into a lie and at that into a reactionary lie, if it is not translated into the language of tactics. Is it correct that in order to destroy unemployment and misery it is first necessary to destroy capitalism? It is correct. But only a hopeless fool can draw the conclusions therefrom, that we do not have to fight already today, with all of our forces, against these measures with the aid of which capitalism is increasing the misery of the workers.

Can we expect that the Communist Party will in the course of the next few months defeat both the social democracy and Fascism? No normally thinking person who can read and calculate would risk such a contention. Politically, the question is posed in the following manner: Can we successfully repel Fascism in the course of the next few months, that is, with the existence of a greatly reduced, but still (unfortunately) very strong social democracy? The Central Committee replies in the negative. In other words, Thaelmann considers the victory of Fascism inevitable.

Once Again: The Russian Experiences

In order to express my thought as clearly and as concretely as possible I will come back once more to the experience with the Kornilov uprising. On August 26 (old style) 1917, General Kornilov led his Cossack troops and one irregular division against Petrograd. At the helm of power there stood at that time: Kerensky, lackey of the bourgeoisie and three-quarters an ally of Kornilov. Lenin was still in hiding because of the accusation that he was in the service of the Hohenzollerns, on the same accusation, I was at that time incarcerated in solitary confinement in the Kresty Prison. How did the Bolsheviks proceed in this question? They also had a right to say: "In order to defeat the Kornilovade we must first defeat the Kerenskade." They said this more than once, for it was correct and necessary for the entire further propaganda. But that was entirely insufficient ground not to put up a resistance on August 26, and on the following days against Kornilov and to prevent him from butchering the Petrograd proletariat. The Bolsheviks did not for that reason content themselves with a general appeal to the workers and soldiers to break with the conciliators and support the red united front of the Bolsheviks. No, the Bolsheviks proposed the united front struggle to the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries and created together with them common organizations of struggle. Was this correct or incorrect? Let Thaelmann give me an answer to this question. In order to show much more boldly, how matters stood with the united front, I will cite the following incident: Immediately upon my release from solitary confinement, after the trade unions had put up bail for me, I went directly to the Committee for National Defence, where I discussed and voted decisions regarding the struggle against Kornilov with the Menshevik Dan and the Social-Revolutionary Gotz, the allies of Kerensky who had imprisoned me. Was this correct or was it wrong? Let Remmele answer this question for me.

Is Bruening the "Lesser Evil"? The social democracy supports Bruening, votes for him, assumes the responsibility for him before the masses—on the basis that the Bruening Government is the "lesser evil". The Rote Fahne attempts to ascribe the same view to me—on the basis that I expressed myself against the stupid and shameful participation of the Communists in the Hitler referendum. But have the German Left Opposition and myself in particular demanded that the Communists vote for and support Bruening? We Marxists regard Bruening and Hitler, together with Braun as component parts of one and the same system. The question, which one of them is the "lesser evil", has no sense, for the system against which we are fighting needs all these elements. But these elements are momentarily involved in conflicts with one another and the party of the proletariat must take advantage of these conflicts in the interest of the revolution.

There are seven keys in the musical scale. The question which of these keys is "better". Do, Re or Sol is a senseless question. But the musician must know when to strike and what keys to strike. The abstract question as to who is the lesser evil: Bruening or Hitler—is just as senseless. It is necessary to know which of these keys to strike. Is that clear? For the weak-minded let us cite another example. When one of my enemies sets before me small daily portions of poison and the second, on the other hand, is about to shoot straight at me, then I will first knock the revolver out of the hand of my second enemy, for this gives me an opportunity to get rid of my first enemy. But that does not at all mean that the poison is a "lesser evil" in comparison to the revolver.

Where Lies the Mistake in the Present Policy of the German Communist Party

The misfortune is, that in the Central Committee of the Communist Party there are many frightened opportunists. They have heard that opportunism consists of a love for blocks, and that is why they are against blocks. They do not understand the difference between, let us say, a parliamentary agreement and an ever-so modest agreement for a struggle in a strike or in the defense of workers' printshops against Fascist bands. Election agreements, parliamentary compromises concluded between the revolutionary party and the social democracy serve, as a rule, to the advantage of the social democracy. Practical agreements for mass action, for purposes of struggle are always of use to the revolutionary party. The Anglo-Russian Committee was an impermissible type of block of two leaderships on one common political platform, vague, deceptive, binding no one to any sort of action. The maintenance of this block at the time of the General Strike, when the General Council assumed the role of strike-breaker, signified on the part of the Stalinists, a policy of betrayal.

No common platform with the social democracy, or with the leaders of the German trade unions, no common publication, no common action, no common life and death for the working class. We must force the Social Democracy into a Block Against the Fascists

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Communism or Fascism in Germany?

We cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of the developments that are now unfolding in the class struggle in Germany to paraphrase the warnings contained in the recent studies of comrade Trotsky: Unless the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany make a sharp turn away from their present attitude, the fate not only of the German revolution but of the international working class will be catastrophically determined for a long time to come. It is toward the end of imposing the execution of this turn that every class conscious worker, every Communist militant, and above all the fighter in the Left Opposition, must direct all energies at the present moment. Everywhere, at every meeting, in every revolutionary organization, the workers must be made aware of the terrific situation which is being created. Every opportunity must be taken to arouse the Communist workers in particular to the need of acting as revolutionists, that is, of intervening in the spirit of internationalism, of demanding that the course of the German Communists shall be steered towards victory over Fascism instead of towards an ignominious defeat and annihilation.

The official Stalinist press, with that national self-centeredness which has characterized it in recent years, pays little or no attention to the German events. Brief and boastful dispatches, dealing with trifling episodes, are their sole contribution to the burning problems that cry out for solution. True to all the best traditions and teachings of revolutionary Marxism, we, on the other hand, are putting the question as it must be put if victory and not defeat is to be the outcome of the stirring battles that are imminent in Germany.

This second contribution to the question by comrade Trotsky which is printed here is not our first word and will not be our last. Every opportunist, every revolutionary worker concerned with the triumph of our great cause, will henceforward place all emphasis on the subject which is so richly and so instructively illuminated by our exiled leader. The task of defending and advancing the interests of the militant proletariat has fallen once more to the little group of Marxists organized in our ranks. Great historical battles, like the Russian revolution, and now like the German struggle, are infallible touchstones. Let us prove equal to the test.

be sure, it is painful to have to argue such A. B. C. questions. I t is said, very sad indeed, when musicians like Remmele, instead of distinguishing between the keys, stamp with their boots on the keyboard.

It is not a Question of the Workers Who Have Already Left the Social Democracy But of Those Who Still Remain With It.

The thousands upon thousands of Noskes, Weills, Hilferdings, prefer, in the last analysis, Fascism to Communism. But for that they must once and for all tear themselves loose from the workers. Today this is not yet the case. Today the social democracy as a whole, with all its internal antagonisms, is forced into sharp conflicts with the Fascists. Our task consists of taking advantage of these conflicts and not of uniting the antagonists against us.

The front must be directed against Fascism at the present time. And this common front of direct struggle against Fascism, involving the entire proletariat, must be utilized in the flank attacks against the social democracy, which are for all that no less effective.

It is necessary in fact, to show complete readiness to make a block with the social democrats against the Fascists in all cases in which they will accept a block. To say to the social democratic workers: "Throw your leaders aside and join our 'non-party' united front", means to add just one more hollow phrase to a thousand others. It is necessary to be able to tear the workers away from their leaders in reality. But reality today is—the struggle against Fascism. There are and doubtless will be social democratic workers who are prepared to fight hand in hand with the Communist workers against the Fascists, regardless of the desires or even against the desires of the social democratic organizations. With such progressive elements it is obviously necessary to establish the closest possible contact. At the present time, however, they are not great in number. The German worker has been raised in the spirit of organization and of discipline. This has its strong as well as its weak sides. The overwhelming majority of the social democratic workers will fight against the Fascists, but—for the present at least—only together with their organizations. This stage cannot be skipped. We must aid the social democratic workers by deeds—in his new and extraordinary situation—in testing the value of their organizations and leaders at this time, when it is a matter of

average social democratic worker—can say to himself: What the Communists propose is completely indispensable in the struggle against Fascism. On this basic condition it is possible to pull the social democratic workers along with us by our example and to criticize their leaders who will inevitably serve as a check and a brake. Only in this way is victory possible.

A Good Quotation from Lenin.

The present day epigones, that is, the thoroughly bad disciples of Lenin, like to fill up their gaps on every occasion that offers itself with—often entirely irrelevant—quotations. "For the Marxists, the question is not decided by a quotation but by means of a correct method. If one is guided by correct methods, it is not hard to also find the fitting quotations. After I had drawn the above analogy with the Kornilov insurrection, I said to myself: We can probably find a theoretical explanation for our block with the conciliators in the struggle against Kornilov, in Lenin. And actually, here is what I found in the second part of volume XIV of the Russian edition, in a letter of Lenin to the Central Committee, written at the beginning of September, 1917:

"Even at the present it is not our duty to support the Kerensky Government. That would be unprincipled. Someone asked: then we are not to fight against Kornilov? Naturally, we are. But that is not one and the same thing. There is a limit to this. It is being transgressed by many Bolsheviks who fall into "conciliationism" and allow themselves to be driven by the current of events.

"We shall fight, we do fight against Kornilov but we do not support Kerensky, we are uncovering his weaknesses. The distinction is very delicate, but highly important, and must not be forgotten. "Wherein does the change of our tactics, after the Kornilov insurrection, consist?"

"In this, that the forms of struggle against Kerensky vary. Without diminishing our hostility against him even by one note, without taking back one word from what we have said against him, without rejecting the task of overthrowing Kerensky, we say: We must calculate the moment, we will not overthrow Kerensky at present. We approach the question of the struggle against him differently and namely: by explaining the weaknesses and vacillations of Kerensky before the people. (who are fighting against Kornilov)".

We are proposing nothing different from this: complete independence of the Communist organizations and press, complete freedom of Communist criticism, the same for the social democracy and the trade unions. To allow the freedom of the Communist Party to be limited (for example, in the manner of the entrance into the Kuo Min Tang) only despicable opportunists are capable of. Our place is not among them.

There is nothing to take back from our criticism of the social democracy. Nothing to forget of all that has been. The entire historical account, including the account for Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg will be presented in time, as we Russian Bolsheviks also presented it finally to the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries as a general accounting for the baiting, slander, imprisonment and murder carried on against workers, soldiers and peasants.

But we presented our general account to them months after we had utilized the partial accounting between Kerensky and Kornilov, between the "democrats" and the Fascists—and at that in order to repel the Fascists with all the more certainty. Only thanks to this circumstance, were we able to be victorious.

When the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany adopts the position expressed in the lines of Lenin quoted above, the entire approach to the social democratic masses and the trade union organizations will change with one blow: Instead of the articles and speeches which are convincing only to those people who are already convinced without them, the agitators will find a common language with new hundreds of thousands and millions of workers. The differentiation within the social democracy will proceed in rapid tempo. The Fascists will soon begin to feel that their tasks consist not only of defeating Bruening, Braun and Weill, but in taking up the open struggle against the entire working class. On this plane, a deep differentiation will inevitably begin within Fascism. Only by this road is victory possible.

But it is necessary to desire this victory. In the meantime, there are among the Communist functionaries many cowardly careerists and bureaucrats who hold on to their little posts, to their income and more than that,—in their skins, very dearly. These creatures are inclined to sprout ultra-radical phrases underneath which is concealed a wretched and despicable fatalism. "Without a victory over the social democracy it is impossible to strike against Fascism", say such terrible revolutionaries, and for this reason . . . they are getting ready their passports.

Worker-Communists, you are hundreds of thousands, millions, you cannot leave for anywhere; there are not enough passports for you. Should Fascism achieve power it will ride over your skulls and spines like a frightful tank. Your salvation lies in merciless struggle. And only unity in struggle with the social democratic workers can bring victory. Make haste, worker-Communists, you have very little time left.

—L. TROTSKY.

Kadikoy, December 8, 1931.

WORKERS
OF THE
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THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Bankers and Jobless Relief

The Tammany Government Machine Is Whipped into Line

For many years, the large banking interests, reported to be led by J. P. Morgan, have been attempting to force through a higher fare on the New York City subway systems (I. R. T. and B. M. T.). All the methods so typical of modern business practice have been used in their endeavor. For many years the people of this city have been bombarded with statistics as to how they would benefit by a higher fare, with a complete tabulation of the fares paid in other cities, of the relationship between the standard of living and the price paid for a subway ride, etc., etc. Now a final effort is being made this time, after all the years of preparation, the workers of the city can already begin to discern the smaller slot of the turnstile made to accommodate a thin ten cent piece.

All the subways in the city were built by the city government. After completing them, they were turned over to the private companies for operation. The important provisions of the contracts were: (1) the right of the city to recapture after due notice, and with due compensation; (2) the five cent fare; (3) the payment to the city of certain sums for its original cost—the payments to begin only after a minimum profit had been set aside for the company.

Increased Fare Fight

It was not many years after the original contracts had been drawn up, before the companies began to fight for an increase in the fare. It must be understood that the clause pertaining to part of the profit to the city was easily done away with. The individual capitalist never cares to share his profits with anybody else, even in his own class. Subsidy companies were organized, enormous rentals paid for property leased—all for the purpose of keeping the rate of profit well below that minimum above which part of the profit would have to be shared with the city government. This they have succeeded in doing to a great extent.

As regards raising the subway fare the task was a more difficult one. No political grouping dared take up the bankers' proposal. The issue might have been great enough to swamp any political machine out of office. The bankers bided their time; now they are ready to strike.

The bankers against the Tammany machine! How paradoxical this sounds. Yet there is an element of truth in it. The Tammany politician looks upon the taxes paid into the city treasury as rightfully belonging to him. During times of prosperity the actual business men, real estate owners and bankers of the city raise no violent protest against "normal graft". After all, the Tammany machine is behaving rather well in keeping down the workers and protecting private property. However, during times such as the present, we begin to see strong protests being raised against the grafting politician, who continues to handle the "public funds" as he was taught to by his predecessors.

Cutting Down Relief

It is the bankers and large industrialists, however, who have the final say in this squabble for the diminished booty. Curtail expenses; decrease the budget. This is their war cry. Bond flotations, their weapon. The city administrations are quickly brought into line. The first thing to be chopped off is anything but the most meager sort of unemployment relief. Detroit, where some in the local government "held out" for a little better relief, was soon brought into line. The New York banks have now refused to float the necessary bond issues to tide the city over its temporary deficit.

New York City is at present feeling the lash of the whip held by the Morgans and Otto Kahn's. The whole thing started with a law that forbids the comptroller (treasurer) of the city to sell any short term bonds below par, or at a rate of interest higher than six percent. Ordinarily, should New York City bonds fall a little below par, the comptroller can raise the interest rate on the issue to be floated, thus enabling him to sell them at or above par. The city government is constantly borrowing on short term loans to tide it over until the taxes fall due. Last September the city borrowed at an interest rate of less than two percent. In the middle of December the rate to the city, for a flotation during that month, was five and one half percent, bringing it dangerously near to the 6% limit. During the past few weeks however, the New York City bonds have been depressed heavily. They are now selling below par. One need not look far for the guilty one. Short term government bonds usually remain in the direct control of the bankers. The city now needs \$90,000,000 to cover its current expenses. The bankers have agreed to advance the money (float the bond issue) only if—the city agrees to curtail expenses.

The first thing hit at was the "home relief agencies". Part of the \$90,000,000 was to go for the unemployed, "re-

lief". Already, the stations have shut down, leaving the almost 1,000,000 unemployed here, with no aid whatsoever.

The Bankers' Idea

The bankers have a second idea in mind; they were quite frank about it—put all city enterprises on a paying basis, raise the fare on the subways. Now their time has arrived. Those who pay the fiddler call the tune. The tune is to have as its only note the clink of a ten cent piece.

The approach that will be made we might even try to predict. The politicians who have the "interests of the people" at heart—were forced to accept the increased fare by the bad bankers, who threatened to cut off the unemployment relief. Furthermore, they will say, the city as a whole will benefit, for they say nothing at the present about recapturing the lines. The probability is for a rise in the fare, followed not by a taking over by the city of the existing lines, but rather by the handing over to the old companies of the new subway built.

This is the picture of capitalist government; a sewer of vice, graft, intrigue and counter-intrigue. Only a working class revolution can sweep away the whole rotten mess.

—H. P.

OPEN FORUM

Lecture by

ARNE SWABECK

The Revolutionary Movement in America To-Day

Impressions of a Tour

at the Labor Temple

14th Street and Second Avenue

Friday January 22, 1932

at 8 P. M.

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

ADMISSION: 25 Cents

Unemployed Workers Admitted Free

Auspices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

Is Stalin Preparing New 1923 in Germany?

What is happening in Germany? What is the position of the Fascists? Where does the German Communist Party stand and what does it propose to do?

These questions, of such vital importance to the militant working class, and an answer to which it cannot even expect to find in the capitalist press, it now also fails to find where they should

be: in the columns of the official Communist press.

The Advance of the Fascists

The Fascists continue to make rapid progress which is compelling recognition from all the sections of the bourgeoisie. The Hitlerites gain in arrogance with every new accession of strength. Bruening is finally compelled to bring into his councils the Austrian adventurer and beg him to return from the Reichstag which the blackshirts left, so that a presidential election may be avoided by an arbitrary decree to hold over Hindenburg at least until the "present disturbed situation is calmed". And Hitler, grown more cocksure with his recent successes, refuses the outstretched palm, and together with Hugenburg makes clear the determination of the Fascists to press forward until the issue is joined decisively.

Hitler does not merely have his heart set upon the conquest of power—the aim of every class party—but feels that the moment is swiftly approaching when the die will be cast. Bolshevism or Fascism—there are no other ways out for Germany right now. Towards socialist emancipation or black, long-enduring reaction—no other road is open out of Germany's present impasse. And while Hitler presses forward, the leaders of the German Communist Party are buying into the future by providing themselves with passports and visas for a quick departure when the storm breaks loose!

Bruening is giving ground to the Fascists. The social democrats, by their despicable cowardice, by their disarming of the workers, are leaving the doors wide open to the Hitlerites. The latter have thus far received no decisive check; on the contrary, their ranks are approaching a point in strength where no further gain can be expected by "legal" methods, where the unceasing conflict of interests must come to a violent solution.

And what does the Communist party say? What is it doing? From the *Daily Worker*, one learns absolutely nothing on these points. Every few days an inch or two of type is thrown into its columns to inform the reader that the German party has formed a few more nuclei and gained a few more hundred members. But from its columns not even the most careful reader can glean the fact that the fate of Germany is now hanging in the balance; not only of Germany, but of Europe.

(Continued on page 4)

New York Banquet Feb. 6

To Greet «Unser Kampf» and Three Returned Comrades

Arrangements are now being made for a banquet in New York on Saturday, February 6, which every Left wing militant will want to attend. The banquet, given by the Communist League (Opposition), will be a joint affair with all our Jewish comrades and friends, for the purpose of greeting the first issue of *Unser Kampf* (Our Struggle), official organ of the Left Opposition in the Yiddish language, and of welcoming back three of our leading comrades who have just returned and who will speak at the banquet. They are comrades Albert Grotzer, who has just returned from a trip to Europe during which he stayed for a number of weeks with comrades Trotsky at Kadikoy; Arne Swaback, who

has just returned to New York with an enthusiastic report of the growing strength and influence of the Left Opposition throughout the country wherever he had meetings on his lecture tour; and Max Shachtman, who has come back from a trip to Spain, England and France. All these comrades will give their impressions of what is going on in the various parts they visited and the banquets will find it of tremendous interest.

Definite arrangements for the hall and the program have not yet been completed, but all friends of the Left Opposition in New York are urged to keep Saturday, February 6 open on their calendar. Further details will appear in the *Militant*—watch for them.

Japs Subsidize Russian Whites

Hire Semenov, Notorious Cossack Adventurer in Mongolian Drive

The Chamberlain incident has been officially closed. Though reluctant at first, the Japanese government has finally bowed in apology to the all-powerful American imperialism. To be sure, the conflict of imperialist interests in the Far East is by no means over. There is a good deal of bickering going on around the proposed invocation of the Nine Power Treaty by the United States and the Japanese are just as alert as before on that point.

The Nine Power Treaty is supposed to guarantee the "administrative integrity" of China and through that, the policy of the "open door" to all the Western Powers. Against the contention of the Americans that by their invasion they are transgressing the provisions of that treaty, the Japanese reply that quite on the contrary, their sole aim of intervening in Manchuria is just precisely to preserve that "administrative integrity" of the country and to make the policy of the open door secure! Active, aggressive interest in the Japanese adventure is flagging for the moment. But the Nipponese are hardly started in their march. Instead of adventures with peasant armies, the Chinese Communists must concentrate on rallying the city proletariat without which it will not be able to crush the Kuo Min Tang and successfully drive out the imperialist invaders.

At one point of the process now unfolding, the interests of the Chinese masses and those of Soviet Russia will reveal their close interconnection with especial sharpness. To face such a situation confidently, it is necessary to boast less and to pay more attention to the actual course of development of the struggle.

Having pretty firmly established their hegemony by means of puppet governments in Manchuria, the Mikado's generals are slowly but consistently forging ahead, in the direction of the Great Wall on the one hand, and in that of Jehol and the other Mongolian provinces,

on the other. Due to the interference of the other capitalist governments, the Japs have not been able to increase their reinforcements in Manchuria as rapidly and as freely as they would like. Consequently they have been suffering considerable losses as a result of the inevitable and severe guerrilla warfare carried on more or less successfully by the natives in a land unfamiliar and hard Military campaign, the Japanese government is clearly keeping an eye on the possibilities that might offer themselves to anti-Soviet moves in the near future.

The immediate objective of this new alignment will no doubt be the subjugation of all of Mongolia under the Japanese yoke. The link between the present Jap expedition and their future designs is the People's Republic of Mongolia, a territory on which the Ataman is already prepared to advance.

Developments in the Orient almost always bear a slow and drawn out character broken by violent jerks. But eruptions of a political character are not subject to conditions of the soil. And these self-same slow processes in the

Japanese-Chinese-Soviet tangle are indisputably generating just such an eruption in the immediate future.

For the working class to meet such an event adequately it is absolutely necessary to continue to stress the community of interests between the Soviet Union, the world proletariat and the oppressed colonial peoples. The greatest watchfulness is required of the Soviet government to maneuver for the foreign invaders.

The *Daily Worker* refers to these bands of guerrilla fighters as "Red partisan detachments" in connection also with high-sounding reports of more sweeping victories by the Chinese "Red Army". What greater proof the Stalinists have for this contention than for the contention—for example—that Father Cox's "army" represented the American unemployed we do not know. But then again, irresponsible and lavish boasting has ever been the bane of unprincipled political groups and of the Stalinized Comintern in particular. How sincere and interested workers are to be able to distinguish between friend and foe, between progress and retreat, how judge on the basis of experience what their revolutionary tasks are, the bureaucrats of the official Communist party and their confusing press are very little concerned about. As they say, so will they reap.

Semenov At Work

Harnessed by the difficulties on their path the Japanese are resorting to other methods. A dispatch to the *New York Herald Tribune* on January 12 reports that the notorious Russian White Guard general, Gregory Semenov is engaged in a movement to "effect the independence of the vast territory of inner Mongolia with the sanction of Japan". The dispatch says further that Ataman Semenov "is known to have received pay from the Japanese for several years". The Cossack general claims he can raise an army of 50,000 former czarist troops as well as 100,000 Mongolian cavalrymen.

Condemn M. N. Roy to Exile

Manabendra Nath Roy, Right wing Communist affiliated to the Brandler group internationally has been condemned by the British imperialists in India to 12 years of deportation to a penal colony for "waging war against the king". The imperialist knot is determined to insure its holders against the seething revolt of the Indian masses no matter in what channels it flows.

Unbridgeable differences separate ourselves, the International Left Opposition from the Right wing liquidators of Communism. But we do not for one minute hesitate to aid in their defense when they are under attack from the open class enemy.

Stalinists Disrupt Mooney Confab

The apathy which prevails in the Illinois coal fields has been lifted to some extent by the campaign under way to demand the release of Tom Mooney. For this issue, the miners are evincing a readiness to struggle. Conferences have been organized in Staunton and Belleville. Plans are being laid and pushed for conferences in other mining centers.

These conferences are largely the result of the efforts of local militants cooperating with the St. Louis branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). The line of these conferences is based upon Mooney's August 20 appeal and the Opposition's endorsement of this appeal (*Militant*, 9-5-1931). It stresses the united front as the key to the problem of uniting the workers in a struggle to force Mooney's release and the release of all class war prisoners.

The Opposition delegates fight resolutely in these conferences for this policy. All attempts to exclude the I. L. D., the C. P., and the party organizations are resisted by our delegates. On the other hand, our delegates, while supporting the party's resolutions and themselves introducing resolutions against the Illinois criminal syndicalism law, are equally resolute in fighting the attempts of the Stalinists to divert the conferences along the lines of a fight against criminal syndicalism in general.

What has been the party's policy in these conferences? Caught unawares by their organization, the Stalinists limited their participation to long-winded speeches and general attacks upon all non-Communists and especially against the "counter-revolutionary" Trotskyists. But this policy acted as boomerang. Their slander discredited only themselves and by contrast with the policy, sincerity and activity of our delegates, increased the prestige of the Opposition in the eyes of the miners. It goes without saying that we use the advantage which accrues to us to redeem from discreditation the ideas of Communism.

After several months of their futile policy, the Stalinists realized that more "decisive" measures were required to wreck the campaign and to undo what had already been accomplished. On Sunday, December 27, they descended on the second session of the Staunton conference en masse. They packed the conference with delegates mobilized from Springfield, East St. Louis, and even Chicago. On one pretext after another they interrupted the proceedings with their irrelevant speeches and slander. The A. F. of L. delegates voted with their feet. Delegate after delegate left. The result is best expressed perhaps in a letter from one of the local militants who has participated in all the struggles of the Illinois miners since before the war.

"It was either we control or we smash... I don't believe that more than one local remained in the meeting. I too left in disgust." (Why this militant and thousands more are not in the ranks of the Communist movement, and more specifically in the party, is all too clear.)

The plan for protest meetings which the conference's Executive Committee worked out, was killed. The conference in Staunton is now a shred. The miners have turned their backs on it. Whether it can be revived is a question. The Opposition must and will attempt it. There is no other road except to condemn Mooney to lifelong imprisonment. The Opposition will continue to fight for a united front, with the I. L. D., the party and all Left wing organizations included. What will be the policy of the party? Will the party rank and file continue to tolerate this policy of slander and wreckage?

—T. STAMM.

Trotsky's 'History' to Be Out Soon

We have just been informed that the first volume of the "History of the Russian Revolution", by comrade Leon Trotsky will be off the press and ready for sale on February 27. This gigantic work written by the organizer of the insurrection will be complete in two volumes, the second of which will appear about the 1st of June of this year.

Volume one begins with the February revolution and deals with the period up to June 1917. The second volume continues from this period up to and through the October insurrection and the Bolshevik seizure of power. The books approximately 500 pages each, will contain many photographs and maps. Max Eastman translated both volumes from the Russian. They are published by Simon and Schuster Company and will sell for \$4.00 a volume or both for \$7.50.

Marine Defense Meet

Hundreds Gather to Protest «Dynamite Plot» Frame-Up

On Thursday evening, January 7, a mass meeting in defense of Jack Soderberg, Thomas Bunker and William Trajer, victims of the harbor bosses' "dynamite plot" frame-up was held at Webster Hall. Over 500 workers attended the meeting, which was held under the auspices of the Marine Workers Defense Committee.

For the first time in years, New York workers belonging to various political tendencies met together, swayed by a feeling of genuine working class solidarity in the face of the vicious class enemy.

Comrade James P. Cannon, of the Communist League of America (Opposition) was the first speaker at the meeting at which Carter Hudson, chairman of the Marine Workers Defense Committee presided. Comrade Cannon eloquently presented the case of three defendants, pointed out the political background and the purposes behind this latest attack of the capitalist class and appealed to the workers present to support the Marine Workers Defense Committee and its efforts to repel the designs of the bosses in this case as in others by a frank and real united front.

Other speakers included A. J. Muste, of the Conference of Progressive Labor Action, who pledged the support of his organization to the defense and its willingness to cooperate with the Committee; Ben Gitlow of the Lovestone group, who made an appeal for funds for the defense; Walter Starret of the Road to Freedom Anarchist group and Carlo Tresca, editor of *Il Martello*, who cited

similar frame-up cases in the history of the American working class.

All speakers were well received. Despite the manifold political shades and colors, all appeared to be united to prevent the capitalist class from taking advantage of the dissensions within the working class for their own ends. The meeting represents a commendable attempt to close the ranks in warding off the blows of government oppression of workers and workers' institutions. As such it will undoubtedly call forth more and bigger meetings and manifestations of the same sort in the future.

The official Communist party and the I. L. D. were conspicuous by their absence. But many rank and file party comrades sat in the audience. The absolute necessity of action in cases such as that of the three marine workers will not fail to awaken the workers, Communist and non-Communist, to proletarian solidarity. We hope that rank and file pressure will lead the party and the I. L. D. to realize the mistake of their passivity in this case quickly. For the sake of the working class as a whole, as well as for that of the party. Such mistakes are dearly paid for. The force of united working class defense is irresistible. It is bound to overcome all obstacles.

The first Marine Workers' Defense meeting has started the drive. It is up to every class conscious worker to contribute his bit to the fight for the release of Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer. Let no one stand aside.

—S.

ROSA LUXEMBURG

On the Anniversary of Her Assassination by the German Social Democrats

A generation of Communists standing on the shoulders of Lenin needs little originality to detect the theoretical shortcomings of Luxemburgism. But history is something more than a factional football. Memorable in dialectic and intensity, the struggle of Rosa Luxemburg against the opportunism of the most powerful party machine in pre-war Social Democracy has indisputably entered the life-stream of the Communist International.

Rosa Luxemburg never ceased to collaborate with the Polish movement from which she sprang, returning to her native Warsaw during the revolution of 1905. But as well as formative influence, her main sphere of activity was the German Social Democracy in whose problems she first intervened on the occasion of the revisionist offensive on Marxism.

Imperialism and Social Democracy

Its state unification achieved, Germany in common with Western capitalism, after 1870 experienced a phase of expansion due to the opening of the world market and colonial exploitation. As a result, the bourgeoisie could profitably pursue the strategy of concessions to the upper crust of the working class. The Social Democracy had never been altogether free of an element of petty-bourgeois illusion; at the union of the Eisenach and Lassalle factions in 1875 Marx's criticism of the Gotha program fell on deaf ears. Later the Erfurt Congress (1891) did adopt a program which though defective especially in its political demands, was generally speaking a recognition of scientific socialism. Once the repressive anti-Socialist law of Bismarck collapsed, a Right wing, confounding the interests of the proletariat as a class with the favored position of the labor aristocracy, began to maneuver for "practical politics." The pioneer of this tendency was Vollmar, whose pamphlet "The Isolated Socialist State" (1878) unmistakably anticipated the Stalin theory of socialism-in-one-country. Vollmar combined nationalism with reformism, his agrarian proposals stirring Engels's deepest indignation. In Vollmar's wake, the Schippels and the Helms advocated the voting of military budgets, protective tariffs and the like.

Bernstein's Revisionism

The classic exponent of revisionism was Edward Bernstein, whose "Socialist Fundamentals" (1899) was a complete rupture with Marxism and a confession of the faith of the Fabians. Within the Marxian breast dwelt two souls, he contended, the one evolutionary-reformist, the other revolutionary-utopian. Bernstein undertook to purge Marx of the unscientific entanglements of Hegel and the political romanticism of Blanqui. For dialectical materialism he substituted the categorical imperative of Kant; the labor theory of value he supplemented with the marginal utility of Boehm-Bawerk. The contradictions of capitalism do not lead to economic catastrophe and social revolution. The growing middle class, the democratization of capital and diffusion of ownership by the joint stock corporation are tendencies to disprove the prognosis that the concentration of industry is accompanied by the centralization of wealth. The beautiful credit system, the efficient trusts and modern communication facilities eliminate the cyclical crisis. In a word, here is an idyll of an organic capitalism painlessly evolving towards socialism, over an unending road of reforms, under the spell of a social-democratic majority in the Reichstag. The dictatorship of the proletariat is an apocalyptic vision. The movement is everything—the goal is nothing.

Bernstein's sources are obvious, a re-

visionary hash of Louis Blanc, Proudhon, Lassalle and the miserable "Katheder-sozialisten." While Kautsky, the official guardian of orthodoxy still maintained an ambiguous silence, Rosa Luxemburg forcefully insisted that theory and practice could not be divorced without fatal consequences and that revisionism would replace class struggle by class collaboration. If goal without movement is utopian, movement without goal is surrender to bourgeois liberalism. The every-day demands have significance only as they are linked up with the conquest of political power. Reforms are by-products of class struggle; they cannot basically change the character of the relations of production. So far from being the political lever of socialism, parliamentarism is the historical form of the class rule of the bourgeoisie in its struggle with feudalism, and is already decadent. The workers must rely on their own mass action. The whole economic lore of Bernstein is the generalized

view of imperialism. Parliamentary cretinism and the inevitability of gradualness have been dealt shattering blows by the epoch of wars of revolutions. Between economics and politics there is no automatic reflex action. Ideology is only one of the elements of the superstructure. When she wrote "Opportunism has been knocked on the head," Rosa Luxemburg was unduly sanguine. The huge bureaucracy of the party, trade unions, cooperatives proved decisive. At every important turn, the Central Committee reigned but the Right ruled. At successive Congresses, the Right wing receded formally but in fact retained their positions. Marx and Engels had predicted that a split between the middle class and proletarian elements was inevitable but it was in Russia under Lenin, and not at the Dresden Congress that this operation was executed. Waging her battles against such an apparatus, Rosa tended to identify centralization with opportunism, and to depend on the elemental mass

The Precious Heritage of Rosa

The years that pass by since the cruel assassination which deprived us of her active aid do not serve to dim the luster of the great revolutionist that was Rosa Luxemburg. Her unflickering devotion to the historical interests of the proletariat sprang not only from the depths of her character but also from her exceptional understanding of the teachings of Marx and Engels. No mere closet ideologist, she flung herself into every battle of the German proletariat, one of which brought about her premature death. But she had already left more than enough behind her to insure an evergreen memory for the future. From what she taught so brilliantly by word and deed, the revolutionary movement still has much to learn, however the Marxian today may challenge some of

the views she stood for. But this challenge will always be made soberly, objectively, and with the greatest regard for time and place. The genuine Marxian will be repelled by the dispiriting slanders of Rosa which are passed off as "criticism" by those who, while arrogating unearned authority to themselves, have not, in reality, the least right to reproach the one who at all times stood so far above them. We mean Stalin, who just recently sought to besmirch Rosa in the interests of his factional position, and Kaganovich and more recently the repulsive turncoat, Radek. Their calumnies make an objective estimation of Rosa's role more timely than ever. Maurice Spector's contribution in this issue has been conceived in this sense. —Ed.

viewpoint of the individual capitalist. The new developments in capitalism—credit, combination, etc.—do not cure but intensify the basic contradictions of anarchic capitalist production.

In pitiless judgment on revisionism, theory has been reinforced by Time, the greatest revolutionary of all. On the very heels of Bernstein's smug evangel burst the crisis of 1900, to be followed by another in 1907 and still another in 1914. As we write, the world is staggering under one of the gravest industrial and commercial crises in capitalist history, with the United States, the model country of trusts and efficiency, as deeply involved up to the hilt. During the late lamented "new economic era," bourgeois economists, journalists, engineers attempted to revive Bernstein's illusions in substance, if without their philosophical garnish, on American soil. "The most fundamental stabilization," wrote Professor Commons, "has been that of credit and prices through the cooperation of the banks organized in the Federal Reserve System." The American working class would derive its salvation from increased savings, life insurance and employee stock ownership. "The labor banks," declared the economic wizard Carver, "constitute the only revolutionary movement in the world." The Baltimore and Ohio Plan of union-management cooperation was tantamount to "industrial democracy."

The Struggle Against Opportunism. There is no doubt that theoretically revisionism was bankrupt from the outset. It completely failed to estimate the real qualitative changes that were taking place in capitalist society with the ad-

movement spontaneously to correct the course of the party. "The only part to be played in the Social Democracy by the so-called leaders is that of the explanation to the masses of their function in history." Lenin too emphasized that the masses must gain their own political experience, that for victory the vanguard must muster millions but the role of the revolutionary social-democrat was that of a modern Jacobin bound up with the organized proletariat. Rosa relied too much on process, and tended to underestimate the importance of organization. It cannot be doubted that the conditions of the development of the Russian Revolution necessarily contributed to give Lenin his unparalleled insight into the problems of Marxism, itself the product of a revolutionary period. It must be accounted a defect, for example, of Rosa Luxemburg's polemics with the revisionists that she did not, in reply to Bernstein, take up the problem of state-power. Plechanov raised the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat at Brussels and again at the Amsterdam Congress (1904) but the Second International as a whole, and Kautsky its principal theoretician, completely failed to realize the significance of the problem. The reconstruction of the doctrine of Marx, based on the experiences of the Paris Commune,

only the international revolutionary movement can and will solve the problems of the working masses. At the same time I believe we can and should unite for the defense of the Kentucky miners, as of all other political prisoners in the U. S. It took quite some effort on the part of myself and my co-delegate to induce the membership, because of the objection that there are too many defense organizations, to send delegates to this conference. They finally agreed to send us as observers and to bring back a report. Unless a sincere and honest effort should be made on the part of the leadership of these different defense organizations to consolidate all the forces for the defense of political suffer and the rank and file of the labor movement will not stand for that much longer."

How to Make the Kentucky Miners' Defense Really Effective

A conference for the defense of the Kentucky miners now on trial was held on January 6 at the Labor Temple. It was called by the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W. and called to order by a representative of this committee who appointed a chairman. The latter in turn called for the election of credentials and resolutions committees. While these committees were in session, the conference was addressed by James O'Neal of the Socialist party, Muste of the C. P. U. A. and a representative of the I. W. W.

The report of the credentials committee followed the speeches of the above gentlemen. Strange as it may seem, the Workmen's Circle branches predominated. Very few unions, about 6 or 7 in all, were represented. The other delegates represented either educational organizations or political groups like the S. P., the I. W. W., Industrial Union League, the Road to Freedom, etc. One of the delegates, representing a Workmen's Circle branch, wanted to know "why a section of the labor movement that has a big influence among the working masses, especially in New York, is not represented here at all." In answer to a question as to whom he meant he named the International Workers' Order, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, the I. L. D., the Communist party and its factions, the Communist League (Opposition) and the Lovestone group.

A Working Class Reply to Splitsters

"We did not invite any organization that will introduce friction into the conference," was the reply. Another delegate, also of a W. C. branch, took the floor and stated that "while I represent a fraternal organization and therefore non-political, I believe I speak the mind of the majority of my organization when I say we do not believe any more in the speeches of these 'gentlemen' that have addressed this gathering tonight."

We have seen their comrades in action, like Scheidemann, Noske and Zoergel in Germany, MacDonald in England,

as to the destruction of the bourgeois state machine, was the work of Lenin. The Russian Revolution

The Russian revolution of 1905, for the first time since the Commune, shocked the West out of its parliamentary routine. The Russian proletariat marshalled every form of mass action, from the economic strike to armed insurrection. The mass political strike became a central subject of discussion. At first Kautsky welcomed the methods of the Russian revolution and took up a seemingly radical position towards the strike as a weapon in the immediate struggle for power. But when it became a question of applying the lessons of the Russian revolution to the struggle over the Prussian franchise he changed his tune. He was now for the old tested tactic of parliamentarism. "The elemental mass movement would produce unpleasant as well as pleasant surprises and development would again assume the catastrophic character of 1789 to 1871." The correct strategy was "attrition," to exhaust the bourgeoisie by trench-warfare.

Rosa Luxemburg's point of departure in these debates was the totality of the class struggle. She refused to recognize the legitimacy of any water-tight compartments between the party and the trade unions. She strenuously resisted the demands of the trade union bureaucracy for the "independence" of the trade unions from the party and their "neutrality" in the political struggle. At the Jena Congress of the Social Democracy it was decided to resort to the general strike if the government sabotaged the issue of the franchise. The reply of the Cologne trade union congress was to prohibit the "propagation and discussion of the general strike." A year later at Mannheim, the Cologne resolution was substantially ratified by the party Congress and the bureaucracy had gained a signal victory.

In the view of Rosa Luxemburg, the centre of gravity of the proletarian struggle lay in mass action, not in parliamentarism. She did not share the reformist conception of Bernstein and Hilferding who approved of the Belgian general strike of 1903 merely because it was an auxiliary action to a parliamentary objective. But once again she could not define the whole problem of the organization of the revolution at the time, and would likely have been regarded as mad or hounded out as anarchist and Blanquist if she had. In the words of Trotsky "a revolutionary general strike that inundates all the banks of bourgeois society became for Rosa Luxemburg a synonym for the proletarian revolution." A general strike does not yet decide the question of power but only raises it. For the seizure of power it is necessary to organize the armed uprising on the basis of the general strike. The danger of revolutionary fatalism, of the "tomorrowing attitude towards the fundamental tasks of the revolution" was exemplified by the Zinoviev-Kamenev-Stalin attitude in the Russian October and the Stalin-Brandier-Thalheimer capitulation to the line of least resistance in the German crisis of 1923. It should be mentioned that Trotsky adds that Rosa left the stage without having said her last word.

It was these discussions of the role of mass action that brought about the definite cleavage between the "Left Radicals" under the leadership of Rosa and the Kautskian Centre at the Magdeburg Congress in 1909. Kautsky openly proclaimed that the main danger in the party was no longer the revisionists but "the rebellious impatience of the extreme Left." (To be concluded.)

—MAURICE SPECTOR.

The Obsolete Craft System in the Railroad Brotherhoods

The extraordinary importance assumed at the present moment by the situation in the railroad industry makes a survey of the state of the trade union movement in this field of more than usual interest. Conferences continue to be held between the workers' "representatives" and the railroad magnates, and a cleverly organized newspaper agitation is being carried on, with the sole aim of reducing the wages and worsening the conditions of the workers. The problem of resisting this monstrous offensive is unbearably bound up with the question of how things stand in the railroad brotherhoods. In this latter field especially, our comrade A. E., an old militant of the Left wing, is a competent observer. The present article is one of a series which our comrade has promised to contribute.

One of the things which the railroad workers in this country need most is a new trade union structure. The present structural formation of the railroad unions belongs to the stone age of trade unionism. It is the most out-of-date, the most antiquated form of labor organization known.

The railroad workers are at present organized, or rather disorganized, into twenty-one different craft unions, as follows: 1. Engineers; 2. Conductors; 3. Firemen; 4. Brakemen; 5. Switchmen; 6. Telegraphers; 7. Signalmen; 8. Clerks; 9. Boiler-makers; 10. Sheet Metal Workers; 11. Machinists; 12. Carmen; 13. Sectionmen; 14. Stationery Firemen; 15. Train Dispatchers; 16. Sleeping Car Conductors; 17. Longshoremen; 20. Marine Engineers; 21. Masters, Mates and Pilots. The last three belong to the inland and coastwise water transportation in connection with the railroads.

At the head of each one of these 21 useless craft organizations we find literally swarms of overpaid bureaucrats whose combined annual salaries runs into the millions. All Brotherhood journals and magazines, including the Washington weekly, *Labor*, are under a complete stranglehold of these high salaried officials. The pages of the respective constitutions are littered with gag-laws of every description to protect the officials from organized criticism by the rank and file. These gag-laws are very effective in preventing needed organizational changes which would prove detrimental to the personal of officers' salaries, freedom of expression, etc. The main function of the local lodges is to collect dues and forward them promptly to their respective Grand Lodge Headquarters for enjoyment by the officials.

Bureaucratism and Class Collaboration

As might be expected from the above arrangement these craft officials advocate mutual admiration and cooperation between the representatives of organized capital and themselves as spokesmen for the railroad workers. The present Brotherhood officials know full well that they cannot protest and promote the railroad workers' interests against the well organized employers by keeping the workers divided into twenty-one separate organizations on the railroads. But these officials have allocated to themselves salaries which run from \$6,000 to

\$15,000 a year, plus a most liberal expense account, and their work is easy. Their main tasks are: keep the "Reds" out of the unions; maintain complete control of all mediums of information inside of the Brotherhoods; keep enough gag-laws in the constitutions to forbid all other means of expression by the membership; keep on friendly terms with the railroad officials at the expense of the workers for the privilege of collecting dues from these helpless crafts.

The Brotherhood officials realize that they would not be able to maintain these weak and anemic unions without the consent of the railroad management. Hence the importance of maintaining friendly relations with them. This condition necessarily eliminates all possibility of a well organized struggle for better wages and working conditions, shortening of hours, etc. Strikes are only permitted on small individual roads as a smoke screen of false display of militancy, are called and then forgotten. The M. & N. A.; the Virginian Ry., and the Western Maryland strikes are typical examples of this farcical strike policy. The Watson-Parker Law is a deliberate attempt to abolish strikes altogether and is the fruit of joint action between the Brotherhood officials headed by Robertson and the railroad officials headed by W. W. Atterbury.

In the present move on the part of the railroads to cut wages in order to increase profits, as in 1921, the railroad workers will receive another concrete lesson on the price they have to pay for permitting a lot of overpaid official drones to chain them to an obsolete craft system of organization. (To be continued.)

—A. E.

SWABECK TOUR

SWABECK IN PHILLY

Comrade Arne Swaback spoke here on Jan. 10th. His lecture, "The Economic Crisis and the Left Opposition" was followed with the liveliest interest by the 40 workers comprising the audience. The presence of several C. P. members and sympathizers, as well as a few Lovestoneites, afforded our comrade an opportunity to broaden his subject matter to include all the most essential points of the platform of the Left Opposition. He dealt with the perspectives of the crisis; the effect of U. S. capitalism's home and foreign policy; the necessity of a worker's united front against Fascism in Germany; and reviewed the criticism by the Opposition of the policy pursued by the C. I.

The question period developed some lively discussion. Some of the party members left at this point, probably in fear of being inveigled into a free discussion. The questions covered topics upon which we have differences with the Stalinists and the Lovestoneites. Particular interest and sympathy was shown in our trade union and united front policies by most of the audiences.

This meeting was the first this year of a series of lectures under the auspices of the Philadelphia Branch on problems of the Communist movement, by our leading comrades of the Communist League in the East.

The previous night, a banquet was held as a reception to comrade Swaback. A good time was had by our comrades and friends, who came despite the bad weather. At both the banquet and the lecture a collection was taken to help our work along.

The study class in "Marxism" is proceeding very successfully. A new class "History of the Three Internationals" is being formed and will be conducted by comrade Morgenstern.

—L. G.

SUCCESSFUL PITTSBURGH MEETING

Efforts made by some of the petty bureaucrats of the Pittsburgh party organization to break up the meeting scheduled for comrade Swaback in this city on January 7 came to naught. The meeting was held at a Greek coffee house on Wylie Ave., the time set for 7:30. A good audience appeared among them about a dozen party members led by the Greek fraction who had previously served notice that they would come to break up the meeting.

A few minutes before the appointed hour the Greek fraction organizer took upon himself to open the meeting and to give a lecture. He endeavored to tread very softly on questions of dispute with the Left Opposition, however, struggling hard to emphasize that anyone who did not carry a card in the official Communist party could not speak in the name of Communism. In this manner it was expected to take the meeting away from the Left Opposition but it did not succeed. Rather it became, regardless of the Stalin organizers, a joint discussion affair.

As soon as the Greek party fraction organizer had concluded his speech, comrade Sifakis of the Left Opposition arose introducing the next speaker, comrade Swaback, asking the hearers to devote the same attention to latter. Swaback spoke without the slightest interference. Those who had come with the intention of interfering evidently found it better to listen. After this lecture those party members present asked a number of questions which gave comrade Swaback the opportunity to clarify further the issues of dispute. Meanwhile the Greek party fraction organizer, the leader of the "breaking party" slunk out of the place.

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IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Revolt Brewing in India

Ghandi Holds Masses in Check by Reformist Maneuvers

Ghandi, V. Patel, J. Nehru have been arrested by the Indian authorities. As a protest, the cotton, the bullion, the piece goods, the seed and the stock exchanges in Bombay and other cities have been closed. The boycott against British goods is in full swing. Civil disobedience is the slogan of the nationalist leaders.

On the surface, the above incidents give a fairly comprehensive characterization of the present situation in British India. Strikes of workers are, as yet, not on the order of the day. The Hindu hartal or patriotic strike, still dominates the political scene. For the time being, the nationalist bourgeoisie still holds the reins firmly. The revolutionary masses are still spell-bound by the shrewd and soothing voice of the "Mahatma". And it cannot be doubted that the personality of Ghandi still represents an enormous factor in the political life along the Ganges.

A Shrewd Mahatma

In a recent interview with Parisian newspapermen, Ghandi expressed the opinion that in the event of "sudden" emancipation, a free India would not very well be able to dispense with a regular standing army. Yes, the Mahatma said this. The newspapermen showed questions on the saintly man and he answered nearly all with saintly patience and serenity. There was one question, however, which he evaded with the sleekness of an eel. That question was in regard to his attitude toward the Russian revolution. "I am too humble", the Mahatma replied to this question, "to pretend to omniscience. Consequently I must declare that I do not know what to think of the Russian revolution". The "Mahatma" did not appear pleased at all by the suggestion of a comparison between the Indian revolution and the Russian.

Would it be too rash to assume on the basis of all this that the great principle of Oriental ethics—non-violence—is in the last analysis, only a cloak for the fear the Hindu bourgeoisie has of the armed masses? Hardly. The Russian bourgeoisie (and the Spanish bourgeoisie in its turn today) shouted at the top of its lungs that its revolution was "bloodless" and covered its fear of the people with less effective, to be sure, but nevertheless just as guarded ideological ceremonies. The Russian bourgeoisie was faced with war times, that accelerated the march of events and with a resolute and firmly established working class party. Its end came rather swiftly. The course of the Indian bourgeoisie, which kowtows no less to the foreign imperialists, will probably, considering the times and more than that—the geographical situation of the country—be a much lengthier one.

The colonial character of India makes its revolution dependent to a large extent, upon the attitude, the aid rendered it by the British working class. In the course of events, the attachment between the seasoned proletariat of Great Britain and the youthful proletariat of India, which is historically inevitable, will no doubt develop into the determining influence in that country's future. For the present, however, both the British as well as the Indian workers are still to be found in the background of the scene. The further progress of the German revolutionary movement in Europe and of the Chinese in the Far East will, sooner or later, serve to set the former two into motion.

Signs of Militancy

In the meantime, a few signs of rising militancy are already visible on the periphery of the new movement. At Srinagar, a crowd estimated at 12,000 persons attacked the police station and liberated three prisoners. Despite the manifold assurances by the nationalist leaders that the masses would abstain from violent action, the British police forces have taken all possible precautions. The victory of India, Lord A. Willingdon, has unleashed a savage system of repression all over the country. Police and soldiery have been armed to the teeth. An ordinance has been issued outlawing all meetings of groups of more than five persons. The gentlemanly Willingdon, quite a hand with a cricket bat himself (the papers say) seems of late to have become an enthusiast of the native "lathi", applied by his troops with utter abandon to the skulls and bodies of demonstrators in the public squares. The

British soldiery have recently been increased to fully 68,000 men, the native to more than 175,000. They are apparently expecting serious trouble.

Just how soon the activity of the masses will rise above the heads of their nationalist leaders, it is hard to tell. The Communist party, young and weak as a result of the Menshevik policies of Stalin-Bucharin in the Far East up to 1927 and due to the entire loss of revolutionary perspective since, is almost without any influence at all. The Garhi

Kamgar textile workers and the railroad workers of the G. I. P., who have already made Indian history in the past, have not yet been heard from. But they are sure to figure more prominently in the near future. The lathi, after all, does not distinguish between the masses, it strikes and hurts them all. But it is not likely that the workers of India will long be fascinated by whatever it is that "Mahatma" Ghandi is spinning—in his cell or out of it. The workers, once they are started, will act, and act forcefully. For the Communists, the present situation in India represents an excellent opportunity to approach the masses, to build up their cadres and to consolidate their influence and their following for the more decisive struggles to come.

The Results of the Toronto Elections

The recent municipal elections held in Toronto have, in the shade of events of the past few months, gained a significance historic in the annals of Canadian elections.

The bourgeois candidates (in civic elections all candidates are "non-partisan"); they do not officially run on a party ticket; all agreed upon the fact that no major issues existed; that whoever was elected to sit at the City Hall would be on a program of better sidewalks, more sidewalks, and the insistence on stringent economy (naturally at the expense of working class relief measures). That there were 50,000 unemployed in the city, well, so long as they were keeping quiet at the soup kitchens and not demanding unemployment relief, they were not an issue. If 6,000 bailiffs' notices of evictions were issued, that was a sign that prosperity was around the corner. Wages being slashed, and factories closing down, throwing workers and their families upon the mercy of charity, that was not an issue for the civic fathers. As long as the working class and the dispossessed elements of the petty bourgeoisie did not organize for the betterment of their conditions, the bourgeoisie were quite content with the status quo, and intended to further confuse the masses with the spirit of civic duty.

The Communist Ticket

But the Dominion and Provincial authorities were more considerate of the interests of the hard working capitalists, and had taken measures a few months before by the arrest of the eight Communist leaders, and their trial and conviction to 5 years in the penitentiary. After overcoming the legal red tape they were released on bail until their appeal, and to the dismay of the authorities Tim Buck was nominated for the Board of Control, and John Boychuck (another of the defendants, with another comrade, were nominated for alderman. The Communist party now being an outlawed organization in Ontario, they ran as candidates of the Toronto Workers' United Front Conference. The main campaign was centered around Buck, the controlship necessitating a city-wide campaign and vote.

Buck, as the Communist candidate, naturally was the only candidate to bring out the working class issues; the need for relief and insurance at the expense of the state, and the fight against Section 98 of the Criminal Code, which suppressed the rights of free speech and assembly. At every election meeting Buck was received with tremendous enthusiasm; a Communist candidate was receiving sympathetic hearings and orations such as the bourgeois candidates did not receive. The press religiously kept a strict silence on the Communist campaign, not a word of publicity did they give it. A contract was entered into with the Daily Star, a Liberal (?) paper, to let Buck speak over its radio station, but after the Star realized they were acting as liberals in allowing this, the contract was immediately broken, the money returned, and an excuse offered that "under the circumstances, etc., etc."

A Safe and Sane Candidate

But there was a "labor" candidate in the field, and a very popular one. The social democracy may be proud of its sons; the Toronto branch, known as James Simpson, and the backing of all the newspapers and he received plaudits from all sections of the capitalist class for his wisdom, and especially his "safe and sane" labor policies. For him but one issue existed—to be re-elected to the Board of Control and taste further of the fruits of office. On the state of the reactionary Orange Order he was first

choice. After working his way on the backs of the working class, he was no longer interested in its problems. Backed by a powerful press, and every means of agitation he was sure of election. To offset the influence of the Communist program the bourgeois concentration block put out Simpson as the man to look after their interests during the present period.

Election day, January 1st, was a day as dull and dirty as capitalism itself. A continual rain kept back many people from the polls, and especially destitute workers who could not clothe themselves properly.

Simpson, the labor faker, headed the list. Although the total number of votes polled was lower than last year, the vote of Buck doubled; the reactionary press lamented that "Tim Buck Communist, was the only one of nine candidates who increased his vote over last year. Despite his recent conviction on charges of membership in an illegal association and seditious conspiracy, he polled 5,974 votes, 2941 over his last year's figure of 3,033—an increase of 97 per cent." The two other Communist alderman candidates polled 505 and 758 votes each, both being higher than last year.

The qualifications for voting demanded that one be a tenant or householder; those whose taxes were in arrears were deprived of the privilege of democracy; thus the dispossessed workers were not able to vote. The votes for Tim Buck were votes of protest against capitalist reaction and for immediate unemployment relief. The thousands of people who applauded him, did not all vote for him; it was a spontaneous enthusiasm.

Government Repression in Republican Spain

The repression being carried on by the Republican leaders takes on forms that even Primo de Rivera and Berenguer never dared to resort to. Spaniards are being expelled from Spain. We of the Left Opposition are the favored victims.

A very striking example: Our comrade Jose Ramos Lopez is, to be sure, Spanish—the son of Spanish parents born at Buenos Aires, but a naturalized Spanish citizen. The Argentine police expelled him from that country as a revolutionist and as a Spaniard. Ramos came to Spain, to Sujo to live with his family. He is a Communist and one who stands up for his ideas. First he is arrested at Sujo, then at Cadiz, where he is held a government prisoner for three months. The governor of Cadiz promises him his release on the condition that he return to Sujo. A few days later, several "Civic Guards" and gendarmes come to the prison at six o'clock in the morning and seize our comrade. His protests are of no avail. The governor had promised him his release on that very day. But instead, he is thrown on board the steamer "Uruguay", leaving a few minutes later for the Argentina. No one was informed of anything until our Cadiz comrades came to the prison on their daily visit to comrade Ramos.

The bourgeois, reactionary Republic has committed another abominable crime. What sort of fate will Uriburu have in store for our comrade?

The bourgeois press has refused publication to our protests. The cynicism of the reactionaries is becoming more detestable and more criminal under the Republic than it ever was under the monarchy.

Liberty and Equality Under the Republic

A short time ago, the Spanish Catholics met at Valencia and held a mass meeting and demonstrations against the Republic. The workers who wanted to demonstrate against Catholic and monarchist reaction found the "Republican" authorities on the side of the latter. The Catholics and monarchists can speak and act against the Spanish people, only we are denied the right to propagate our ideas.

In Valencia also, I gave a lecture on December 14, which had been announced in advance. The governor refused permission to announce the meeting as one bearing a political Communist character and it had to be announced as an educational affair. The workers attended en masse. We had excellent success.

Other lectures were organized by the comrades in the various provinces. But when I had completed my lecture in Valencia, I was called before the chief of police who informed me that he would not authorize any more of my lectures and that I had committed an offense comparable to libel against Largo Caballero

Thaelmann's Belated Self-Criticism

The Leader of the German Communist Party «Examines» Some of Its Mistakes

For years the Stalinist Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany has been considering itself as infallible in its political decisions. But since a mistake remains a mistake whether it is recognized or not, the effects of the false line of the party leadership frequently lead to such dangerous moods in the party that it is frequently considered absolutely necessary at the top to undertake a "turn". This is thereupon motivated "theoretically" by the highest instances, and naturally a good

deal of noise is made about the "Bolshevik self-criticism" with which it is done. The result which the "theoreticians" of the Central Committee then attain is usually this: The policy of the party leadership is "entirely right, but subordinate party instances have not understood how to carry out the errorless line correctly."

Thaelmann's Self-Criticism

Entirely of this type is the "self-criticism" with which Ernst Thaelmann occupies himself in the November-December double number of the *Internationalist*, where he writes to "establish a series of ideological deviations and political weakness, aye, even political mistakes in our revolutionary mass work". But in order to avoid even the appearance of wanting to criticize the line of the C. C. itself, he immediately adds that the mistakes were of course not committed by the whole party but were based upon an "insufficient political education of individual comrades and functionaries" or upon an "inadequate comprehension of the decisions adopted at international and German party congresses". These remarks of Thaelmann alone already adequately characterize the type of this "Bolshevik self-criticism".

But let us now examine more closely what the "leader of the C. P. G." says concretely in his article of 30 pages. Thaelmann discovers here that the struggle against the Prussian government has up to now not been conducted sharply enough.

"We must go further beyond this to the declaration that even in the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat, not without our being to blame, there were present at least sub-conscious moods to the effect that Braun-Severing were nevertheless perhaps a 'lesser evil' than a Hitler-Goebbels government in Prussia. Such an influencing of the revolutionary workers by the deceitful social democratic ideology, such remnants of social democratic thought in our ranks, are, however, as we must declare in complete agreement with the decisions of the XI Plenum, the worst danger for the Communist party."

Obviously, therefore, certain C. P. G. comrades arrived at the idea that a Hitler government in Prussia would act in an even more reactionary and anti-working class manner than the then Braun-Severing government. The party comrades in question surely did not mean by this that the S. P. policy of the lesser evil in parliament was correct. But they were of the opinion that the more dangerous enemy today is Hitler and that the party must therefore lead the main attack against him. For Thaelmann, however, such an opinion is "the worst danger for the Communist party!"

Further in the course of his "self-criticism", Thaelmann himself is obliged to admit that in the attitude of the party towards Fascism, great shortcomings came to light. He writes: "We yielded at least in part to the false theory of the 'inevitability' of the Fascist dictatorship under monopoly capitalism, or at all events, we did not sufficiently develop a sufficiently sharp struggle against this false theory, a theory which leads us off the road."

As an example of this, Thaelmann quotes from the September 1931 number of the C. P. G. paper, *Der Propagandist*, the following passage:

"A social democratic coalition government, which confronted an incapacitated, split-up, confused proletariat, would be a thousandfold greater evil than an open Fascist dictatorship, which came forward against a class conscious proletariat, determined to struggle and united in its mass."

By this is completely confirmed what the Left Opposition and particularly Trotsky have criticized most sharply for months: namely, that there are forces at work in the C. P. G. which not only consider the seizure of power by the Fascists as inevitable, but as downright desirable under certain circumstances.

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"That the party leadership is now compelled to come out openly against these ideas only shows the extent to which such defeatist moods were already widespread in the party."

A whole section of Thaelmann's article is concerned with the too well known "theory" of the people's revolution, as invented by the party leadership in connection with the teachings on the "national and social emancipation". These slogans were raised in their day in order to win the petty bourgeois strata for Communism, in connection with which to mention nothing else, it was completely overlooked that the most immediate task of the C. P. G. must be not the winning of the middle classes but the winning of the majority of the proletariat. And it is precisely here that a slogan like that of the "people's revolution" is not only worthless but directly harmful, since it does not sufficiently emphasize the class standpoint.

Thaelmann himself is slowly beginning to perceive this when he writes in his article:

"Only when we win the proletarian majority for Communism can we realize the further tasks of drawing the allies of the proletariat from the middle classes into the anti-capitalist united front and thereby create the premises for the people's revolution of Marx and Lenin. Every smearing up of these fundamentals, every abandonment of the preliminary need of the struggle for our own class is a break with Marxism, a break with Leninism!"

But who raised this "break with Leninism" to the point of a "theory"? Nobody but the Central Committee of the C. P. G. itself, which, for example, in a resolution of January 1931, established the "people's revolution" as the "main strategic slogan of the party". Is it then to be wondered at if subordinate functionaries of the party thereupon apply this slogan as it should be understood according to this C. C. conception? Such a thoroughly good-believer of a functionary was A. E. who wrote, as far back as December 1930, in the paper *Der Propagandist* that

"for the strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolution it is primarily a matter of winning the petty bourgeois strata for the proletarian revolution or at least of neutralizing them."

This was entirely in harmony with the line of the conceptions of the "people's revolution" then advocated by the C. C. and established officially as late as January 1931. Now—Thaelmann needed a whole year for this acknowledgment—it is suddenly established that the quoted conception of A. E. "has nothing more in common with Marxism and Leninism". Which is of course correct to the extent that the corresponding line of the C. C. really had not much more to do with Leninism.

(In passing: For A. E. to be treated as a scapegoat is especially harsh. Alexander Krel was at one time punished as an Oppositionist in Russia. In the German party, after a probation period of a year, he sought to earn his spurs by expressly separating himself from Trotsky's views at every opportunity, most recently in the question of the Spanish revolution. And he is just the one whom the Great Thaelmann has now sought out as the whipping boy!)

Finally, we cannot let pass unchallenged what Thaelmann has to say in his article on the question of individual terror. It would undoubtedly be correct for the C. C. to disassociate itself publicly from individual terror, but it is to fall into the other extreme when Thaelmann writes:

"Those workers who let themselves be misguided by the planned Nazi-provocations by defending themselves with the same methods of individual terror, are moving away, with regard to the methods of the proletarian struggle for freedom, from the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism."

Taken literally, this means that henceforth the C. P. G. members are to be prohibited even from forcible defense from Fascist assaults. This is going much too far. Terror can only be broken by terror and it is just the "leader of the C. P. G." who should understand that under the conditions created by the Fascist acts of violence, one cannot act in accordance with the principles of the sermon on the mount.

In conclusion, let us point to still another observation Thaelmann made at the end of his lengthy article and which we can join with heartily:

"It appears that in spite of the great successes of our party, its theoretical level, the ideological-political level of our party work, is inadequate, and absolutely requires a fundamental improvement."

But the very next sentence, which qualifies the decisions of the leadership as "unobjectionable and correct", indicates that Thaelmann is not at all the man to undertake a genuine, serious self-criticism. Bureaucratic superficiality and fakers' autocracy are the essence of Thaelmann's article. There can be no talk whatsoever of a turn for the better. Such a one can, in general, not proceed from above; it must result from the pressure of the members themselves. The Left Opposition will support with all its strength every step of the party members in this direction.

—W. M.

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EDITORIAL NOTES

DARROW AND THE SCOTTSBORO CASE

The withdrawal of Clarence Darrow and Arthur Garfield Hays from all participation in the legal side of the Scottsboro case has called forth a chorus of praise from the bourgeois press. Darrow didn't like the agitatorial methods of the International Labor Defense. "You can't mix politics with a law case," he said. He would take part in the legal defense only on the condition that the I. L. D. keep out. The withdrawal of the famous lawyer on these grounds affords the brass check newspapers—whose attention was drawn to the Scottsboro case by the stormy agitation of the I. L. D.—another occasion to point a moral about the harmful effects of "Communist interference" in behalf of any victim of bourgeois justice. Liberal suitwells and middle-headed workers, whose thinking is done or them by the ruling class, are echoing this judgment.

Such arguments are not worthy of a moment's consideration. The I. L. D. was absolutely right in rejecting the presumptuous demands of Darrow and Hays, and the Scottsboro prisoners showed wisdom in supporting the stand of their defense organization. Any other course would have signified an end to the fight to organize the protest of the masses against the legal lynching; and with that would have ended any real hope to save the boys and restore their freedom.

There are people, of course—and too many of them—who hold a contrary view. But they are the credulous ones who have faith in the justice and fairness of the class courts. We rejoice at the blow that has been dealt to this servile and treacherous philosophy. It is true that the lawyers in question are celebrated in their trade. But from our point of view that fact only invests the calling of their bluff with a greater significance and merits for it a warm approval.

"You can't mix politics with a law case"—that is a reactionary lie. It is father to the poisonous doctrine that a labor case is a purely legal relation between lawyer and client and the court. It was under that sign—with the same Darrow in the leading role—that the McNamara and Schmidt and Kaplan were sacrificed, and the labor movement was dealt a blow from which it has not yet recovered. It was the influence of this idea over the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee which paralyzed the protest mass movement at every step and thereby contributed to the final tragic outcome. Not to the courts alone, and not primarily there, but to the masses must the appeal of the persecuted class and race be taken. There is the power and there is the justice. The affair of Darrow, the Scottsboro prisoners and the I. L. D. will help to inculcate this lesson.

UNITED FRONT PROSPECTS

The most noticeable single trend to be observed in the ranks of the more or less radical workers is the sentiment for unity of action. This sentiment permeates all the organizations to a considerable extent, and it corresponds to the needs of the day. As a consequence of this there is a great deal of unity talk to be heard. Some of it is a sincere expression of

the workers' feelings and moods, some of it a bait to catch their attention. The effect of all the talk so far, has been negligible. The labor movement, including its radical sections, has not been divided and disrupted without profound causes. Talk alone will never bring about the desired unity in struggle. It may, and to a certain extent does, exert a retarding influence on the process. Every hypocritical argument, every dishonest maneuver in the name of unity works against its actual realization.

On the other hand, the increasing pressure upon the workers strengthens their impulses for a common front of struggle, and raises the issue ever more insistently. Concrete manifestations here and there of solidarity in action are to be seen. And these are the best gauge by which to judge the prospects for the formation of the united front of militant labor. From this standpoint, last week's mass meeting for the defense of the indicted marine workers has an exceptional interest. No single event in recent years has done so much to raise the hopes of the radical workers that a way can be found, despite all the differences between the various organizations and groups, for the radical workers to get together for a united fight against the class enemy.

This mass meeting, like the defense committee which sponsored it, was an experiment in co-operation on a single issue of the class struggle—the defense of persecuted workers. No one can deny that it made a good showing. The hall was packed to the doors and the sentiment for unity resounded in the applause which greeted speaker after speaker who dwelt on this theme. Militant unionists, communists, anarchists, syndicalists and socialists were represented on the platform as well as in the audience. The chief feature of the whole affair, and the one that determined its enthusiastic spirit, was the formal appearance of a united front. There is every reason for the partisans of the united front—among whom we belong, to regard the demonstration as a significant step forward.

It is no less necessary however, to see the short-comings and the weak sides of this first experiment. There were not a few members of the official Communist Party in the audience, but it was not represented on the platform. Despite invitations of the defense committee, the party and the I. L. D. withheld participation in this public demonstration of support for workers under prosecution. There are people who put this fact down to the credit side of the meeting. They want a united front—without the Communist Party. But that is absurd as well as reactionary. The workers supporting the official Communist Party constitute the strongest and most dynamic force in the radical labor movement. The progress towards a genuine united front, with power behind it, has to be measured first of all by the pressure developing within the party ranks in favor of such a policy.

The mass meeting for the marine workers in prison helped to consolidate the sentiment for the united front in the ranks of all the organizations which took part in it. In addition to that it had a value, as an object lesson, in stimulating these sentiments in the rank and file of the official party. This was probably its greatest significance.

(Continued from page 1)

of the whole of Europe, not excluding the Soviet Union. The danger of Fascism is casually referred to from time to time. Every time it is mentioned, it is falsely explained: For the *Daily Worker*, like for the rest of the Stalinist press, the "social-Fascists" are trying—no less!—to put Hitler into power, which is apparently unnecessary in view of the fact—according to the D. W.—that Brüning and his regime are already Fascist. But never yet has the *Worker* sought to arouse the party members or the militant workers in general to the acute danger. Never has it presented to its readers a clear statement as to what the German party leaders plan to do to stop the Hitlerite march to power.

And in truth it cannot do so because the German Stalinist high-priests look upon Hitler's capture of power as inevitable. Some of them write coolly that a Fascist dictatorship—our readers will find the exact quotation elsewhere on these pages—is a "lesser evil" compared to a social democratic coalition. All of them take the attitude that anything that happens is preferable to adopting the only policy suitable for the situation: the organization of the "united front" of the Communist and the social democratic workers—what the Left Opposition proposes.

Boastful Claims and Sorry Realities

Month after month now, the German Stalinists have been substituting bureaucratic boasting and self-content for a policy of vigilance and united action. "We are growing. The Fascists are at the end of their rope." After every vote cast since the last Reichstag elections, the German Stalinists have announced that Hitler has reached the apex of his strength. But the Hitlerites have continued to grow in spite of these prognostications. Their increases have far outstripped those of the C. P.: In Mecklenburg-Schwerin, in Brunswick, in Oldenburg, in Hesse, in Hamburg, in Bremen, and only last Sunday in the elections to the Lippe Diet, where the Fascists jumped from nothing to 9 seats, while the C. P. G. mover from one member to two. These electoral gains by themselves are far from fatal to the proletarian cause because, first, there is a "political limit" to such gains by the Fascists, and second, the issue of power will not be decided by these votes. An editorial in one of the shrewdest organs of the American bourgeoisie, the *New York*

Stifling the Labor Defense

In a previous article on the dangers, confronting the I. L. D. because of the mechanization of the organization by way of the "group system", it was said that this new plan of organization would deprive the membership of the enthusiasm for activities so much needed in order to carry on mass defense work. Only six weeks have elapsed since this was predicted and already there can be seen the correctness of this estimation. Fortunately, not all of the branches of the I. L. D. have as yet been reorganized on the group plan, but branches that have already undergone this "successful" operation show definite signs of regression. For example, the model branch of all branches in the district for membership, meeting attendance, sale of Labor Defenders and other propaganda literature, is now showing definite signs of disintegration and demoralization as a result of having been put through the process of the group plan.

The following are facts appearing on its balance sheet to date—meeting attendance ranging from 50 to 75 members immediately prior to its being reorganized into an underground form of organization, dropped to but 13 members attending the first meeting and 17 members the second meeting after its reorganization, and with a corresponding effect upon its general line of activities. To illustrate, the branch, which holds the record of having sold 800 Labor Defenders the month prior to the "operation", now is faced with the prospect of hardly reaching more than half of that quota for the current issue. The mechanical grip upon the branch is so choking the life out of it that even the organizer of the branch (a good machine man) realized the danger and stated at the last meeting: "I had my doubts about the group system from the very beginning and now we can see that it will not work."

A more glaring example is not needed to show the actual demoralizing effects the mechanical group system holds for the rest of the I. L. D., now in the process of reorganization. Judging by these first signs of results, we will soon be justified to use the very popular expression "the operation was successful but..."

R. ULICHIN.

The Swaback Meeting in Youngstown

On January 6, comrade Swaback spoke in Youngstown on the differences within the international Communist movement. The meeting was attended by twenty-five interested workers. Members of the S. L. P., of the C. P. and the Y. C. L. were present and participated in the discussion which followed.

A small group of Stalinists attempted to provoke a fight by a running fire of interruptions, but had to desist when they received no encouragement from the workers present. In the discussion period their leader asked for the floor, received it, and launched into a tirade of slander against Swaback and the Opposition in general. He concluded with an appeal to everyone to protest by leaving the meeting. A worker, indignant at this tactic, jumped to his feet and protested against such provocation. He said, "You were given the floor. Why don't you give arguments instead of slander?"

But as everybody knows, a Stalinist is not infrequently impervious to sense. The Stalinist general and his army of three left the meeting. A Y. C. L. member, despite all their exhortations refused to leave. He said he could see no harm in discussing the differences between the Opposition and Stalinism.

The workers were of the same opinion. For several hours, they asked questions and indicated by their opinions that here in Youngstown, the wall of Roman Catholic ignorance in which the party rank and

file is kept, is breaking down. We will continue this work to demolish it completely and to reestablish the unity of the Communist vanguard.

—FRANK CHELOFF.

THE SPANISH ARTICLES

Pressure of space in this number compels us to hold over the first of the series of articles on the situation in Spain, by comrade Max Shachtman, for the next issue of the *Militant*, where it will surely appear.

Announcement that Gov. Roland H. Hartley of Washington had granted a parole to O. C. Bland, one of the five remaining prisoners in the Centralia Armistice Day cases, was made a few days ago from the state capital in Olympia. At the same time the governor extended indefinitely the leave of Eugene Barnett, who was paroled last May to care for his wife, then facing a critical operation.

Friends of the prisoners are greatly encouraged by these developments. Some three years ago the governor received a petition urging their release from 3,500 residents of Centralia, which has only 3,000 registered voters. Eight of the trial jurors also have made affidavit declaring that if the court had permitted them to know all the facts in the case they never would have convicted.

the ignorance in which the party rank and

Is Stalin Preparing Another 1923 in Germany?

The official leaders have followed one false and criminal policy after the other in recent years, swinging from a sterile and noisy adventurism to an equally clamorous and fruitless opportunism. In recent months, had they set themselves such an aim deliberately, they could hardly have done more to prejudice the interests of the struggle against Fascism. With Hitler advancing rapidly, the Thaelmanns, Remmeles and Neumanns not only shouted from the housetops that the "Social Democratic Party is the main enemy!", but entered into a vulgar competition with the Nazis to see who could outbid the other in playing on the nationalist prejudices of the petty bourgeoisie (the notorious "Program for National and Social Emancipation"). They not only repelled the social democratic workers, even those who were beginning to rebel against Wels, Stroebel and Co., by the thoroughly false cry of "social-Fascists" who must be driven out of the factories (and the "little Zoergiebeln" out of the playgrounds—literally!), but finally entered into a shameless support of the Fascist Prussian Referendum of a few months ago—an action which pleased and profited Hitler, on the one hand, and Wels on the other, but only brought disgrace to the banner of Communism.

Now, in the face of all the boasts of the immediate past, in the face of all the bragadocio and loud-mouthed radicalism, the Stalinists not only reject the imperatively needed united front with the social democratic workers, but are preparing to quit the field of battle without firing anything more deadly than a manifesto... from exile. No other construction can be put upon the policy and acts of the Thaelmanns. And a capitulation now would be a repetition of the Brandlerist surrender of 1923 with even more fatal consequences.

Days pregnant with great historical significance are ahead in Germany. False policies, obstinately maintained, will produce ruinous results. A change in time, resolutely applied, will eliminate much of evil that has been inflicted upon the movement in the past. From whom can such a change be looked for? From Thaelmann and Co. Hardly. Then from the Comintern, from Stalin? Again, hardly. What the "Master" thinks of the present situation in Germany, nobody is permitted to know. During the most stirring days of the Spanish revolution, the "leader of the world revolution" found nothing to say about the tasks of the Communists, or else no need of saying anything. The present German crisis once more finds the Communists without the benefit of Stalin's counsel. But its benefits would be more than dubious. For we already know—try to conceal it as he would—what Stalin advised the Communists to do under almost identical circumstances. In August 1923, on the eve of the decisive events in Germany of more than eight years ago—as the minutes of the 1926 Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will testify—Stalin wrote his views on Germany to Zinoviev and Bukharin. We quote this extensive and illuminating passage:

What Stalin Once Advised

"Should the Communists strive for the seizure of power (at the given moment) without the social democrats, have they matured to this point—therein lies the question, in my opinion. Taking over the power, we in Russia had such reserves as: (a) peace, (b) the land to

the peasants, (c) the support of the overwhelming majority of the working class, (d) the sympathy of the peasantry. The German Communists have nothing of the sort at the present time. To be sure, they have the Soviet state as a neighbor, which we did not have, but what can we give them at the present moment? If the power were now, so to speak, to collapse in Germany and the Communists seize it, then they will fall through with a crash. That in the best case. But in the worst case—they will be smashed to a thousand smithereens and set back. The matter does not lie in the fact that Brandler wants to "educate the masses", but in the fact that the bourgeoisie, plus the Right social democracy, would quite definitely convert the educational demonstration into the decisive battle (for the moment, they have all the chances for it) and would smash them. Surely, the Fascists are not asleep, but it would be better for us if the Fascists were to attack first; this would assemble the whole working class around the Communists (Germany is not Bulgaria). Besides, from all reports, the Fascists are weak in Germany. In my opinion, it is necessary to restrain the Germans and not to spur them on." (Our emphasis).

Every child now knows the results of Brandler's capitulation in 1923, the Brandler who hardly needed to be "restrained" (by the way, is not the restrainer, Stalin, today the sworn foe of... Brandlerism?). Today, in a more critical world ambience, capitulation without a struggle would have ever more far-reaching effects. Once in power, Hitler would not only be in a position to exterminate the flower of the German proletariat, but would inaugurate a prolonged period of reaction throughout Europe. And yet, the persistence of the Stalinists in their breakneck course, their refusal to adopt the proposals of the Opposition for a united front with the social democratic masses against the Fascist reaction, their inescapable responsibility for the division in the ranks of the proletariat which is confronted by the Hitlerites, is paving the road to power for the latter.

The Party Rank Must Speak!

The Thaelmann course, pursued with the approval of the Comintern, is traceable to Stalin, traceable as far back as 1923. This course is heavy with peril. It can and must be changed. The Communist workers can compel a change. The party members—not only in Germany, here too—must speak out loudly and demanding. We have no small squabble to settle here. It is about the "key to the international situation" that the Left Opposition, with comrade Trotsky at its head, is speaking now, the key which the Stalinists are allowing to slip from their hands. The party members must speak because silence now is a crime.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

"Anti-militarist propaganda must be cast over the whole nation like a wide net. The proletarian youth must be systematically imbued with class-consciousness and with a hatred of militarism. This kind of agitation would warm the hearts and arouse the youthful enthusiasms of the young proletarians. The proletarian youth belongs to social democratic anti-militarism. It must, and will be won over if everyone does his duty. He who has the youth has the army." —KARL LIEBKNECHT.

WHAT IS FASCISM?

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER TO A COMRADE

I am writing you today regarding the question of Fascism. It would be well if you were to discuss three questions with the English comrades, since in this manner we can arrive at conclusions and definite views.

What is Fascism? The name originated in Italy. Were all the forms of counter-revolutionary dictatorship Fascist or not? That is, prior to the advent of Fascism in Italy.

The former dictatorship in Spain, of Primo de Rivera, is called a Fascist dictatorship by the Comintern. Is this correct or not? We believe that it is incorrect.

The Fascist movement in Italy was a spontaneous movement of large masses, with new leaders from the rank and file. It is a plebeian movement in origin, directed and financed by big capitalist powers. It issued forth from the petty bourgeoisie, the slum proletariat and even to a certain extent, from the proletarian masses, Mussolini, a former socialist, is a "self-made" man arising from this movement.

Primo de Rivera was an aristocrat. He occupied a high military and bureaucratic post, and was chief governor of Catalonia. He accomplished his overthrow with the state and military forces. The dictatorships of Spain and Italy are two totally different forms of dictatorship. It is necessary to distinguish between them. Mussolini had great difficulty in reconciling many old military institutions with the Fascist militia. This problem did not exist for Primo de Rivera.

The movement in Germany is analogous mostly to the Italian movement. It is a mass movement, with its leaders employing a great deal of socialist demagoguery. This is necessary for the creation of the mass movement.

The genuine basis is the petty bourgeoisie. In Italy it is a very large base—the petty bourgeoisie of the towns and cities, and the peasantry. In Germany likewise, there is a large base for Fascism. In England there is less of that base because the proletariat is the overwhelming majority of the population:

GERMAN OPPOSITION

On Sunday, December 13, the Enlarged National Committee of the Left Opposition of the German Communist Party (Bolshevik-Leninists) met with representatives from Saxony and Wasserkante (Hamburg) present. A more extensive representation from the provinces was not possible because of financial difficulties.

Organization Growing

From the reports on the state of the organization it could be seen that the Left Opposition, freed from sectarianism has experienced a gratifying development in the course of the past six months. In Wasserkante, the formerly small group has become a relatively strong faction of the party, consisting of party functionaries to the extent of two-thirds. This local group is developing a stirring political activity. Likewise, the Saxon organization can account for further progress in the party and especially in the Youth. The Southwestern district has developed a certain political activity in recent times. Especially in Bruchsal have our comrades understood how to realize the united front in practice. A unity committee of all the proletarian organizations has been formed which places the entire working class of Bruchsal in struggle against Fascism. Other localities of this district have been similarly worked upon. At the same time we have succeeded in forming in groups in the Ruhr district, in gaining new connections in Schleswig, Upper-Schleswig, the Rhineland, Magdeburg and in many other cities, and the possibility exists of forming new groups in these localities in the near future.

In Berlin, the Opposition has made very good progress. This is expressed primarily in the formation of faction groupings in a series of party wards. The work in the party will undoubtedly soon be crowned with greater success.

The growth of the Left Opposition may best be measured by the constantly increasing distribution of our literature. The editions of our pamphlets have doubled in size from time to time, and the edition of the latest pamphlet has reached the number of 15,000 copies. Most of the editions have already been completely or almost completely sold

out; we are confronted by the need of issuing new editions. Our influence has risen enormously and we are not wrong in contending that in a very short time we shall gain strongly organizationally.

The weakness of our organization still lies in the insufficient organizational activity as measured by the present-day political requirements, as well as on the field of poor and slow accounting. In this connection, however, it should be observed that in spite of it the organization has managed its publications out of its own organizational forces.

Adopt Political Resolution

The main point on the agenda was the discussion on the political situation. A vigorously serious discussion developed in dealing with the draft of the resolution. Before all, it was a question of the immediate perspectives of the struggle in Germany and of the question of the struggle against Fascism. The united front as the central problem of the struggle against Fascism and its concrete application were especially the subject of the discussions. The draft of the resolution was unanimously adopted with supplementary additions. This draft is to be presented for discussion in the groups and serve as a preparation for the next conference.

One of the most important decisions of the Enlarged National Committee meet-

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Forward in Lenin's Way!

The Left Opposition Alone Carries on the Work of Il'yitch

Once again, the working class of Europe is facing a period of colossal historical opportunities. The world crisis of capitalism has produced a revolutionary situation in Central Europe. Communism is about to stand another gigantic test. Clarity, firmness, Bolshevik boldness are the demands of the minute.

And it is precisely at this time, that the memory of Lenin is alive as the revolutionary inspiration of all working class fighters. Lenin represents the victory of the Russian revolution, the flaming torch of the world revolution. It is to his glorious example that the militant proletariat turns at all moments of crisis, as a well of confidence, as a reservoir of revolutionary power.

Above all else, Lenin taught active realism in the class struggle. His was not a teaching of dead letters, but of living action. He analyzed, he divided his friends from his enemies, he calculated the right moment and the point of vantage and he struck. The dry and impotent formula of "social Fascism", the unrealistic conception of the "single reactionary mass" were unknown to him.

When Lenin arrived in the Petrograd of the February revolution, he did not find a working class ready to follow him blindly. His own disciples did not even grasp the grand sweep of his revolutionary ideas. He was not deceived by the trend nor by the particular stage of developments. He knew and he stressed that the masses can only learn from their own experiences, and he was determined to teach them, patiently but surely. Confident, intransigent and firm, he proceeded to carry out the task he had set for himself. Success met his resolute, but patient efforts.

What Lenin taught, the breath of life he breathed into the struggle of the proletariat for power, is today, unfortunately, entirely forgotten by those who usurp his place in the Communist International. The German Communist Party, the section of the vanguard of the international working class that is confronted with the greatest task of revolutionary action at the present is further away than ever from the road of Lenin. Its leaders are incapable of seeing the importance of the various factors in the situation. The ideological devastation brought about by Stalinism since the death of Lenin prevents them from mastering the political task of the moment: the unification of the working class of the country against the menacing and deadly attack of Fascism.

Lenin never stipulated the absolute necessity of the unconditional acceptance by the Russian working class of Bolshevik leadership in the remission of the Kornilov offense. In defeating Russian Hitlerism. He confidently joined in a united front with the social democratic workers and forced their Menshevik leaders to reveal their true colors. And he proved the superiority of Bolshevik leadership, defeating not only Kornilov, but the Kerenskies, the Tchekides and the Dams and Tseretellis with them.

Before the arrival of Lenin, the Russian party was also derailed, dragged into the conciliatory swamp by Stalin and by Kamenev. But the strength of the Bolshevik idea made possible a quick rearming of the party of Lenin and enabled it to pass through its internal crisis and to lead the Russian working class in triumph. The Bolshevik idea is not dead. The German Left Opposition, under the direct participation of Leon Trotsky, the co-fighter and the comrade of Lenin, is keeping the ideas of Leninism alive. The rearming of the German party is on the order of the day. Its glorious tradition dating back to the days of the Spartacists, to the stirring memory of its valiant pioneers, to Rosa and Karl, cannot fail to raise it to the high level of militancy of those days. The last word concerning the fate of the German working class has not yet been spoken.

The Stalinist epigones, rotten to the core and infested by the putrid theory of socialism in one country, are preparing to leave the German workers isolated in the battles to come. They want peace: the five year plan must first be completed. What is at stake is not only the five year plan, but the life itself of Workers' Russia. Stalin and his faction have been so entangled by their own mistakes, so disoriented by the policies of vulgar empiricism that they have lost all perspective. The alarm must be sounded. The situation must be saved. The Communist ranks must once more be awakened by the pungent, stimulating ideas of Il'yitch.

When Lenin first set foot on Russian soil in 1917, he addressed the following simple and strong words to the masses who had come to greet him:

"Dear comrades, soldiers, sailors and workers! I am happy to greet in your person the victorious Russian revolution, to greet you as the vanguard of the proletarian army of the world. . . . The hour is not distant when the peoples, answering the call of our comrade Karl Liebknecht will take arms against their exploiters, the capitalists. . . . The Russian revolution, achieved by you, introduces a new epoch. Long live the world revolution!"

The hour is not distant today, when the hosts of Lenin in Russia will have to answer the call of the hosts of Liebknecht in Germany. The Stalinist regime is revealing itself as an obstacle in the way of the world revolution, more sharply at the present than ever. The Left Opposition, with Trotsky, the closest collaborator of Vladimir Il'yitch Lenin at its head, is calling for clarity and action. It is sounding the alarm in time. To the German Communists, to the workers of Soviet Russia, to the proletariat of the whole world, the Left Opposition directs its voice the voice of Lenin. It is not yet too late. The German party is still capable of victory, of uniting the proletariat about it—for the defeat of the class enemy. Victory can come, will come in the way of the Left Opposition and comrade Trotsky, in the way of Lenin.

Lenin's Last Words to the Party

By the stability of the Central Committee, of which I spoke before, I mean measures to prevent a split, so far as such measures can be taken. For, of course, the White Guard in Russia was right when, in the first place, in his play against Soviet Russia he banked on the hope of a split in our party, and when, in the second place, he banked for that split on serious disagreements in our party.

Our party rests upon two classes, and for that reason its instability is possible and if there cannot exist an agreement between those two classes its fall is inevitable. In such an event it would be useless to take any measures or in general to discuss the stability of our Central Committee. In such an event no measures would prove capable of preventing a split. But I trust that is too remote a future and too improbable an event, to talk about.

"I have in mind stability as a guarantee against a split in the near future, and I intend to examine here a series of considerations of a purely personal character.

"I think that the fundamental factor in the matter of stability—from this point of view—is such members of the Central Committee as Stalin and Trotsky. The relation between them constitutes in my opinion, a big half of the danger of that split, which might be avoided, and the avoidance of which might be promoted, in my opinion, by raising the number of members of the Central Committee to fifty or one hundred.

"Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution. On the other hand comrade Trotsky, as was proved by his struggle against the Central Committee in connection with the question of the People's Commissariat of Ways of Communications, is distinguished not only by his exceptional abilities—personally he is, to be sure, the most able man in the present Central Committee, but also by his far-reaching self-confidence and a disposition to be too much attracted by the purely administrative side of affairs.

"These two qualities of the two most able leaders of the present Central Committee might, quite innocently, lead to a split; if our party does not take measures to prevent it, a split might arise unexpectedly.

"I will further characterize the other members of the Central Committee as to their personal qualities. I will only remind you that the October episode of Zinoviev and Kamenev was not, of course, accidental, but that it ought as little to be used against them personally as the non-Bolshevism of Trotsky.

"Of the younger members of the Central Committee, I want to say a few words about Bukharin and Piatakov.

Left Opposition in Appeal to Needle Trades Workers for United Action in Struggle

We are reprinting below a statement by our needle worker comrades, issued to all workers in their trade. Our comrades have represented the views expressed therein consistently and repeatedly at various public meetings and gatherings of the N. T. W. I. U. The statement is a recapitulation, in precise and concrete form, of the position of the Left Opposition in the needle trades situation. —Ed.

Fellow Workers and Comrades:

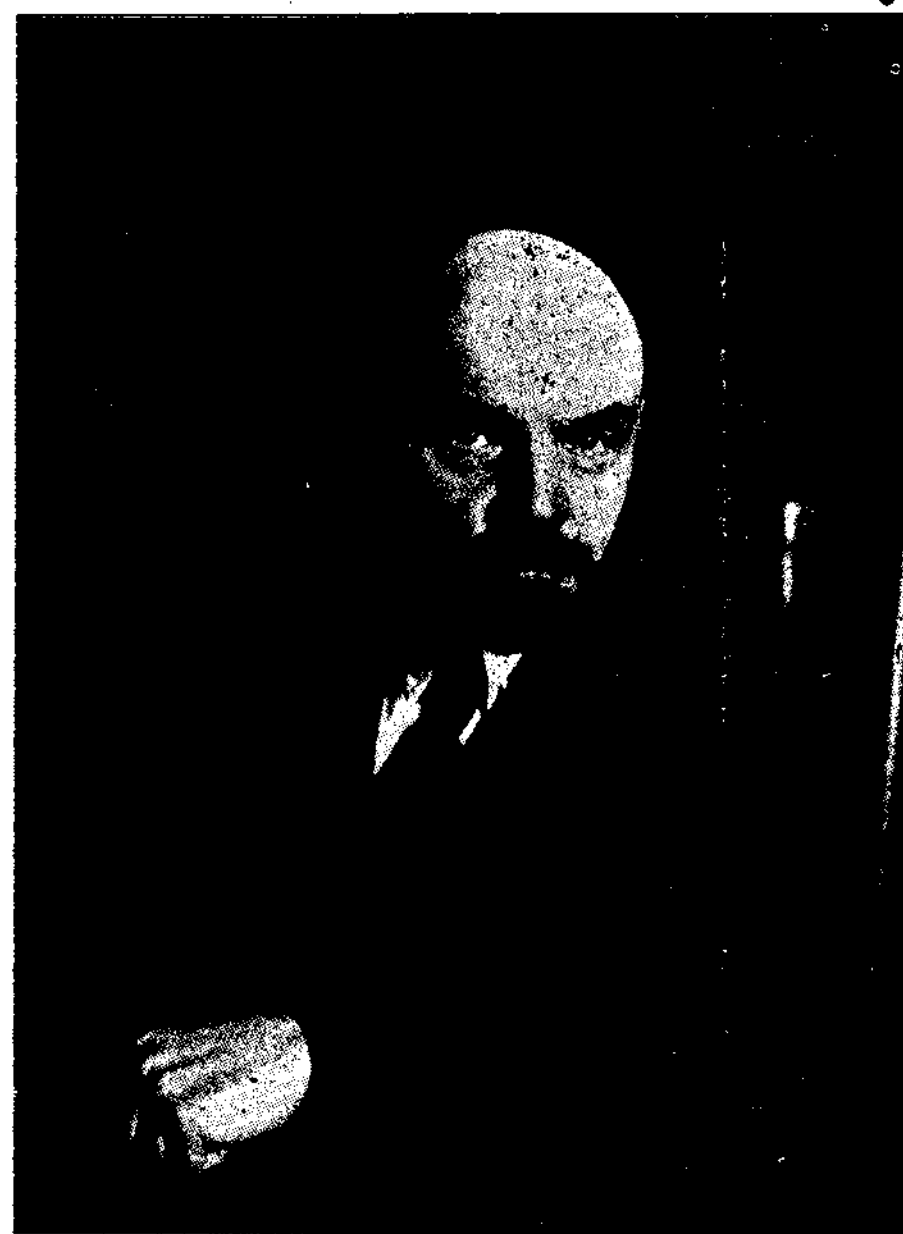
Again we are nearing the day when we will have to take the cudgels against the bosses: the dress manufacturers, contractors, jobbers, for a better living.

The agreements, as bad as they were, expire. The bosses are preparing to cut further into our earnings. For them the expiration of the agreements, is a signal for concerted action against our conditions—for us the expiration of the agreement must be a call to arms against their enslavement of the dressmakers.

We learned enough from the past to be ready to repulse and defeat the wage-

OPEN FORUM

Lecture by
ARNE SWABECK
The Heritage of Lenin
at the
Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue
Friday January 29, 1932
at 8 P. M.
QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION
ADMISSION: 25 Cents
Unemployed Workers Admitted Free
Auspsices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)



They are, in my opinion, the most able forces (among the youngest), and in regard to them, it is necessary to bear in mind the following: Bukharin is not only the most valuable and biggest theoretician of the party, but also may legitimately be considered the favorite of the whole party; but his theoretical views can only with the very greatest doubt be regarded as fully Marxist, for there is something scholastic in him (he never has learned, and I think never has fully understood, the dialectic).

"And then, Piatakov—a man undoubtedly distinguished in will and ability, but too much given over to administration and the administrative side of things to be relied on in a serious political question.

"Of course, both these remarks are made by me merely with a view to the present time, or supposing that these two able and loyal workers may not find an occasion to supplement their knowledge and correct their one-sidedness.

Dec. 25, 1922

"Postscript: Stalin is too rude, and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us Communists, becomes insupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint to it another man who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority—namely, more patient, more loyal, more polite, and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc. This circumstance may seem an insignificant trifle, but I think that from the point of view of preventing a split and from the point of view of the relation between Stalin and Trotsky which I discussed above, it is not a trifle, or it is such a trifle as may acquire a decisive significance.

—Lenin.

Jan. 4, 1923

Hitler Prepares to Strike

Stalinist Leadership Impotent in Face of Impending Struggle

Behind the social volcano of present day Germany, there is unfolding a political scene that has many elements of a farce in it. And that is not at all strange. Times of revolution, days pregnant with human convulsions, always show up the ruling classes and political personalities as a whole in all possible and impossible shapes, like a refraction in a mirror. So it was in the Russia of 1916-1917 with the buffoonery of the Rasputin and the equally risible counter-play of the liberal bourgeoisie. So in Spain since last April, with the solemn comedy of the "Workers Republic" and the trials of the "responsibles". In the current uncertain political situation, before the masses have had the opportunity to have their say, we are witnessing

a similar scene in the Reich.

Hitler and the Weimar Constitution
Hitler is defending the Weimar Constitution, the barge of glory of the "criminals of November 1918"! Answering the appeal of the Weimar Centrist: Bruening to agree to an avoidance of popular elections by extending the term of President Von Hindenburg by Reichstag decree, the new defender of Weimar and constitutionalism just bubbles over with indignation:

"The Weimar Constitution, he says, 'is the legal basis of the German Republic. Article 1 states that Germany is a republic deriving all power from the people (sic). Article XXI states that the President shall be chosen by the entire electorate.

"To substitute the Reichstag's verdict for the people's voice would be a manifest contradiction to the Constitution. . . . Our self-respect alone, here Chancellor, obliges us to decline your proposition to agree to the prolongation of President Von Hindenburg's term of office by a two-thirds majority of the Reichstag".

Thus spoke Hitler, whose legions are already lying in ambush, ready to throttle the working class—that same "people". No further bargains with the vacillating parties of the "democratic" bourgeoisie. Tenseness marks the moment. The high praetorians of the German master must put up a front of resoluteness, of intransigence. They know what that soon they will have to strike. And they are not underestimating their enemy.

Why Hitler Promises Private Debts Payment

The Austrian adventurer also knows, that in that battle the aid of the foreign powers would be indispensable to him. And that accounts for the other face of the farce: Hitler reassuring the international capitalist that private debts will be paid, while the "greatest German diplomat since Bismarck", namely the clericalist Chancellor bluntly declares that reparations will not be paid.

The leader of German Fascism is no fool. He realizes very well that a fulfillment of his "traditional" policy would mean isolation for a government of the "Third Reich". And isolation is just precisely what he fears most, no matter how much the clownish Feders prate about—antarchy. To crush the German proletariat tomorrow, Hitler will not hesitate for one moment to embrace his "arch-enemy" of today.

And, to be sure, that is just the direction the foreign policy of the Nazis is taking. In the same document addressed to Bruening, the National Socialist chieftain, in taunting his bourgeois opponent, remarks:

"Only when Germany can offer something, will she be given something".

For Attack on the Soviet Union

What Hitler wants to offer the world bourgeoisie, is no secret. He wants to offer it, a defeated and spineless proletariat, a Germany that will take the lead in the inevitable imperialist offensive against the U. S. S. R. That is the devil's bargain that Fascism is ready to conclude. And that is the basis on which the French, the British and the American robber governments will agree to meet it half way.

A huge slaughter is being prepared for the working class of Germany, for the workers of Soviet Russia. Doubtlessly, the understanding of this immediate danger is growing among the masses of the affected countries. The will to fight is rising. But misfortune of misfortunes: the leadership is not at its post. It is acting the role of the slacker. At a time in which the ground is out beneath the feet of reformism by the events themselves, the revolutionary leaders, the official Communist party finds itself unable and impotent, fails to rally the resolute and determined masses of proletarian fighters for the unpostponable struggle against the arm-

ed and arming class enemy. The Thaelmanns and the Renneuels and all of their sorry ilk dabble in sterile theories, attempt to theorize themselves out of their hard pressed position. The Stalinist incompetents offer nothing, absolutely nothing, to bring the workers into motion. They are much too occupied in covering up their own tracks. . . .

Thaelmann & Co. Prepare For Capitulation

Unfortunately, the shakiness, the spinelessness of the official leadership is also sowing apathy and helplessness into the ranks of the Communist workers. In a series of articles in the *New York Evening Post*, H. R. Knickerbocker, one of the more reliable and more independent of the bourgeois newspapermen, writes from Berlin:

"I asked a German Communist: What will you do when Hitler comes in?"

We will try, he answered, to get the social democrats to declare with us a general strike and run Hitler out the way the general strike ran out Kapp in 1919."

"But," I objected, "Kapp took the government by force and the social democrats were clear in their minds that as democrats, they had to defend the democracy. The social democratic government in 1919 itself declared the general strike. Will the social democratic leaders go with the Communists now to declare a general strike if Hitler comes to power legally?"

"Not much hope," he admitted.

"You have 6,000,000 Communist voters. It only took 50,000 Bolsheviks to make the Russian revolution. I know the conditions are entirely different. But why can't you 6,000,000 oppose Hitler by force?"

"We haven't got the guns," was the sententious reply. "The Soviet Union is not ready for a German revolution. We think if Hitler comes in he will run the country down so fast that by next autumn we can take power."

"But Hitler will then have all the guns."

"Yes, Hitler will have the guns. . . ." It is not amiss to bring the above quotation in its full length. For it is a revelation of the real state of mind the criminals of the Stalinist faction with the national-limitedness of their perspective, have managed to produce among their rank and file. The bourgeois reporter too, does not fail to see the situation clearly and the questions he asks are certainly appropriate. The workers of Germany are being deserted in their struggle by the usurpers of leadership in the German Communist Party and the Soviet Union. Thaelmann and Company are capitulating under the pretext that the social democracy influence in the working class must first be wiped out. In the meantime, the Nazis are laughing up their sleeves. Weakness, indecision, cowardliness on part of their enemy is just what suits them most. They are preparing to seize all the guns.

Fascists Prepared For Struggle

Knickerbocker tells us in the same article that he asked a National Socialist: "What will you do when you get power?" "He might have launched a long discussion of the party program," he says, "but his only reply was: 'Keep it.' The Fascists are not theorizing now. They are preparing for action. And action, decisive and determined, is the only thing that will save the working class. Elsewhere in the present issue of the *Militant* we are publishing a document of our German sister section. In it, the German Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) propose a concrete, brief and clear program of action to the Communist Party of Germany. It is worth while studying. Every member of the American party, every conscientious Communist ought to read it carefully and draw his conclusions. Time flies. It is necessary to act. The duty of every revolutionist is clear. Let their voices be heard everywhere. The present course of the Stalinist leadership must be stopped if the working class of the world is to avoid disaster.

—SAM GORDON.

New Trotsky Pamphlet Out

As we got to press, we receive the news that comrade Leon Trotsky's new pamphlet *Germany—The Key to the International Situation* will be out on sale beginning Wednesday next. The pamphlet is in three sections. It consists of the original work, entitled "Shall Fascism Really Be Victorious?", the article "For a Workers' United Front against Fascism," and an appendix bringing a document of the German Left Opposition.

Whoever want to know the Communist solution to the question: "Communism or Fascism must avail himself of a copy of this pamphlet at once. The price is 10 cents per copy, 7 cents in bundles of five or more.

Send your orders in immediately to: Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th Street, New York City.

(Continued on page 2)

A Review of the Recent National Tour

The Sweep of the Economic Crisis; Its Effects on the Revolutionary Movement

A tour of the country today reveals particularly the stark picture of the realities of unemployment. Cities like Chicago and St. Louis, one can say, are taking on a desolate appearance. The Illinois government itself admits 1,049,000 unemployed in the state, or 15.2 per cent of the total population. Yet everywhere the signs of a live vibrant unemployment movement of a mass character are quite absent, although a number of councils have been organized in the various cities. Throughout the official party there is an immense turnover of membership. As many as join the party ranks, pressed by the realities of the crisis, leave it again in just as large numbers. As a matter of fact most of the new recruits leave its ranks after a very brief sojourn. Upon the party this turnover is making its indelible imprint.

In the Left Opposition branches this is not the case. We are gaining new members slowly, the new recruits remain in our ranks, but our members are still small. What then becomes of these many "visitors" to the party ranks? Most of them take leave again because of being repelled by the existing bureaucracy or specifically by its blundering mistakes. Some of them learn a valuable lesson in the process and come toward the Left Opposition. A few become so disgusted that they are browbeaten back into their former apathy, but most of them unquestionably remain within the movement, sympathetic to Communism. In this sense the movement as a whole has certainly experienced growth. But within the party itself the ideologically low level is particularly apparent. The political life within the units is reaching zero.

In the Illinois mine fields this condition is reflected as well as is also the fact of the party's failure to employ the united front policy. Compelled by the power of job control concentrated in the hands of the union officials, and by the agreement reached between the John L. Lewis and John H. Walker cliques, the U. M. W. now they again all back in the U. M. W. At the expiration of their agreement in April. But testifying to the opportunities which have been available is the fact that in several local sections progressive elements still have considerable influence. The National Miners' Union is non-existent in that field. Its attitude of boycotting the rebel movements and its failure to meet them on a united front basis brought this result.

Meetings in the Mine Field

Naturally we presented this criticism at our meeting in St. Louis, Ill. Present were the party organizer in the mine fields with some of the party members. In the discussion they had very little to say about this question, the organizer had something else in mind. He asked the direct question: "Do you support the hunger march to Washington?" The answer was in the affirmative. He then, after first voicing his agreement with our general analysis of the capitalist crisis, attempted to prove that our position was the opposite. In support of this contention, he quoted the following from our open letter to the party on the unemployment question: "It is false to center the unemployment program, and the activities and demonstrations, around the deceptive opportunist petition campaign to Congress. . . . For us it became quite easy to verify, not only that this was still as correct as when written, but also that the hunger marchers themselves declared that they did not come to Congress to present petitions but to make definite demands. The audience present voiced no doubt of our further statement that the workers will obtain only what they are ready to fight for."

St. Louis Crowd Responsive

The city of St. Louis has very little of a revolutionary movement or of Communist activities. Naturally our Left Opposition branch there is small. Still, a splendid meeting gathered for our meeting. In fact we were greeted by the hearty applause of a typical American audience composed of workers who

Left Opposition in Appeal to Needle Trade Workers

(Continued from page 1)
start again a movement for unity. If the Right wing will reject our plea, if the Right wing will refuse a conference for a united strike, then all the dressmakers will know whom to blame for the division in our ranks. We will then proclaim louder than ever: The Right wing bureaucrats DO NOT WANT UNITY with the Industrial Union which represents the most militant section of the dressmakers. Both unions must be recognized as bona-fide organizations. On this basis.

We propose that:

1. The N. T. L. W. U. should send a letter immediately to the Joint Board of the I. L. G. W. U. proposing a conference to draw up demands and to elect a General Strike Committee, representative of both unions, each union reserving the right for freedom of criticism.
2. This letter to be printed in thousands of leaflets in a number of languages to be distributed among the wide masses of the dressmakers with a call to them to force the officialdom of the I. L. G. W. U. to accept our proposals.
3. A joint shop conference to follow which would definitely consider and sanction all conference proceedings and decisions.
4. A huge Joint Organization Committee to be organized of both unions with every worker who is ready and willing to help eligible to participate in the

evidently had so far had very little contact with the Communist movement but nevertheless had received one object lesson from the capitalist crisis. A couple of Stalin supporters took exception to our views, but it came in the form of merely repeating old slanders of Trotsky always having been a menshevik. Unfortunately for the objectors, a person who evidently had strayed in by accident very fervently took up the cudgels for the capitalist system which was under indictment of the whole audience. And despite our efforts to make the distinction clear, it quite naturally turned its scorn almost equally against all three objectors in common.

The Tour Further West

In Kansas City we met a different kind of opposition. The party functionaries spared no efforts to keep the workers away from our meeting. Members from the unemployed councils were warned to stay away. Those who had distributed our leaflets were labeled "dangerous to the working class". But there was no evidence that the workers took that very seriously and those party members who came to our meeting greeted the first remarks with a snicker, soon became attentive and listened very carefully.

In both of these cities there are good opportunities for the movement in general and for the Left Opposition. Our units, however, are as yet weak numerically, a condition which we must, of course, endeavor to overcome. In this respect comrade Clarke, who went to Kansas City to stay for a period, is doing good pioneer work. Our St. Louis branch is taking up much more effective work. Perhaps there could be no better tribute to this fact than the panic-fear with which the party bureaucrats have gone about destroying the Mooney united front movement which was beginning to develop in Southern Illinois particularly through the assistance of our St. Louis branch.

Minneapolis Movement Growing

In this respect we have had similar experiences in Minneapolis. There, our members have for years been deeply rooted in the labor movement and established real prestige for themselves among progressive and Left wing workers. Naturally our members would be of serious account in a Mooney movement actually organized on a united front basis. Because of this, the petty party bureaucrats worked overtime maneuvering to keep our branch representation out. By a little trick it was accomplished at the first conference, but with the result that all representation, outside of the party and its auxiliaries, dropped near the vanishing point. This, however, can soon be remedied and the Mooney movement reborn.

Our Minneapolis branch had not less than four public meetings arranged for the tour with a banquet thrown in for good measure. But it occurred just during the period of the Christmas holidays which to an extent accounted for the fact that these meetings were not as large as they should have been when organized by a live and strong branch. Nevertheless the elements mostly attracted were those with a militant record in the local labor movement. Because of that, the discussions following each lecture became very thorough and fruitful.

A portion of the Minneapolis stay became devoted to the problems of our branch and its function. It has succeeded in adding quite substantially to its ranks. Its activities are generally organized in a thorough manner, particularly centering in the trade union field. Just now it is renewing its efforts to put more active life into the local railroad council to organize a fight against the pending wage cuts.

Excellent Meeting in Chicago

The Chicago Left Opposition branch made one important step forward in acquiring permanent headquarters. It has become a place full of life, meetings and study classes take place regularly and generally speaking, quite successfully. For our tour, one public meeting was held at the headquarters and one

in the down town section. The latter proved highly successful. It attracted a good-sized audience and brought out so many questions which in sum and substance amounted to almost a full review of the Left Opposition platform.

This branch has some recent gains to its credit, particularly among young workers. Those comrades who a short time ago were expelled from the Y. C. L. because of their fight against the system of bureaucracy have continued their logical development and adhered to the Left Opposition platform. They are now active members of the Chicago branch, comrade Satir is already busily engaged teaching other young workers. While there have been periods of a certain let-down in active work carried on by this branch in the past, its future prospects of steady growth are already quite well assured.

Winding Up in the East

In the Eastern section, we held public meetings in Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Youngstown. In the latter city we will henceforth have a functioning branch. It begins its activity with small numbers, but that is no deterrent; it has been the history of our whole movement including those branches which are today very lively. In Cleveland we have also taken steps toward the formation of a branch. When we reach the point of recording the gain of a few young recruits in that city, a live existence will be assured.

The efforts made by the little party bureaucrats in Pittsburgh, to break up our meeting and by similar individuals in Youngstown to create friction, our readers already know, came to naught in a rather inglorious fashion. In all of the meetings there was a good sprinkling of party members present, at several instances asking questions and participating in the discussion. Throughout the tour good collections were made to aid us in further activities. As one example in this respect, we might mention that from seven comrades alone, in Boston a total contribution of \$50.00 was made.

All in all the tour brought splendid results. First, in again bringing forward in public meetings the Left Opposition views of problems of the class struggle. Secondly, in strengthening our branches everywhere and lastly, our branches foremost, in knitting our organization as a whole more closely together.

—ARNE SWABECK.

A Set-back for Stalinism . . .

On Jan. 18, I was asked by my Local Union to give a report on the Marine Workers' Defense Committee. At once the chief leader of the T. U. U. L. took the floor and made a motion that my report be delayed. His reasons were: that their delegate was not present and from what information they had so far, the committee should be withdrawn. He was followed by one of his lieutenants who also spoke in favor of withdrawing from the Committee. I was granted the floor next. I explained, that since their delegate had only attended one of these three meetings, he could not give much of a report, and that I was asked by the Committee because of his absence and lack of interest to have the L. U. send another delegate in his place. Therefore I urged that action be taken immediately. The membership which is now familiar with the case, became uneasy. They could not understand the dishonest maneuver of these two would-be revolutionary leaders of the T. U. U. L., refused to entertain the amendment. An appeal from the decision of the chair was demanded. The vote was taken and guess what happened—out of about a hundred and twenty-five (125) members, about eighteen (18) belonging to the T. U. U. L. eighty-eight (88) voted for hearing the report immediately and five (5) voted to postpone it. I must say that I can hardly find words to express my gratitude to those members of the T. U. U. L. whom their conviction forbade to raise their hand with the five (5) allies of the hangman. We also owe a certain amount of respect to those members who claim they are not familiar with the case. Yet as workers, rather than to throw their lot in with the hangman they abstained. Now came my report. In order to clear up some of the misunderstanding, I had to quote the statement from the *Daily Worker* mentioned in some of the T. U. U. L. members' protest. They were ashamed of their own quotation. I stressed the work of the Defense Committee and also read off the letter from the I. L. D., in which they now offer to defend the Marine Workers.

I did not even have to re-appear when some members shouted "Brother chairman, I make a motion to donate them another fifteen dollars and to substitute the one delegate". The chairman again refused to entertain the motion. Instead he picked up the constitution and started, "In the name of . . . I declare this meeting adjourned." No sooner had he finished when two members had jumped on the

platform and tried to take the gavel away from him to reopen the meeting.

A free-for-all was in full swing and in ten minutes another "third period" had taken place. Casualties were as follows: compound fractures of two chairs and three tables legs, a few minor scull bruises. The peace treaty is set for January 21. And now a few words on the chairman. He helped to "make history" for our L. U. He placed upon it the blackest spot of any of his forerunners. Never in its darkest days had a chairman of this Local taken such action. And now, to prevent any such recurrences we have to recall him and elect a new chairman at our next meeting. Should the T. U. U. L. whose battle he fought, and who supported him in exercising his "legal" rights under our constitution to adjourn the meeting, feel that we are doing them and the workers in their camp an injustice by this more they can again exercise their legal rights, by appealing to the District Council or General President Huthcheson.

Resurge of Mine Struggles

Miners Learning, Gathering Forces for Coming Fight

Reports from the mine fields tell of a reestablishment of the influence of the U. M. W. A. in recent months. This organization, controlled to the point of strangulation by the abominable Lewis machine for years was considered to be on its last legs only a short time ago. Due to the splitting up of the advanced militants among the miners, the Stalinists allowing the "progressive" fakers a free hand by their narrow and bureaucratically limited policy, the U. M. W. A. because of its job control is being looked upon by many miners as the only organization left for them.

The new influx of membership into the union will undoubtedly revive the Left wing within it and open up real possibilities for militant action among the miners on a nation-wide scale. In view of all these developments and in view of the approaching international convention of the U. M. W. A., the article by comrade Allard published below is especially interesting and important. More articles by the same comrade and by other comrades in the mine fields will follow. —Ed.

The district convention of the U. M. W. A. was held soon after the rank and file movement in Illinois had been decisively defeated by the Lewis-Walker-Op-

platform and tried to take the gavel away from him to reopen the meeting.

A free-for-all was in full swing and in ten minutes another "third period" had taken place. Casualties were as follows: compound fractures of two chairs and three tables legs, a few minor scull bruises. The peace treaty is set for January 21. And now a few words on the chairman. He helped to "make history" for our L. U. He placed upon it the blackest spot of any of his forerunners. Never in its darkest days had a chairman of this Local taken such action. And now, to prevent any such recurrences we have to recall him and elect a new chairman at our next meeting. Should the T. U. U. L. whose battle he fought, and who supported him in exercising his "legal" rights under our constitution to adjourn the meeting, feel that we are doing them and the workers in their camp an injustice by this more they can again exercise their legal rights, by appealing to the District Council or General President Huthcheson.

—W. H. H.

erators and Department of Justice combination. Scores of plain and simple unionists had been rounded up and grappled and jailed because of their so-called "sympathies" with the Communists. It is a fact that the rank and file movement wanted the alliance of the Communists but the official party blantly refused, condemning the movement as a betrayal. It was several weeks before the anger of the rank and file could be overcome and gradually we were able to convince the miners that there was a difference between the "Communism" of the official party and the "Communism" of the Opposition. The result is that today the miners know a great deal more of "Trotskyism" and its differences with the false teachings of Stalinism. If we were not able to make greater organizational gains in the struggle it was because of the numerical weakness and the difficulties of going out among the "raw material" and showing them the differences between the factions. This problem, I assume, is universal. But still, it is a bigger problem among the American workers, due to their political backwardness.

Causes for Retreat

We may summarize the struggles of the Illinois miners under the leadership of the rank and file, their weaknesses and failure to capture the union, as follows:

1. The rank and file leadership was weak in understanding the most elementary problems of the working class—therefore it was virtually without a program.
2. Hordes of opportunists, disgruntled fakers, swarmed into the movement contaminating the healthy proletarian base. To see our party controlled by elements that do not understand the need of united action under the circumstances.
3. The combination of the reactionary forces of the U. M. W. A., the bosses and their government. These forces drove back into "line" nearly 35,000 miners who had through their local unions endorsed the rank and file office.
4. The official party's hostility and stubbornness in demanding the unconditional control of the rank and file movement. The party refused to be a minority. Of course, this is the general program of the U. M. W. A. and there is nothing new in the outrageous manner they gave help to the enemies of the Illinois miners. To me, this was the most tragic experiment in the labor movement.

The present situation in Illinois is surely heading toward another movement that will be fought bitterly. The contract expires March 31, 1932. The Illinois district represents the last semblance of absolute job control in any mining field in the country. We can go farther by saying that it is the last section of the American unskilled working class that has job control. The union is at stake. The miners' organization in this state will not be fighting for better conditions, nor to hold what it has, but it will fight for its very rights to exist as a union. The leadership of the union surely is not very much concerned, as most of the present staff "have accumulated wealth and are 'independent'."

Conditions are horrible. The plight of the American working class is well felt by every revolutionist. There is no need to dwell on that here. It is highly significant, however, to point out the fact that the national government in a public statement says that the American Red Cross has changed its policies relative "to an act of God" and is "appropriating" money to aid the bituminous miners. The State Committee on unemployment also emphasizes the "dire need of the bituminous coal miners". This is not an accident or an unrelated incident. Whether the coal miners' conditions are worse than those of the rest of the American working class is not the question that concerns the capitalist class. It is of supreme importance, however, that the coal miners have a strong tradition of struggle. And since the Wall Street crash and even prior to that time, some section or other of the industry has at one time or another been involved in bloody guerrilla warfare. That is the dynamite that strikes fear into their hearts.

The Miners' Educational Leagues

In Franklin County, over 20 local unions are affiliated to a Franklin County Miners' Educational League. This is a duplicate of the Stanton Sub-district organization. It holds meetings regularly in various mining towns every Sunday. The benefit of this organization is great. The topics are always of interest to the miners. The thinking of the miners is stimulated and raised to a higher level. The tolerance towards Communists is excellent and every form of political philosophy is permitted expression. This minority right is in line with our program and is receiving great sympathy throughout the whole union. A general Left wing program has been adopted to present before the international convention. Resolutions on the Soviet Union Criminal Syndicalism, Unemployment restriction of length of time in office abolition of the International Executive Board, numerous revisions of the constitution such as that reading "share of our products" to "the full social value of our products", etc., etc. are some of the things the Educational Leagues have adopted and sworn to fight for in the International gathering. This Left trend has been brought about by the prevailing conditions, naturally, but also by the great pressure of Left Opposition comrades and other class conscious militants in the field.

—GERRY ALLARD.

—M. A.

ON THE QUESTION OF THE STATE

A comrade from Bethlehem writes to the *Militant* that Communists, sympathizers and Left wingers still inquire on the attitude of the Communists toward the question of the State. They further ask what is the position of the Left Communists. The comrade inquires: "Is the aim of the Communists, after a successful proletarian revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to continue to build a State?"

In reply to the comrade, it can be stated that the views of the Communists relative to the State, or government, are definite and specific. The early and modern leaders of scientific socialism or communism have answered clearly all that is involved therein. The first to do so were Marx and Engels in their historic "Socialism—Utopian and Scientific", which comprises a section of his larger work, "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism (Anti-Duehring)".

Class Society and the State

The Communists see in the State an organ of domination of one class in society over another. Till the advent of power by the proletariat in the Soviet Union, the State had always been an instrument of power of a ruling and exploiting class over the mass of exploited people. This has been the situation in all preceding class societies: slavery, feudalism and today capitalism. Modern capitalism in its stages of growth, and largely even yet, expresses itself through the parliamentary—allegedly through the methods of "universal" suffrage—form of government. But already, in its imperialist epoch and its decadence or decline on an international scale—it is resorting to another form of domination or dictatorship, that is, the Fascist dictatorship, which, among other things, shows more plainly the bankruptcy of the economy of capitalism today and compels it to resort to special repressive forms to maintain, somehow, capitalist domination.

The Communists understand that the State is but the outgrowth of the existing social and class relations which arise out of the conditions of production and distribution of the means of existence. This is so under the Soviets in the period of the proletarian dictatorship, even as in capitalist society itself. No Communist desires a State or repressive organ for its own sake. But unlike the Anarchists and Syndicalists, they know that the mere denial or negation of the State and its role, does not do away with it.

The Proletarian State

The proletarian State, the Soviet Union, too, is an apparatus of one class against another. The proletariat has succeeded the bourgeoisie as the ruling class, and, in alliance with the peasantry there, protects the interests of the useful producers and endeavors to eliminate all forms of exploitation and exploiters. Soviet rule is the highest form of democratic procedure yet developed. It is not a parliamentary form, after the manner of capitalism but, in the main,

an industrial form or the political expression of the masses.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, in Russia in the form of a Soviet Government—Workers' Councils—represents the transition form between capitalist society and the final establishment of classless—hence governmentless—society, that is: Communism. The Soviet state strives for the complete elimination of all forms of capitalism and capitalists, petty or large. At the same time, as one of its outstanding achievements, the Soviet government assists in the establishment of the social and economic functions of the working masses. So long as classes in one form or another exist, a governmental apparatus or State will exist. Its final elimination or dissolution can only be the result of a long process in which the useful producers—workers of brain and muscle—finally establish all the necessary bases of social production and distribution, without any kind of exploiting factors or remnants, and thereby develop a condition wherein no form of governmental apparatus is required. In other words, to paraphrase Marx and Engels, the administration of men (government) is to be replaced by the administration of things, that is, the administration of the processes of production and distribution or the establishment of a social and industrial commonwealth in which political government, as we understand it now, becomes wholly unnecessary. Society will function through social and industrial forms. On this question Daniel De Leon, the American revolutionist, has made great contributions which have been attested to by Lenin.

Regarding the gradual elimination of the State, Engels has described the process as a withering away or vanishing of the State. Our readers can find voluminous material on this and kindred questions in Lenin's brilliant work, the "State and Revolution", Trotsky's "Terrorism and Communism", Marx's "Criticism of the Gotha Program" and other works. The point of view of the Left Opposition is simply expressed therein.

The Soviet Government Today

There remains nevertheless the situation in the Soviet Union today. That Stalin and Stalinism have to a large degree converted the Soviet apparatus into a bureaucracy which less and less represents the basic historical interests of the proletariat, does not do away with the fundamental fact of the necessity for the proletariat to create a State, a Soviet government, for its own ends. Stalinism has abused the proletarian State, has made a mockery of proletarian democracy in the Communist party, in the Soviet government, in the unions, etc., but despite the terrible abuses, despite the usurpation of powers by the bureaucracy, the Soviet government remains a WORKERS' STATE. Despite all that happened, the Left Opposition has full faith in the regeneration of the Communist party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International. The vigilance and understanding of the worker-Communists and proletarian, led by the

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

ROSA LUXEMBURG

On the Anniversary of Her Assassination by the German Social Democrats

(Continued from last issue)

The differences between Centrists and Left crystallized another stage in the existing debates on the significance of imperialism. The right wing openly demanded "equal rights or our industries in the colonies" (Quesset at Chemnitz Congress 1912). To oppose colonialism was utopian, Luddites smashing machinery. Kautsky defined the Centrist position in the *Neue Zeit* (1912). Imperialism is the endeavor of an industrial capitalist nation to annex agrarian territory. As such it is only one form of capitalist expansion. From the "economic viewpoint" there were tendencies towards the formation of an all-embracing world trust, a super-imperialism that would eliminate competition and struggle. He urged rapprochement with the sections of the bourgeoisie who were in his opinion not interested in imperialism, to be achieved by the advocacy of the policy of disarmament and the United States of Europe under capitalism.

For Rosa Luxemburg, imperialism was not merely a policy preferred by a narrow clique, but the last phase of capitalism, pregnant with revolutionary consequences. The limitations of this article preclude the detailed discussion her views merit as set out in her vigorous "Accumulation of Capital" (1912). It must suffice here to state that she conceived the problem of imperialism to be a problem of the realization of surplus value and not of monopolist exploitation under finance-capital, as Lenin sees it in his well-known brochure. She takes as her point of departure the criticism of the diagrams in Marx's second volume of *Capital*. Dealing with the reproduction of social capital as a whole, she indicates the manner by which capitalism achieves a certain equilibrium between the two great sectors of economic activity (a) production of means of production (b) production of articles of consumption, and is enabled to absorb the ever-growing mass of commodities. These diagrams, Rosa proceeds, are a theoretical fiction and misleading to boot. If capitalism could profitably realize its surplus value within its own framework, how account for the fact that production outstrips consumption, and explain the fact of the struggle for markets and colonies. There would be no objective impediments to capitalist accumulation nor any immanent necessity of the social revolution.

Marx's analysis is based on the assumption of an all-inclusive capitalist world with but two classes, where in reality it functions in a non-capitalist environment. It is to this latter "third person" that capitalism must turn to market its surplus. Imperialism is the political expression of the process of capital-accumulation in its struggle for the rest of the still unoccupied non-capitalist territory and is thereby a new lease of life for capitalism and its gravedigger at the same time.

The theory of Rosa is open to serious objection, on both theoretical and empirical grounds. Undeniably, as a matter of historical fact, capitalist development does proceed by the systematic extension of its base. To extricate itself from its internal contradictions every national capitalist turns to the reserves of the world market. Lenin had occasion to advert to the problem of the external market in his polemics against the Narodniki (populists) and the legal "Marxists". The conditions that give rise to the foreign market are not the impossibility of realizing a profit, abstractly considered, but extended circulation of commodities and the tendency of capitalist production to the growth of the productive forces break down the old regional and state barriers. Production is anarchically carried on for an unknown market, resulting in the disproportional development of the various branches of industry and recurrent crises of over-production. The higher organic composition of capital, technical progress, leads to a fall in the rate of profits. The fusion of banking and industrial capital known as finance-capital, which arise under conditions of the concentration of production, seeks to counter-act this tendency by means of monopoly, in the home market by protective tariffs, abroad in the struggle for markets and colonies for the export of capital (raw materials, cheap labor, cheap land). War is not merely the armed conflict for the annexation of agrarian territory but the struggle of monopolist finance-capital for the repatriation of the world market, in other words the contradiction between the productive forces matured for a socialized world economy and the nationally limited, capitalist methods of appropriation.

Rosa Luxemburg's theory has certain points in common with Kautsky's as Lenin's has with that of Hilferding. She could explain the seizure of a backward agrarian region but how would she explain the lust for Lorraine or Belgium? She seeks to establish absolutely objective barriers to capitalist development by her conception of "third persons" but the fact is that the contradictions of capitalism lead to proletarian and colonial revolutions while the greater part of the world is still composed of "third persons". Her theory does not throw into necessary relief either the national or colonial problem.

The clouds of the coming war were

rolling up ominously. There is no lack of documents of the pre-war socialist opposition to imperialism. The best known resolutions emanated from the Stuttgart (1907) and the Basle (1912) Congresses of the Second International. At Stuttgart, Rosa Luxemburg introduced the amendment on behalf of the Russian and Polish delegations. There was never a word breathed in these resolutions of "national defense" as a justification for socialist truce with the capitalist state in the event of war, which did not prevent the traitors later from covering up their enlistment on the side of God and Kaiser with quotations from Marx, Engels and Lassalle, referring to 1830, 1848. Officially the International pledged itself to utilize the war crisis which was characterized as a product of the imperialist struggle for markets, to the overthrow of the capitalist system. The outbreak of the war confirmed beyond a doubt that opportunism was the forerunner of social patriotism. The virus of adaptation to the legal and constitutional conditions of the bourgeois state had rotted the very foundation of the international. Rosa Luxemburg had entertained more than a premonition when she uttered the warning note at the party Congress of 1910, "we thunder against militarism in time of peace but when war really breaks out . . ." The reference was to the seizure of Chinese territory by German imperialism. And later when she attacked the official leadership for its passivity in the Morocco crisis (1911). In the acid test of 1914, Kautsky hastened to lend additional "justification" to the socialist rogues with his inimitable thesis that the International was an instrument of peace, not war.

The Left wing stood by its guns. Together with Karl Liebknecht who had roused the chauvinist fury of the social democratic Reichstag faction by his refusal to vote the war credits, Rosa Luxemburg began the work of the underground and illegal organization that led to Spartacus and the split in the social democracy. When she was released from prison, together with Karl Liebknecht, she organized and participated in the never-to-be-forgotten heroic war demonstrations in Berlin in 1918, for which they were immediately imprisoned.

It was at that time that Rosa produced her brochure "The Crisis in the German Social Democracy" under the pseudonym Junius. Lenin in Switzerland greeted it cordially as by and large an excellent work of Marxism. But in the

interests of the ideology of the future Third International which in his mind was already clearly projected, he submits certain of its views to keen though comradely criticism. He considers it a defect that social opportunism as a distinct current is not directly opposed to the current social patriotism as an explanation of the betrayal and collapse, thus leaving the problem of the split in the International dangerously open. He also takes exception to the thesis that in the era of unbridled imperialism no more national wars were possible. In this imperialism war it was true that Russian imperialism stood behind Serbian nationalism. But it was wrong to dogmatize. The wars of the French Revolution were national in their inception and became imperialist under Napoleon. The imperialist Seven Years War between France and England led to national wars later (imperialist war is of course possible on the basis of serfdom or primitive capitalism). If all wars are to be branded as reactionary it would afford an objective basis for pacifist and disarmament illusions and militate against the struggle of the workers and the colonial peoples. Finally he criticizes Junius' selection of the 1848 slogan that the best means of national defense was the united German Republic to be achieved by class struggle. This was in place as a watchword of the bourgeois democratic revolution against feudalism. But the slogan now must be the conversion of the imperialist war into civil war for the realization of socialism.

The response of Rosa Luxemburg to the October revolution could never be in doubt. She was no stranger to its problems. When the character of the future Russian revolution was debated at the London (1907) Congress of the Russian social democracy and Lenin defended the position of the Mensheviks, Rosa Luxemburg along with Lenin represented the viewpoint of the Bolsheviks. Her formula for the bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia coincided with Trotsky's the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasantry. The Mensheviks attempted to build up a difference of conception between that formulation and Lenin's. But the latter himself in 1909 wrote "the formula 'proletariat supported by the peasantry' remains entirely within the bounds of the very dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." Of the November revolution

Rosa wrote: "Whatever a party could muster in a historical moment of courage, energy, capacity of action has been completely accomplished by Lenin, Trotsky and their comrades. Their October insurrection was not only the actual salvation of the Russian revolution but also rescued the honor of international socialism". In the posthumous work on the Russian revolution published by Paul Levi, she submits certain policies of the Bolsheviks to sober criticism. Her friends Warski and Clara Zetkin say that she had revised these views and had not intended the document, written in prison, for publication. That is very likely but in any case history has proved that her criticism was substantially incorrect. Thus she failed to distinguish between the strategic aspects of the agrarian problem and the problem of a collectivized rural economy. She took a position on the national problem that resembled Bucharin's later: that self-determination under capitalism was unreal. Only socialism could realize the self-determination of peoples. Similarly her views on the red terror the monopoly of legality by the Communist party, the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly. She would in all likelihood have been compelled to modify these views in the light of a more intimate study of the problems of the dictatorship. Some of her criticism of Lenin's policies however which completely missed the mark might be applicable to the seamy sides of the policy of the Stalin epigones.

In 1918 came the revolt of the Kiel sailors and soldiers of Berlin. It opened the prison doors. The socialist traitors attempted to persuade Wilhelm to stay to the last. Failing to guide German capitalism into the channels of a constitutional monarchy they yielded to the idea of bourgeois republic. Their hatred of Bolshevism outmeasured everything else. They particularly feared Spartacus which had constituted itself as a separate party with the slogan of All Power to the Soviets. Noske, surrounded by the Hohenzollern generals, unleashed the white terror. The Spartacists were shot down by the thousands in bloody civil war. Rosa and Karl were murdered in the most bestial fashion. Her body in a disfigured condition was dragged up months later from the Spree river.

German menshevism and the bourgeoisie has triumphed. Vae Victis! But the spirit of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht marches on in the millions of German workers who today are again confronted with the problem of power. The day of the reckoning with the social democracy approaches.

—MAURICE SPECTOR.

For Communist Action!

Documents of the German Left Opposition

We are reprinting below excerpts from several documents of the German Left Opposition, which appeared a few weeks ago in their organ "Permanente Revolution". With firm Communist conviction, our German brother section raised its voice in warning and made positive proposals for a change in policy to the Central Committee of the German Communist Party. The ideas of the Left Opposition rest upon the experiences of the great Russian revolution. Despite persecution by the state and the bureaucracy, despite calumniation and repression, these ideas are irresistibly forging ahead. They are bound to become the common property of all revolutionary workers.

—E.L.

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C. P. G.

Dear Comrades:

Victory is possible, victory is probable, everything must be done to assure it. Only in this manner can revolutionaryists pose the question.

The question of the victory over Fascism in Germany is also the question of the fate of the U. S. S. R., regardless of whether it is considered from the economic, the political or the purely military point of view. But that means that so as to be able to assure the future of socialist economy in the U. S. S. R., the Soviet Union must stake all its strength on the victory over Fascism of the European revolution with which it is inseparably linked. This alone can be the strategic line of the Communist party.

The C. P. G. must adopt a position of departure that rests upon irreconcilable and ruthless struggle against Fascism, for the purpose of destroying Fascism in the inevitable and open struggle for the conquest of power.

The united revolutionary class action of the proletariat must be organized against the victory of Fascism.

This can be realized only when all revolutionary forces, no matter in what camp they stand at the moment, unite for this common action that stands on the order of the day. We know full well that the premises for such an action are extremely unfavorable. But in spite of this, the C. P. G., as the historically chosen organization must in view of the seriousness of the situation make the attempt to realize a genuine fighting unity of the working class. To this end, we submit the following proposals:

The C. P. G. is immediately to ap-

proach all political groups, trade unions and workers' organizations who declare themselves prepared to fight against Fascism, with the aim of a common appeal for the formation of a Joint Council of Action against Fascism. This appeal must contain:

1. The creation of Committees of Action consisting of representatives of factories, trade unions, political groups and other workers' organizations. It is of the greatest importance, that all the existing tendencies in the revolutionary working class of each locality actually be represented in the Committees of Action.

2. The Joint Council of Action is to be constituted at a congress of delegates from these Committees of Action in the entire country, which should be convoked without delay. This congress is to represent the proletarian concentration against the concentration of the reactionaries.

3. The congress must be organized in advance as the proletarian counter-parliament in the event of a Fascist Reichstag, or against an extra-parliamentary or parliamentary Fascist government.

4. The congress must solve three tasks concretely:

- (a) the preparation of the general strike to prevent the seizure of power by Hitler;
- (b) the formation of one common, non-party workers defense corps;
- (c) the elaboration of a common minimum program with regard to the next steps to be taken by the Committees of Action.

Under a correct leadership, such a defense action contains all the necessary elements with which to lead the proletariat, in view of the objective possibilities described above, not only against Fascism, but to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie as a whole.

Such a policy is possible only after a radical change in the course of the party. The experiences of the French C. P. speak an unequivocal language. Despite the "third period", despite the ultra-Left trade union tactic, despite "social Fascism" and similar slogans, the party has been forced by the pressure of objective conditions and partly also, on the basis of sound proposals made by the Left Opposition, to change its course radically. (See the proposal to the Socialist Party of France for common action on the second ballot, the Parliamentary Congress for the establishment of trade union unity). It is high time to draw the consequences in Germany and to re-establish the unity of all genuine Communists.

We declare emphatically that, despite profound differences in a whole series of questions we will support with our innermost convictions and without any reservations, every step undertaken by the party in this direction with all our strength and that we are completely and entirely at the service of the party in any instance whatsoever.

With Communist greetings,
for the LEFT OPPOSITION OF THE
C. P. G. (BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS)
The National Committee,
(Continued in the next issue)

Shachtman Lectures at Opposition Forum

On Friday, January 14, comrade Max Shachtman spoke at the Labor Temple on the impressions he acquired during a four weeks' stay in Spain. An audience of about a hundred workers listened attentively to comrade Shachtman's description of the miserable conditions of the Spanish workers, the betrayal of the Spanish social democracy, the impotence of the syndicalists and anarchists and the criminal blunders committed by the official Communist party under the direction of the Comintern led by Stalin.

Comrade Shachtman brought back heartening news of the growth of the Spanish Opposition which has now more than a thousand members, and of its fight for the unity of the Communist ranks. Significant was the fact that comrade Trotsky was extremely popular with the Spanish workers, that editions of his pamphlets were literally vended up. In Spain, as elsewhere the workers despite the slanders and lies of the Stalinists refuse to believe that Trotsky and the Opposition are counter-revolutionaries.

The struggle of our Spanish comrades carried on under much greater hardships than we face here must be an inspiration to us to double and redouble our efforts to regenerate the American Communist party and to reunite the Communist vanguard.

A Correction

Due to unforeseen technical difficulties, the leading news article in our last issue, entitled "Japs Subsidize Russian Whites", appeared in garbled and distorted form. Unfortunately, the necessary corrections could not be made in time. But we shall come back to this subject dealt with in this article in the immediate future, in more extensive form.

—THE MILITANT.

The Fascist Danger and the Need for a United Front of the Proletariat

When Azana became President of the Council of Ministers after the resignation of Maura and Alcala Zamora there were many who interpreted the change of ministry as an evolution to the Left. Maura went so far as to say that the new government was "typically petty-bourgeois" and to put it on a level with the Kerensky government. We, on the contrary, from the first moment maintained that this solution of the crisis meant a step forward in the direction of the big bourgeoisie and of its bloc with the socialists.

"In reality," we said in the third number of "El Soviet", which was confiscated by the governor of Barcelona, representing the so-called "Kerensky government", "the real master of the situation is Lerroux, that is, the big bourgeoisie. Still the time has not yet come to take off the mask, to take over completely the reins of power in the name of those who see in Lerroux, as he said in his speech at Santander, 'the lifebuoy in which the shipwrecked man sees the hope of salvation'."

The facts have proven, and keep proving, that our evaluation was correct. On the adoption of the "law for the defense of the republic" there followed a policy, continually more aggressive, of repression against the working class and of systematic strangulation of the democratic revolution. Nourished by the weakness of the working-class organizations, the incapacity of the anarcho-syndicalist leaders of the C. N. T., who have learned nothing from experience, and the absence of a strong Communist party, the bourgeoisie keeps consolidating the ground which it has gained, and lying in wait for the opportune moment to upset the democratic cart and to install its unmasked dictatorship.

The Socialists and Democratic Illusions

Today this is not possible. Democratic illusions are still quite alive among the petty-bourgeois masses and a large part of the working class. The bourgeoisie finds it necessary to maintain these illusions temporarily, making use of a political force which is not completely discredited among the masses, and by its name at least, represents a guarantee of radicalism. This political force is the socialist party, whose leaders show themselves disposed as usual to serve as auxiliaries to the exploiting class.

Still, to form an exclusively socialist government would be a risky adventure. Inevitably it could do nothing else than continue the policies of the bourgeoisie, and the socialist party would discredit itself irretrievably in the eyes of the working masses. With it, the bour-

geoisie would find itself deprived of one

of its most important reserve weapons. The socialists, who are fully aware of this, are horribly afraid of taking over the entire responsibility for the state power, and declare themselves for a concentration government, over which they should preside. Largo Caballero was in a hurry to state that such a government, by its very composition, would be unable to realize the party program. Yet, according to the declaration of the Minister of Labor, "the party, having made greater renunciations than any other for the welfare of the republic, will accept this sacrifice too for the 'national interest'."

Under these circumstances the socialists, free of all responsibility for the policies of the government, will contribute to maintaining democratic illusions among the masses and will make it possible for the bourgeoisie to consolidate its position and to prepare, behind the socialist screen, a genuine Fascist dictatorship. The Azana government was the first step in this process; the government presided over by the socialists will be the second.

Lerroux, the Spanish Millukov

The events of the last few days fully confirm this evaluation. While public opinion is being prepared for a Largo Caballero government, and the alertness of the masses is being put to sleep, Lerroux, in an interview given to the editor of the reactionary Madrid journal "Ahorra", expressed the opinion that the socialists in power, "far from being a difficulty" would be "prudent collaborators". In a few truly classic words, stripped naked, without reserves—the class character of the regime: "I can assure you," he said, "that I am realizing the prophecy which I made years ago when I said, (too emphatically, as some thought), 'I will govern'. Now I can say that I am governing, since government and not the power". Lerroux One can have the power and not the government. One can have the government and not the power. I have the government and not the power", Lerroux is the representative of the big bourgeoisie, the Spanish Millukov; the workers must not forget this.

Let them not forget, too, that the leader of the "radical" party is no platonic individual. When he entertains the masses on the tambourine of the "socialist government", Lerroux is making serious preparations, not only to govern on the political stage, but to take over the power, to become the direct instrument of a bloody dictatorship of the Fascist type.

The constitution of the nationalist

party, "Young Spain", announced recently, is the first important step in this direction. Its organization, based on a militia of 500,000 men, who are to "wear a distinctive costume with the attributes of the legion, a gray-green shirt and a collar of the same color", is modeled on Italian Fascism. The warning to abstain from joining, made to "the timorous and cowardly, and those who are not capable of facing all the dangers of a bloody battle", show clearly what are the intentions of the promoters of this new organization.

The proletariat would commit an error which might have fatal consequences if it does not give this fact all the attention which it deserves and fails to see in the announced intention of this group more than a mere manifestation of boasting.

It is more than probable that "Young Spain" will fail to recruit the 500,000 men which it needs to put out the democratic revolution for good and to crush the proletariat. Still they can become an imposing force tomorrow. The worst thing we can do is to close our eyes to this incipient danger. In 1920, and even in 1921, the Italian revolutionists looked with disdain on the Fascists, whom they saw as nothing more than "bandit gangs" without real force. These "bandit gangs" took the power at the end of 1922 and dragged along with them the large petty-bourgeois masses, these same masses who had followed the socialists and who, disillusioned by the downfall of the proletarian revolution, threw themselves into the arms of Mussolini.

Are there factors in Spain which are capable of favoring the development of a strong Fascist movement? There are beyond a doubt.

Whither, the Party Bourgeoisie?

The first factor, and the most important, is the petty bourgeoisie. As in Italy, the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie constitutes the immense majority of the population. Because of the very role which it fulfills in the economic life of the country—dependence on big capital—this class is incapable of carrying out its own policies, and constantly vacillates between the big bourgeoisie and the proletariat. To win it over, or at least to neutralize it, is a task of fundamental importance for the cause of the revolution.

After the ruin of the great working class movement of 1917-1920 it supported in fact the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. Still, since this experience did not free it from the burdensome load which weighed down on it, nor improve its situation, it developed toward repub-

licanism. With the fall of monarchy and the proclamation of the republic, the petty bourgeoisie gave free rein to its democratic illusions and hopefully followed the demagogues of the left. Still the illusions are disappearing, and these great fluctuating and indecisive masses find themselves irresistibly drawn to that social class which offers a clear and concrete program, and has the unshakable determination to put it into practice.

That class can only be the big bourgeoisie or the proletariat. The big bourgeoisie has this program: the crushing of workers' organizations, the consolidation by fire and sword of the domination of capital. The instrument for the realization of this program is being forged by Lerroux and his "Young Spain". Nothing is easier than to attract the disillusioned petty-bourgeois masses with this program, conveniently seasoned with a good dose of demagoguery. Let us not forget that, at the beginning, Italian Fascism declared itself anti-capitalist and republican.

Still, there is a second factor, no less important: the proletariat, which has a unique opportunity to give definitive battle to the bourgeoisie and to take the power. The objective circumstances could not be more favorable to such an end. But subjectively it is disarmed. From a trade union point of view it is divided: the leaders of the U. G. T. collaborate openly with the bourgeoisie, and those of the C. N. T. either fall into a reformism which fully equals that of Largo Caballero or into adventurism (the Peiro-Pestana group) or into a bloody and profitless putsch.

—ANDRÉS NIN.
Barcelona, Nov. 27, 1931
(To Be Continued)

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EDITORIAL NOTES

ANOTHER DEFEAT IN KENTUCKY

The conviction of William Hightower and the sentence of life imprisonment is the second heavy defeat suffered by the miners and the entire working class of America in the Kentucky murder trials. These are no mere law cases. The courtroom, during these historic trials, is an arena of the class struggle. In reality, although not formally, the right of the workers to organize is at stake. The whole prosecution is designed to victimize men for asserting this right in action and to intimidate others by the ferocious "justice" measured out to the victims.

The attention of the entire working class ought, therefore, to be centered on this courtroom spectacle in Kentucky; the chief "witness for the defense" he compelled to hear and to heed. But such a movement is not to be seen or heard. The judicial hirlings of the coal operators grind out the convictions and prepare others in an atmosphere of undisturbed security.

A purely legal defense, however competent, unless it is reinforced by a determined and clamorous agitation, presents no serious obstacles to the railroad of a working class militant. This can be laid down as an axiom extracted from the record of the class struggle in America. Whoever has illusions about this, whoever wants to confine the defensive action of the workers to the presentation of legal evidence and the collection of funds for lawyers' fees, is at best, a harmful, if well-meaning, fool. It is high time to appeal these cases to the working class. A nation-wide action of the workers is an indispensable obligation which they owe to the defendants and to themselves.

The chief obstacles in the way of effective protest action of the masses are the disunity in the labor ranks, and the partisan disputes which take no account of fundamental class interests. This deplorable circumstance is expressed in the obscene factional quarrel over the case between the Stalinists and the I. W. W. They have acted like tradesmen hanging over private property. The *Daily Worker* prints not a single word about the trials and conviction of Jones and Hightower. By that deliberate silence they take upon themselves a part of the responsibility for the outcome. In all this the Stalinists are true to themselves, for it is their mission to soil and discredit the banner of Communism. The conduct of the I. W. W. officials is no better. They content themselves with the fact that the hated Communists have nothing to do with the defense. Any scoundrel of a lawyer is welcome at their defense conference, but not the delegates of a Communist organization. In the self-satisfied contemplation of this victory over the factional foe they lose sight of the defeat suffered by the class and the basic reasons for it.

The life-sentences in Kentucky are warning signals of a furious offensive against the awakening labor movement. The laboring masses, attacked from every side, robbed of their standards and deprived of their rights, have no way out but to fight. They must find the way to fight unitedly, as a class. "An injury to one is the concern of all"—this glorious motto of the Knights of Labor must be revived and inscribed on the banner of the workers once again. Differences and disputes over methods and theory—which are unavoidable in the process of clarification—must not prevent unity and solidarity in the common fight against the class enemy. If the conscientious workers in all camps will dedicate themselves to this principle and fight for it they will soon find the way to sweep the disrupters aside and create the conditions for the united front of labor. Then they will be able to halt the defeats in Kentucky, and elsewhere, and transform them into future victories.

A SORRY ADVENTURE

It is just about a year since Weisbord, having failed to convince us by argument, set out to prove by example that he alone possessed the secret of organizing a mass movement and steering it on the straight revolutionary path. If we still remain skeptical it is not because his adventure has been devoid of interest or because he failed to make contributions of a certain kind to the movement in general. You have to give him credit for trying. He didn't prove his own case, it is true, but he proved something else. What his exploits lacked in the heroic quality they made up in a unique humor that was all the more infectious because of its apparent unconsciousness, like the comic act of a sad-faced clown. Therefore we maintain, against those who want to cross him off as a total loss, that the man has his uses. Revolutionists remain human, all too human; we need diversion and amusement. We live perilous lives, beset with griefs and difficulties, and one who can make us laugh is not to be utterly scorned. A brief account of the life and deeds of Albert Weisbord during the past year is justified by this consideration.

As the world knows or ought to know, the herculean endeavors of Weisbord have recently culminated in a split of his organization. From this we learn that the total membership of the mass movement—at the time of the split was thirteen people. Out of these thirteen, six seceded or were expelled, leaving a net membership of seven in the parent organization, including Weisbord himself and his immediate family. Thereupon—it is alleged—some members of the split-off faction, who had never belonged to any organization before and

whose sole instruction in revolutionary ethics had been imparted by him, made an unholy visit to the headquarters and carried off some books. Weisbord announced this depredation in a characteristic manifesto and submitted it to the whole revolutionary movement as the question of the day.

We are not in favor of burglary and larceny and it is easy to incite us against practitioners of these arts—principle in this matter being reinforced by personal grievances. We were just on the point of passing judgment on the alleged culprits when Weisbord forestalled us by an appeal to other authorities. The incomparable revolutionist took his whorem comrades and pupils to court and there prayed for the justice that had been denied him. And then, to make sure that this lesson in Marxism would not be restricted to the defendants, the judge and the court attendants, he published a letter in the *New York Forward* explaining his action. He went to court, he said, on the advice of Roger Baldwin. That ought to satisfy anybody who is satisfied with Roger Baldwin as a moral, legal and political authority. Moreover, he protested, it was a civil suit and not a criminal case which—as they say in Missouri—is a distinction if not a difference.

So what can we do now? We have never yet testified against anybody in court and cannot go as witness. We are also barred by ethical scruples from expressing any opinion which might prejudice the case of the defendants. And besides, if it is a matter of law, cannot the seceding faction claim minority rights in the property? We have heard of cases where minority groups of stockholders sued for an accounting and division and were granted it. We raise here also a hypothetical legal question: Suppose the defendants plead insanity and cite as proof that they were still suffering from the influence of Weisbord at the time of the alleged offense? It would be a cruel judge indeed who would turn a deaf ear to such a plea.

One may think that these performances would be enough for one man for one year—or for a life-time. But no, the comic resources of our hero are inexhaustible. On top of all this—to round out the year, so to speak—Weisbord addressed a letter to the Communist League proposing that we get together and talk things over with a view of unity. This proposal he blandly informed us, is designed to be a "bridge" to the Communist League. But he is separated from us in such a way that a bridge can hardly be the medium of connection. What this fellow needs is a ladder or, better yet, a rope.

—J. P. C.

The Proletarian Party Opposition

After a decade of existence as an expelled group from the Communist party, the Proletarian party is now proceeding through a period of internal struggle and split. The element that made up the P. P. pivoted around a section of the socialist party of Michigan as part of the Left wing majority expelled by the Socialist Executive Committee minority. And now the P. P. is repeating the process on a smaller scale with the Keracher minority controlling the apparatus, expelling the majority. All the bureaucratic methods of the socialists or Stalinists are used by Keracher and Co.

This party, after a decade of existence as a sect devoting its time to theory—theory that now proves to the majority of its own members to be void of living Marxism, can only exist as a counterparty to bookshelf "activity". The deep world crisis closed in from all sides on this placid condition causing internal motion that broke through the isolation. The first convention in Detroit was a replica of the Stalinist methods of proceeding over the disputed questions: on the analysis of the crisis, the trade union question, immediate demands, unemployment, etc. The revolt from this position of "theory" reacted to its opposite of "mass work" in a hope of breathing new life into the P. P. The P. P. Opposition comes from a party of activity. While we were a minority expelled by the bureaucrats who did not allow our position to reach the party, the P. P. Opposition now constitute the majority of this party. This explains to an extent the reason they swing to "mass activity" and their accusations that the Left Opposition are too "theoretical and too much concerned with the Russian issue" but this does not justify or give them a Marxist base for their action—quite the contrary.

The split in the P. P. is national with the Left, through expulsions and withdrawals, holding the majority over six units and contacts throughout the country. The base of the Left is in the headquarters city and here it faces the greatest internal contradictions as well as the greatest possibilities. They have an open forum two block from the P. P. headquarters with a weekly attendance of over 200 while the P. P. has declined radically. Before the P. P. Opposition could organize itself nationally, Cleveland and New York had moved into the official Communist party. The Chicago P. P. Opposition can say this shows weakness on their part and dismiss it at that but facts prove it only reflects the weakness of the national center of the P. P. Opposition and disintegration will claim the rest unless drastic steps are taken at once to correct their international perspective.

Since the party fastly chopped off part of Cleveland and New York we should ask, where do we catalog the R. P. and Opposition among the Communist cur-

This is the first of a series of articles on the situation in Spain by comrade Max Shachtman who has just returned from a visit to that country.—Ed.

The social democrats throughout the world beat the drums mightily for their Spanish colleagues when, a few months ago, the prominent socialist parliamentary leader, Luis Aragoistain, speaking for the Constitutional Committee, presented the committee's report to the Cortes at Madrid which incorporated into the fundamental law of the land the proclamation that Spain was henceforth a "democratic republic of the workers". Not even a genuine republic of the workers could be expected to perform miracles for the proletariat after an existence of a handful of months. But the least that one can demand is that the political regime guides the destinies of a republic so lofty in intention should give some indications that it plans to improve the status of the class whose republic it announces itself to be. Or if not that, then at the very least, it should not stand very much in the way of any endeavors the workers themselves may make to ameliorate their conditions. By even such a simple and empirical test, the new "workers' republic" of Spain has already proved to be one of those cruel deceptions with which the bourgeoisie has always fed those over whom it rules.

What do the conditions of the Spanish workers actually look like, now that Alfonso Bourbon has been driven from the throne, his henchmen dispersed, and the republic proclaimed?

The Conditions of the Workers

The far from revolutionary International Labor Bureau of the League of Nations places Spain, in a recent survey, at the bottom of a list of some dozen representative European countries, with regard to the standards of living of the working class, lower in the scale than some of the classic countries of misery in the Balkans and the Baltic states.

With the Spanish peseta now equal to less than nine cents in U. S. coin, the industrial workers average about 8 pesetas a day which means that on the basis of a 48-hour week, the Spanish worker would average something like five dollars a week. In Valencia, the workers average from 9 to 10 pesetas a day. In Madrid, the capital of the country, which has relatively few industrial workers, the building trades workers, the most highly-paid in the city, get anywhere from 13 to 15 pesetas a day. The metal workers in Vizcaya, probably the most highly paid in the country, receive from 15 to 17 pesetas a day. Workers in the famous textile mills of Barcelona get about 10 pesetas a day, while women workers in the same mills will average

but half of that wage. In Saragossa, where the cost of living is somewhat higher than elsewhere, a painter will earn 8 pesetas a day. In the smaller city of Palencia, building trades workers like masons, carpenters and painters receive only some 6 to 7 pesetas. Day laborers in the cities may get an average of 7 pesetas a day, often less.

But these are not the worst by any means. Agricultural laborers not only have a highly seasonal employ, but when they do work in the fields they will get from 3.5 to 4 pesetas a day, and in some districts as low as 2.5 pesetas a day (about twenty cents a day in U. S. coin), together with their board and the highly doubtful pleasure of sleeping in barns and stables with the live stock. In Madrid, I saw a sight which can only be compared with the very worst days of the sweat-shop industries of New York's forgotten East Side. In a room of a communal family flat, a half-dozen young girls, not one of them out of her teens, were crowded together, at work, making waists, with no ventilation and the most meager illumination. These children—most of them were that, literally—get 2.5 pesetas for eight hours of work, but since they work "a day and a half" each day, or 12 hours, they carry off the magnificent pay of 3.75 pesetas at the end of each back-breaking, eye-tearing day. Such a sight is far from unique in Madrid; the system is quite widespread. And what must conditions be in the less modern sections of the country?

Such a wage standard is better understood when the reader learns that a rather modest meal at a very modest restaurant costs two pesetas. A dozen eggs are three pesetas. The housing conditions of the average worker are positively wretched. The home of one of our most active militants, representative of the average, consisted of one room, probably 12 feet by 7, illuminated —if one may say so—by an air-shaft window four feet square, with miserable sanitary facilities, and permission to use the communal kitchen for cooking. The average worker lives in similar flats, containing four families, who are distributed in five rooms, one of which serves as the joint kitchen. The comrade I speak of paid the average rent for the one room—forty-five pesetas a month.

The misery of unemployment

For those who are fortunate enough to have work, life is still "bearable", so to speak. But what about the unemployed? With a magnificent gesture, the Republican-Socialist coalition government has introduced the 8-hour working day. It cost it little, since most of the workers had already acquired that standard. In some cases, the law made conditions worse by lengthening the working

day. But of what value is the 8-hour working day to those who cannot find work for one hour a day?

Unemployment in Spain at the present moment is terrific and the consequences are almost indescribable. Industries are paralyzed, there is an acute financial crisis, the peseta continues to career along the downward path. I was reliably informed—accurate statistics are unavailable—that between forty and forty-five percent of the industrial and agricultural workers, some 1,000,000 of them, are completely unemployed, while another twenty percent are at work only part of the time. In Vizcaya, they say, there is not a single worker who is employed for a full week at a time, and this in a section whose mining, metal and building trades industries make it proportionately more important, industrially speaking, than Barcelona itself. When the situation was not quite so acute, the municipalities would give free food to the jobless. Now the food is not only of a greatly inferior quality, but many of the municipalities are confining the food rations to those who are "natives" of the town. That is, only those workers who are actually born in the town may taste of the thin bounty of the "workers' republic".

Misery and suffering march in the train of this situation, which has even more dramatic and sensational results. Prostitution, an inescapable curse of capitalism under all conditions, rages like a pestilence. The streets of Madrid, for instance, literally run with these unfortunate like a great sore. The "utaes", or payroll holdups, which were brought to an end by the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, are becoming frequent occurrences again, just as the individual pillaging and pilfering of stores by desperate jobless workers is on the increase: here as everywhere, poverty is the nesting place of crime. Along the most magnificent streets of Madrid, on its Broadway—the Gran Via—one sees innumerable groups of four silent men, each holding a corner of an extended white cloth into which the passer-by sometimes throws a copper which is to appease the fierce hunger of the unemployed worker before whom the national constitution so eloquently proclaims "his" republic. So that the sensibilities of the bourgeoisie shall not be made to suffer, and in order that the miserable realities shall not too rudely reveal their disharmony with the farcical constitutional phrase, cities like Barcelona and Bilbao have formally prohibited the "four with a cloth" from begging in the streets. But mendicancy is still widespread, in spite of the prohibition. Along the Ramblas in Barcelona, infants, as wild-eyed and raggedly clothed as any of the Russian "homeless waifs" over whom the world bourgeoisie and the social democracy love to make such a horror-stricken to do, infants and their elders by the hundreds are engaged, either professionally or by economic compulsion, in the degrading business of begging.

The Two Revolutions

—But was your workers' republic any better at the outset? One can hear the retort of all manners of social democrats and their apologists. The comparison of the Spanish "workers' republic" with the Russian proletarian dictatorship at

ter the Bolshevik revolution, even the casual one, does not speak a single word in favor of the former of its artificers. Unlike Spain, the Russian workers proclaimed their republic after three years of the most horrible and exhausting war known to history, a war in which the flower of the Russian working class and peasantry was driven to the slaughter by a depraved royalty and a cynical semi-feudal militarism, and decimated by the millions. The Russian revolution took place amid the economic ruin brought about by capitalism, a heritage which it has not yet been able to throw off completely. The Russian revolution saw the light of day at a time when half or more of it was occupied by hostile foreign troops, ravaging the country and locking out the Russian government from occupation of some of the most essential industrial and agricultural regions. The Russian revolution was almost coincidental with the establishment of a strangulating economic blockade which sought—and for a time succeeded—to cut Russia off from the life's blood of the world market.

Yet, in spite of these enormous differences, quantitative as well as qualitative, which constituted such mountainous obstacles to the progress of the Russian workers' republic, one may say without exaggeration that the Bolshevik regime gave the working class and the peasantry infinitely more in one week than the Socialist-Republican revolution and regime have even thought of giving the Spanish workers and peasants in the whole nine months of their existence.

At the very outset, the Bolsheviks established a workers' control of production which was a veritable control, and not the class-collaborationist burlesque which the Socialist minister of labor, Caballero, has so solemnly presented as a gift to the employers under the guise of benefiting labor. At the very outset, the Bolsheviks gave the peasants the land for which they hungered by simply expropriating the large landowners and the church something which the Spanish bourgeoisie and their socialist assistants will never think of doing anywhere but on paper, if there. The disestablishment of church and state in Russia was a trenchant reality and not the elaborate farce that has been played in Spain, where the church continues to have a stranglehold on the country's industries and agriculture, not in its own name so much—it has yielded in the form—as in the more legal name of its known adherents.

In a word, the difference between the two revolutions and the two republics they produced is the difference between the proletariat in power which crushes the bourgeoisie and their social democratic guardsmen, and the bourgeoisie in power which, with the aid of its social democracy, crushes the proletariat. However extensive the advertising campaign which the international social democracy is carrying on for its Spanish colleague, this fundamental distinction cannot be covered up.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

The next article in the series will appear in the *Militant* next week under the title: "The Republic Establishes Law and Order."

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—HUGO OEHLEH.

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Auspices: St. Louis Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition).

Kansas City

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 1
FASCISM OR COMMUNISM IN GERMANY?

SPEAKER: GEORGE CLARKE of N. Y.
914 Grand Avenue
Second Floor

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Unemployment and Communism

On February 25, 1931, 400,000 workers in the United States according to the *Daily Worker* demonstrated for Unemployment Insurance. Compared with the demonstration of the year before, this showed a great decline. The *Daily Worker* claims 1,250,000 workers in the March 6, 1930 demonstration. This tremendous decrease was hailed by Browder as an advance (*Daily Worker*, March 6, 1931).

On the basis of this "advance", Browder on March 12, in the *Daily Worker*, motivated a turn from the fight for Unemployment to a system of organized beggary.

This in part is what Browder wrote: "Where the city authorities reject the demands for the relief of specific cases of starvation—the council must set up a food collection committee which will undertake food collections from the larger capitalists and corporations of the locality, particularly in those institutions where the unemployed were formerly at work. When the committee is unable to get food from the corporations and large capitalists they shall then begin to solicit small merchants and the petty bourgeoisie generally, calling upon these elements at the same time to join the Unemployed Council in demanding relief from the government treasures and in demanding unemployment insurance nationally."

This "fight" for relief reached its highest expression in a recent New York demonstration in which a worker carried a placard, reading: "We want more, not less relief."

Browder's strategy, as could have been foretold by a pioneer, ran its course without results. By the end of the summer of 1931 it was clear to all that competing with capitalist charities for pennies does not advance the revolution. The fight for Unemployment In-

urance had lapsed; the struggle for relief was equally unsuccessful. The crisis was still deepening; the misery of the masses was greater and more widespread. Bourgeois demagogues were threatening to take over the leadership of the movement for relief and Unemployment Insurance. At this point, the party decided to revive the fight for Unemployment Insurance.

Its first assault on capitalist greed was the National Hunger March. This was organized around the slogans of a resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the T. U. L. on October 3. On the basis of this document the revived fight for Unemployment Insurance is taking place. It is important to understand exactly what this resolution proposes with regard to unemployment. Has the party learned from its mistakes? Does it repudiate the opportunism of Browder and Co.?

If the party's efforts to win Unemployment Insurance demonstrated anything, they demonstrated that the party could not unite the masses around the slogan of unemployment insurance alone. There is no question that Unemployment Insurance is what the masses need to alleviate their misery and to serve as a bulwark against strike-breaking. It is true that under certain conditions the workers will fight to Unemployment Insurance, but it is also true that the party failed to build a broad movement of employed and unemployed workers for it.

One reason, of course, is the stifling bureaucratic regime in the party and its organizations which drives away thousands of workers sympathetic to Communism. Bureaucracy played its part but it is not decisive. The basic reason is to be found in the illusions of the masses. The masses are not yet convinced that "prosperity" will not return. They still believe that the crisis will lift, bring in work for them. They do not understand that we, like England, will now be blessed with a permanent army of unemployed. The masses think in terms of work. Unemployment Insurance is predicated upon the permanent unemployment of large sections of the working class. For these reasons, the American workers are slow to fight for Unemployment Insurance. — STAMM.

(To be continued)

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

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On the German Situation

An Appeal to all the Communist Workers by the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition)

The danger of Fascism in Germany has not diminished. On the contrary, while the Communist have registered a number of important advances, they have failed to absorb even those social democratic workers who have left the standard of their party, and the Fascists have been striding forward with seven league boots. It should now be clear to all that the Hitlerite hordes are deliberately preparing themselves for the seizure of the state power. Their strength multiplies. All the recent elections show a distinct and threatening shift to the right from all the bourgeois parties. The bourgeoisie is staking upon the victory of Fascism as the counter-revolutionary issue from the terrific crisis in which it finds itself. The big bourgeoisie press of the countries bordering upon Germany, like France, is already preparing to "reconcile" itself to a Hitler regime.

WHAT WILL DECIDE?

But Hitler's march to power has not yet been crowned with success. His victory or his annihilation will be decided by the relationship of forces, and primarily by the course which the German Communists will pursue in the coming months.

The German Communist Party, to this day, has adopted a false policy. It has not yet followed the course which would successfully exterminate the Fascist danger.

Following the last Reichstag elections and for many precious months thereafter, the party leadership lulled the masses into a false security with its baseless assurances that Fascism had reached the height of its power. The events that followed every such boastful assertion brought new proofs of the advances of the Hitlerites.

Instead of steering firmly towards winning the socialist workers, the Stalinists engaged in a vulgar and reactionary competition with the Fascists, servilely copying their slogans, seeking to outbid Hitler in nationalist demagoguery, and sinking to the most abysmal depths of "National-Bolshevism".

Then, when the reactionary monster had grown to a size which compelled the whole working class to look at the situation with alarm, the party leaders dragged the Communist masses through the mud of "red referendum" in Prussia, which not only heightened the wall between us and the socialist workers, but added new fuel to the fires of Fascism.

To all this, the confusion was worse confounded by the theory finally developed, in blatant contrast to yesterday's boasting, that the victory of Fascism was inevitable. The fact that in the October 1923 crisis, Stalin himself declared that the seizure of power by Fascism was even preferable to an attempt at power by the workers, does not justify the policy of Thaelmann and Co., but serves to illuminate the source of its inspiration.

THE RUINOUS THEORY OF STALINISM

Under the pressure of the increasingly acute crisis, of the discontentment of the masses with the party policy, and of the hammer-blows dealt this theory by the Left Opposition, the theory of "inevitability" is now being formally and hypocritically thrown overboard, the scapegoats found for its advocacy in the approved bureaucratic manner and the traces thus covered up. But unfortunately, in all their practices, in all their "subsidiary" theories, and by the personal conduct and preparations being made by the party leaders, it is clear that the party course is still directed towards a capitulation before the advance of Hitler. We still hear that the Brüning regime is practically Fascism; that Brüning is no different from Hitler. With the thoroughly false dictum of Stalin that the "social democracy is a moderate wing of Fascism", with the equally disastrous theory and practice of "social Fascism", the party leaders still contend that for the crushing of Fascism, it is first necessary to liquidate the social democracy. Such a standpoint means that Fascism is to be allowed to come to power while the Stalinists are engaged in "liquidating the social democracy"—an aim which they will not attain with their present course.

Not daring to defend publicly the theory of capitulation, and incapable of meeting the criticisms of the Left Opposition, the Stalinists, beginning with Stalin himself, are laying a smoke screen to cover up their indefensible standpoint and to divert attention from the real needs of the hour. Instead of dealing objectively with the proposals made by comrade

Trotsky, supported by the international Left Opposition, for a united front to prevent Fascism from coming to power, a new campaign of calumny and falsehood has been launched, initiated and approved by the central Stalinist bureaucracy. "Trotskyism", killed a hundred times, has now been "re-discovered" in the highest instances of the Russian party. "Semi-Trotskyist" deviations are being revealed in the German and French parties. From Moscow itself, the flat lie is being circulated throughout the bourgeois and Stalinist press that "Trotsky has gone over to the German social democracy"; that "Brüning, by the intermediary of Kautsky, is going to give Trotsky a visa to Germany".

We warn the Communist workers that these lies, these criminal and light-minded diversions, are desperate maneuvers of a bankrupt bureaucracy which can discuss and argue on Marxian-Leninist strategy and tactics only by slanders and police concoctions. The issue cannot be settled in this way. Fascism will not be destroyed by lying about the Left Opposition and its leader, comrade Trotsky.

WHAT A FASCIST VICTORY MEANS

A victory of Fascism, which threatens in Germany, means—if Italy teaches us anything—the crushing of the Communists, the social democratic workers, their trade unions, their press, their centers—in a word, the complete and bloody extermination of the whole working class movement.

A victory of Fascism would mean the reactionary, counter-revolutionary solution of the present crisis, not merely for the German bourgeoisie but also for the bourgeoisie in other countries, including the United States.

A victory for Fascism would break the spinal column of the Communist International at its strongest point outside the Soviet Union—Germany. It would be a direct and immediate threat to the very existence of the Russian workers' republic.

The Left Opposition, contemptuously rejecting the liquidators' standpoint, does not believe in the inevitability of the Fascist victory in Germany. On the contrary, we are deeply convinced that the united strength of the German proletariat, assisted by the international working class, can smash the Fascists without great difficulty and prevent them from coming to power.

But for this, the Communists must have a correct policy, which means, in Germany, a radical and genuine change of the present course of the party. Not bureaucratic maneuvers which leave nothing essentially unchanged, but a breaking of the strangling chains of the theory of "social Fascism" and a turn towards the real united front as Lenin's Comintern taught it.

The German social democratic workers, who number millions and who hate Fascism with all their heart, who will not reconcile themselves with Hitlerism as their leaders will in a crisis, must be won for the united front against Fascism. The Communist party, as comrade Trotsky, and the Left Opposition have advocated, must put to the German social democracy and to the reformist trade unions the proposals for a united front to resist the advance of Fascism. Only in this way, which puts their leaders to the wall on a concrete, burning issue, will the masses realize that the Communists alone can lead them in the struggle for liberation and for the defeat of reaction.

ACT BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE

If the official party leaders miss the opportunity which is still before them, if they persist obstinately in their pernicious course, if they allow Fascism to come to power without organized resistance, the revolutionary workers the world over will hold the Stalinists directly responsible for the inevitable catastrophe that will ensue.

The times are pregnant with great events, with victory or defeat. The right road may still be chosen. The Communist workers in the ranks, here as well as in Germany, must speak out. They cannot arrange their passports to flee to safety from the consequences of a Fascist victory. It is up to them alone to act and to turn the course of the Comintern in the right direction. The Left Opposition, conscious of its duties, is ready one more to join with the party to arouse the proletariat to action, and in Germany it must act before it is too late. Let every Communist worker reflect carefully! Do not permit yourselves to be swayed by slander and falsehood. Demand an accounting now. Today, the decision is still in your hands for it is not yet too late. Tomorrow, it may have passed into the historical records of a great catastrophe!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (Opposition)

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IN OUR NEXT ISSUE:

1. "The 'Armed' Uprising of November 7, 1927" by Leon Trotsky
2. The Second Article in the Series on Spain by Max Shachtman

Japanese Invade Shanghai!

War Threatens in the Far East and against the Soviet Union

As we go to press, the wires are still humming with the latest dispatches of the Japanese seizure of Shanghai. Battles between Japanese and Chinese troops are in full blast all over Shanghai, the native part of the town, and Japanese reinforcements keep on marching toward the scene of the fighting. After 13 hours of fierce skirmishes and air raids, one report says, the occupation is not yet completed. But one thing is certain: The crux of the Sino-Japanese conflict is already here.

Undeclared Open War

The minions of the Mikado have been steadily proceeding southward for weeks ever since their first easy successes in Manchuria. This time, China proper is the object of the imperialists' operations. The game of the Japanese has been to lop off one territory after another, while protesting against breaches of the treaty of 1915, while declaring the absolute altruism of their motives. At this rate, the official declaration of war ought to come just about at the time when the Nippon capitalists are ready to sign the peace treaty.

So far, the other imperialist powers have shown extreme restraint and cau-

tion in dealing with the hardly delectable demarches of their Oriental competitor. In such a heated atmosphere as the present, even the fact that several American warships have been ordered to Shanghai, appears to be a mild form of indignation. But it would be foolish to think that this has been so because of their good will, or because of pacifist scruples. Nothing is further removed from that.

The reason why the Western powers are refraining from prompt and drastic action to curb their yellow brother-under-the-skin is that the present world situation is as combustible as a powder magazine. Unemployment driving millions to a choice between extermination and bitter, uncompromising struggle. Germany on the verge of social eruption. Unrest in Poland, class fighting in Spain, turmoil in Austria, Hungary and the other central European states. That is what the capitalist world is faced with today. A "working agreement" for the time being, or at least an "entente" is the most natural thing to expect among the various national master classes. The throttling of a social conflagration and the victorious subjugation of the fortress

of the world revolution—Workers' Russia—is the immediate and common objective of all the powers that be.

Anti-Soviet Advances

The Rengo News Agency (Japanese) reports the seizure and operation of the branch line between Harbin and Changchun of the Chinese Eastern Railway by Japanese train troops! Add to this the planned invasion of Jehol valley and Mongolia by the notorious Russian White Guard general, Ataman Semenov, an adventurer definitely known to be in the pay of the Mikado's government, and you have as arrogant a provocation against the Soviet Union as can possibly be hatched up. The signal for an attack against the light-house of the international proletariat is being given in the East.

The government of the Soviets is watchful and cautious. And in a situation such as this, it must be. But, if we are to believe quotations from Pravda and Izvestia in the capitalist press, the stress is being put altogether and exclusively—for the present, at least—on the danger at the Eastern frontier of the U. S. S. R. That danger is hardly to be underestimated. It can and probably will serve as the spark of a round attack.

But, for a revolutionist with open eyes it cannot help being clear that the real and the main danger is in the West. Developments in the Far East generally drag, must drag, because of the physical character of the land, because of the lack and inadequacy of transportation facilities, because of natural difficulties. Should Fascism, however, succeed in crushing the German proletariat, and thereby pave the way for a combined effort of imperialist reaction, this menace would increase at a furious tempo. On the Western frontier, the position is entirely the reverse. A few weeks of successful military operations by the European imperialists would place in their hands the Ukrainian granary and the heart of Soviet industry. Not to speak of depriving the Soviets of the aid of its most powerful and most valuable ally, the European and more immediately, the German proletariat.

Chinese Experiences Not Forgotten

That is what every Communist worker to whom proletarian Russia, to whom the world revolution is dear, must keep in mind. This is what the Russian worker, especially, must keep in mind. And it is precisely for this reason that the policy of passivity and inaction of the Stalinist leadership of the Russian Communist Party and of the Communist International in this situation is criminal and treacherous.

It was these same people, once masquerading as intrinsically doctrinaire whose principles do not allow them to force struggle agreements against German Fascism upon the social democrats (the "social-Fascists")—who were responsible for the slaughter of the flower of the Chinese proletariat by Chiang Kai-Shek in 1928-1927. Then, under the banner of the Martynovist bloc of four classes. All the futile and empty shouts of the Stalinist press about the "Chinese Red Army" and the "powerful Chinese Soviet Republic" (Daily Worker 1-29-1931) cannot cover up the fact that the impotence of the oppressed Chinese masses in the face of the imperialist aggressors today is the retribution for the crime of 1925-1927.

All Out On February 4!

The Left Opposition, under the leadership of comrade Trotsky issued its warning then. It is warning the party now. Only an acute turn of policy in the Communist International, only an immediate reorientation toward the old Leninist line of international proletarian action can save Soviet Russia, can prevent the pillage of the downtrodden of China, liberate the working class and the oppressed colonial peoples from the yoke of capitalism and imperialism. Enormous dangers are facing the workers of the world and tremendous possibilities for successful action are opening up for them. Every day, every hour, every minute was being—can bring unforeseen consequences at this stage of developments.

The official party is calling upon all workers to voice their protests against the Japanese invasion of China at the nation-wide demonstrations on February 4. Let all workers, all revolutionists turn out in mass at these demonstrations. Let every Communist bring pressure upon the party leadership to wake it up to the danger in Germany as well as to that in the Far East. Let every sincere revolutionist help the Left Opposition bring back the Communist party, the vanguard of the working class, to the Leninist path, to the path of proletarian victory.

—SAM GORDON.

Utilize Feb. 4 Meets to Build Jobless Movement

There will be another unemployment day with nation-wide demonstrations for unemployment relief on February 4th. It should receive the undivided support of the working class everywhere. But it is imperative that it become more than just one other demonstration.

Can it become more than that? We believe it can. There can hardly be any question that with a real substantial section of the millions of unemployed workers actually and seriously participating in a movement for relief it can. But that is essential. Under all conditions the workers will obtain nothing more than they can take themselves and certainly not more than they are seriously ready to fight for.

All the demands—and the pleas—so far made by the army of unemployed have been rejected with scorn by the Hoover administration and similarly by the state and municipal governments throughout the country. Whether the governments were Republican or Democratic made no difference whatever. The capitalist class as a whole feels itself sufficiently strong to confine the unemployed millions to the charity crumbs which they have seen fit to set aside. And sufficiently strong to overcome their fears of a rebellion from those they so haughtily scorn. Maybe, though, they are wrong in this feeling of security. It is certain at least that a real serious and determined movement would soon make them change their mind. It would soon bring the unemployed masses within reach of obtaining actual relief.

Possibilities for Movement Growing

But there is not yet such a serious movement. It would be foolish for Communists to close their eyes to this fact. It is precisely because of this that such mountebanks, official dispensers of dope, as the Pittsburgh Catholic priest, Father Cox, can step on the scene and rally thousands of unemployed upon a program of pleas to congress. The purpose of his appearing is, of course, to act as a preventive for a real movement by leading the attention off into such futile channels. But a movement learning to know that the workers will get only what they are prepared to fight for would leave no room for such quacks.

Failures Should Be Recognized

The Communists lead whatever fighting unemployment movement there is. The official Communist party is by far the

main factor in this. It therefore also carries the main responsibility for the opportunities not being utilized. As the objective conditions mature further this responsibility becomes heavier and the party failures become real obstacles in the way. Its failures have been apparent in the slogans presented in its attitude of approaching the unemployment situation mainly as a field for maneuvers and advertising stunts. Its failure has been apparent in the utter lack of efforts for a class education, in the bureaucratic methods of restricting the movement as well as in pursuing a course opposite to the one of uniting the workers in action. This, of course, is all inherent in the policy and methodology of the Stalin agents everywhere.

The direct results to the organized unemployment movement, whatever there is of it, have been that the councils lead a precarious existence out of proportion to the possibilities available. Their scope is restricted by bureaucratic division of the workers and elimination of all who do not submit to the mechanical party control which is imposed upon them. They do not sufficiently attract the workers and those who join, come and go.

Some Practical Steps Proposed

It would be a good beginning for the party to consider rounding out its demands for unemployment relief by adding the practical slogans which can appeal to the broad strata of the workers, including those now employed. We have in mind, as we have often emphasized, to add to the slogan for unemployment insurance also the ones of "six hour work-day without reduction in pay" as well as the slogan for "extension of long term credits to the Soviet Union." That it would offer better possibilities for the building of an actual

movement can hardly be disputed.

It might also be appropriate to propose to the party that the unemployment demonstrations be no longer conceived purely as objectives and means of advertising but on the contrary to be conceived primarily as an integral part of agitation and organization activities to build a movement. The demonstrations themselves will not become effective unless actually sponsored by a serious movement. Not until then will the capitalist class and its government pay serious heed to the demands made.

It certainly should be in order now also to really begin to remove all the bureaucratic restrictions from the unemployed organizations. At present there is no broader appeal to the working class than the one concerning the various measures for unemployment relief. Around this the greatest extension of elementary class unity could be attained. It should ring out to all workers organizations regardless of how reactionary their leadership, as well as to those entirely unorganized. On this basis serious efforts could be made for working class unity of action.

But above all it should be necessary to pursue a thorough method of class education. That is not to be content with merely what directly and immediately concerns the spontaneous movement but rather to proceed from that to teach the workers in regards to the far more serious problems they must face to reach their revolutionary goal.

None of these proposals, however, can be approached with the method of bureaucratic maneuvering and playing with a movement. They require first of all the attitude of serious minded revolutionists.

—A. S.

The Recent Outbreaks in Spain

"The old world is burning at both ends." In the Far East, the imperialist lust has mounted to the head of a Japan rendered desperate by the crisis that has eaten into its vitals and it has plunged into so violent and unashamed a conquest of prostrated China that only a spark is needed to set off an international conflagration. In Germany, the death rattle of capitalist mingles with the noise of Fascism's sabres and the

distant rumble of a proletarian reply.

Now in Spain, the workers—headless and unled though they are—are again displaying a fighting disposition, a vigor and a resourcefulness that offer magnificent possibilities for shortening the interlude between the democratic and the proletarian revolutions. The resurgence of the strike movement, particularly in Catalonia, Andalusia and Vizcaya, is especially heartening in view of the preceding period of depression that set in the working class right after last year's series of heavily defeated strikes led and mismanaged in classic syndicalist style by the head of the National Confederation of labor (C. N. T.). At the same time, the events which have just occurred, during which a number of municipalities were apparently taken over by the workers and the Red flag hoisted, give ground for some concern for the immediate future of the movement in Spain: the silver lining has a cloud.

The distance that separates us from Spain and the thoroughly unreliable reports of the bourgeois press make it difficult to evaluate and to analyze last week's events in proper detail. But a general knowledge of the Spanish situation and the most recent copies of the revolutionary press that have arrived, make it possible to give a momentarily adequate picture of what is going on. (Continued on page 4)

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Bureaucracy in the R. R. Brotherhoods

This is the second of a series of articles on the conditions of the railroad workers. The first appeared in the *Militant* of January 16, 1931. Further articles will appear in subsequent issues.—Ed.

In our first and previous article on the Railroad Brotherhoods, we pointed out that the railroad workers in this country were kept divided into twenty-one separate craft organizations by swarms of overpaid craft officials who kept themselves in control of the unions in typical bureaucratic fashion. In the articles to follow we will take up more in detail the results which naturally flow from such an arrangement and point out to the railroad workers, and workers in general, that under present industrial conditions the craft form of organization is not only useless but extremely expensive to its members.

At the conclusion of this series of articles we will submit a few recommendations which, we hope at least, will furnish some material for a program, around which to organize that growing minority in the railroad unions who believe that Labor Unions were instituted for an entirely different purpose than to merely furnish a fat meal ticket for a lot of unnecessary officials.

The Brotherhood Bureaucracy

The Labor bureaucrat and the craft union are closely related and both of them are products of the times through which we have been passing, namely, the era of capitalist expansion and development. Workers can only learn through experience and the railroad workers are no exception to this rule. The experience which the railroad workers have had up

to the present time has not been able to produce anything but a craft system honeycombed with overpaid officials.

For the past seventy years, a period through which all of the present twenty-one railroad unions were developed, railroad transportation has gone through an almost unbroken era of expansion. Through this period of railroad development the workers, although always poor, were generally kept busy. They worked seven days a week as a general rule and also overtime. As a matter of fact, about 1913, a law was passed to prevent them from working more than sixteen hours per day. During this period the craft system and the craft officials filled all the needs the workers required of them. Because the workers are kept busy, although their hours are long and their wages low and their demands of the capitalists through their unions are usually very modest. And also during the periods of industrial expansion, employers are able to give the workers a concession now and then to keep them fairly satisfied. But these "good old" times of steady work and overtime are practically gone. Problems are piling up before the railroad workers, as well as before workers, in general, which the craft union and the craft bureaucrat cannot solve for them.

Unemployment, wage-cuts, speed-up and loss of working conditions are now staring the railroad workers in the face. And as we are now dealing with the Brotherhood bureaucrats we will look into what they have done or rather failed to do to meet these conditions which the railroad workers are now confronted.

Since 1921, when the railroad work-

ers took their first pay cut after the war, the role of its leadership has been an unbroken process of betrayals. In 1921, in spite of a nearly 100% strike vote to resist the cut, the leaders accepted it with the excuse, "that we cannot strike against the government" and this in spite of the fact that the Roads had already been returned to private management. In 1922, eight of the lowest paid crafts received a second pay cut. Seven of those crafts forced their officials to resist the cut with a strike. Grable, the \$14,000 a year leader of the section men was able to hold his organization in check regardless of its vote to strike. So Grable together with the bureaucrats at the head of the other eight higher paid crafts kept their membership from interfering with the smashing of the Shop Crafts by their employers.

Lovestone Splitters Call for Unity

The Lovestone faction has once more put forward an appeal for the "unity of the Communist movement", in a letter addressed to the official party, to itself, and to the Left Opposition. Such an appeal costs the Right wingers nothing. To Lovestone and Co. it is a purely journalistic gesture which obligates them to no retreat from the positions to which they have been advancing for the past two years and more, but with the aid of which they hope to cover up or excuse the course they have followed up to now.

The solemn hypocrisy of the Lovestone appeal is unexcelled. The leaders of the Right wing, who expelled the Left Opposition from the party without the remotest pretense at a democratic discussion, who sought to train their followers in the art of the blackjack and brass knuckles as the sole means of dealing with the "counter-revolutionists", who violently disrupted our meetings by thuggery, assaulted our comrades physically, and even burglarized our offices, whose sole contribution to date to the discussion between us and them has been to lie and misrepresent now blithely call upon us to join hands with them to "achieve unity in order that all the Communist forces may be united in one powerful Communist party".

Furthermore, what sort of horse-play is it with the highly important and serious problem and slogan of Communist unity when the Right wing chiefs invite the Left Opposition to "achieve unity" on the basis which they very "cleverly" calculate will automatically exclude us from a united party? At the meeting to celebrate their unity appeal, Gitlow, speaking in their name, set down the bases upon which Communist unity was to be attained, and included in them one which called for the unconditional defense of the workers' fatherland. Without wasting a moment on Gitlow's deliberate falsification of our standpoint, on what basis then do the Lovestonites conceive that we are to be invited to join in a "re-united Communist party", particularly when they have not, to date, repudiated their action in expelling us from the party which they at one time controlled?

The whole affair smacks of that cheap and petty-fogging kind of maneuver which is so characteristic of Lovestonian high politics, which is neither conceived nor executed with any spirit of responsibility or seriousness. Matters become even clearer when the "appeal" is examined in the light of the recent past and the relationships between the Right wing liquidators and the Communist movement as a whole.

At just what moment was Lovestone struck with the burning need of unity of "all the Communist forces"? Up to the present time, the course that he and his colleagues have pursued, has been one of the unity of all the anti-Communist and reformist forces against the Communist party. It is precisely this course, which has become a stench in the nostrils of every honest revolutionist in the country and has lost Lovestone whatever little support he ever had in the Communist ranks, which the recent "appeal" is intended to cover up. But the trick will not work.

Were Lovestone and Co. working to "bring about Communist unity" by proposing and actively working for the liquidation of the National Miners Union, the National Textile Workers Union, and the Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union, working for this end in collaboration with all shades of reformism? Was it for "Communist unity" that Gitlow, Zimmerman and Co. went to Paterson as the agents of Muste, and the fakers of the United Textile Workers Union in order to smash the Left wing movement—a job which was facilitated for them, as we pointed out, by the criminal blunders of the Stalinists? Is it for "Communist unity" that Zimmerman, the Right wing spokesman in the reactionary needle trades unions, unites with such notorious labor skates as Levy and reactionary anarchists as Bluestein—to mention but two cases—for the purpose of combatting the Communists? In a word, do the Lovestonites expect the Communist workers to take their "Communist unity" appeals seriously when they have demonstrated so incessantly that their conception of it is a united

Nothing Done to Rebuild the Unions

Since 1922 practically nothing has been done by the Brotherhood officials to rebuild the unions. In spite of the millions collected in dues, in spite of the thousands of salaried officials on the Brotherhoods' payroll, regardless of the fact that the leaders were well provided with both men and money, they have done nothing in a concerted way to organize and educate the railroad workers. Instead of rebuilding the unions and getting them to amalgamate towards an industrial union the leaders tried to build Banks and Investment Companies. The net results of these financial ventures were to the effect, that the members paid for a costly lesson to learn that their leaders knew as little about successful investments as they knew successful labor leadership.

In the next article we will deal further with the condition in which the railroad workers find themselves in the face of unemployment and wage cuts as a result of a bankrupt leadership.

—A. E.

Unemployment and the Party

(Continued from last issue)

For us, it is axiomatic that we must continue to fight. What we must do, is to add to the slogans of Unemployment Insurance and relief those practical slogans which, while answering to the needs of the workers will appeal to them in terms of work. Such slogans exist. They are principally: the slogan of the Six Hour Day, Five Day Week with no reduction in pay and the slogan of large scale, long term credits to the Soviet Union. In addition to their applicability to the present condition of the working class both at home and abroad, these slogans have precisely that quality which is so necessary in the present circumstances.

The Six Hour Day, Five Day Week, entirely possible with the high development of American industry is slowly winning the approval of sections of the American working class. It appears reasonable to them and a means of relieving unemployment, by cutting down the working day and week and putting men to work. It is urged even by sections of the capitalist class. These gentlemen intend, of course, that the six-hour day shall be accompanied by a corresponding cut in pay. We propose that there should be no wage cut. The workers will decide. If the party were to take up this slogan and launch a movement around it, it would penetrate all sections of the working class and stir them into motion to realize it.

The "work" aspect, so to speak, of the slogan of credits to the Soviet Union is no less valid. Increased trade relations with the Soviet Union as a result of a movement led by the party organized along the line elaborated by comrade Trotsky in his pamphlet "World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan", would result in concretizing the interest of the American workers for the socialist solution as expressed in the Soviet economy, and would alleviate unemployment here by opening factories now closed. For these slogans the workers will fight.

All these considerations together lead to the conclusion that the Six Hour Day should be the central slogan and that together, these three slogans constitute the essentials of a program on which the masses, both employed and unemployed can be united in a powerful movement. This is the program of the Opposition.

Unfortunately, the party does not see the problem in this light. The Dec. 3rd resolution of the T. U. U. L. Executive Committee affirms again that unemployment insurance must be the central slogan: "We must strive to organize the unemployed into the Unemployed Councils—with the demand for unemployment insurance in the center." Although the demands for a seven hour day and trade relations with the Soviet Union are included they are not conceived as levers to unite the masses and set them in motion. This is obvious from the method laid down to overcome the separation of the "unemployed movement" from "the red union movement".

This unity is to be affected as follows: "in order to abolish these weaknesses it is important during times of strikes to draw the unemployed into the strike committees, into the mass picket lines, and on the other side, to place in specific shops concrete demands regarding the unemployed. For example,

the re-birthing of laid-off workers, etc." But what if there are no strikes; are the movements not to be united? On this question the resolution is silent.

It is apparent that the party still conceives the fight for unemployed insurance as a movement primarily of the unemployed. This is borne out by the organizational forms by which the resolution proposes to carry out the party program on unemployment. On this subject the resolution says, "The basic form of organization of the unemployed council is the neighborhood council, elected by the workers in the neighborhood, unemployment agencies, soup kitchens, etc." Thus, no doubt, will be the purest form of the united front from below. There is no mention here of uniting the employed and unemployed. This makes a mockery of the resolution's declaration that, "These organizations (of the unemployed) must be organized on the united front basis". Nor is this distorted conception of the united front redeemed by adding at the very end of the section dealing with this question, the sentence, "All the unemployed councils have representatives of employed workers." It is not explained in the resolution how the employed workers who have already signified their refusal to enter the existing mechanically controlled, narrow councils are to be brought into them.

The program of the Opposition proposes that the unemployed councils be genuine, broad united fronts consisting of representatives of organizations of workers of all political or no political tendencies, as well as unemployed workers from agencies, etc. This, of course, is possible upon the basis of a correct program and a regime of working class democracy in the councils. The Stalinist version is now too well known. It is anathema to workers in the A. F. of L. and out of it. On this score, the resolution is silent too. This silence is an ominous sign. It signifies that the policy of expulsion for holding non-Communist and anti-Stalinist views will continue. On such a basis there can be no united front.

It is plain that the party's program on unemployment and the organizational forms it proposes are essentially the same as those with which it has failed to unite the masses for unemployment insurance. There is, therefore, no need to repudiate the opportunism of Browder and his former policy. On the contrary, it whitewashes them. "The present developments do not require a change in policy."

The Stalinists are preparing another defeat for the fight for unemployment insurance. The results will be disastrous. The despicable demagoguery of the Pittsburgh Reverend, Cox, is a warning that if the Communists do not learn how to lead the fight for unemployment insurance, all sorts of rift-raff will divert movement into channels harmless to the capitalist class.

Against this danger and for the correct policy, the Opposition will continue to fight. For this, it has been created. It calls upon its comrades in the party to fight shoulder to shoulder with it for the six-hour day, unemployment insurance, credits to Soviet Union; for genuine united front unemployed councils; against bureaucracy, for working class democracy in the councils; for the unity of the Communist vanguard.

T. STAMM.

'Father' Cox Gets Free Hand in Pittsburgh

PITTSBURGH, PA.

Pittsburgh, the center of three of the greatest basic industries: coal, iron and steel, has yielded to the masters fabulous profit wrung from the sweat and blood of the toilers exploited in these mines, mills and factories. Pittsburgh was always considered "the barometer of capitalist economic conditions." To-day this great industrial city still continues to be a barometer but a barometer of an entirely different nature. It now gauges the revolutionary perspectives of this country. The mines are shut down, workers striking, mills and factories practically silent, and thousands upon thousands of unemployed workers idly roam the streets, driven by desperation of hunger and fear of eviction, to resort to begging, charity, petty pilferage, suicides, and—Father Cox. All this in the "land of Mellon", a city synonymous with wealth and prosperity and—the "Coal and Iron Police".

It is appalling to note the number of men, women and children who come to the door begging for food and clothing. They tramp in from the near-by mining and mill towns surrounding Pittsburgh, driven by the pangs of hunger and destitution, abandoned by the coal and iron barons since there are no more profits to grind out of them. What more fertile soil could the holy, flag-waving Father Cox find in which to fulfill his "sacred" mission as a Messiah for the workers? This man whose breast is filled with "pure altruism" for the victims of this capitalist brutality and who is prepared for ever greater and unselfish and un-sparing efforts in the interests of the unemployed, even if the reward be but a presidential candidacy. His popularity continues on the increase daily with his public soup kitchens where hundreds and hundreds of helpless, discarded workers are fed soup, coffee and bread, his "Hunger March to Washington," his "Shanty Town," speeches over the radio and on January 10th as a climax, the mass demonstration at Pitt Stadium in which 70,000 workers, men, women and children assembled to voice their protests against their miserable conditions.

The sight of a soup kitchen is quite familiar to all of us these days but a "Shanty Town" such as exists in Pittsburgh, "the workshop of the world", is a new kind of home for scrapped workers of industry, a real eye sore and a rotten ulcer upon this decaying society.

Upon an open lot, in the rear of Father Cox's church, located at Liberty and 17th St., is found this modern mode of living for unemployed workers when the bosses can no more use them to extract profits. Little shacks, the size of out-houses, slapped together from every conceivable kind of refuse material, from a piano box to old chicken crates, and rusty old iron beds as weights to keep the roofs from flying away when a wind blows. Gas pipes, sewer pipes, etc., act as chimneys. The workers roam about idly, insufficiently clad, half starved and on their faces an expression of complete abandonment. They look forward only to the pitiful handout that may come through this benevolent underhanded politician whose only object is to beat political capital out of the misery of these jobless workers.

In the face of such scenes of working class misery it is only natural to want to know how the Communist Party of Pittsburgh, the vanguard of the working class here, is handling the situation with regards to Father Cox and unemployment.

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Young Spartacus Out

The third issue of *Young Spartacus*, official organ of the Opposition youth is off the press. In this issue are featured reports on the Anti-War Youth Conference, and the convention of the Young People's Socialist League. In addition the youth section of the thesis of the Russian Opposition is reproduced, also, an article on "Trotsky and the youth."

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Chicago Stalinists Disrupt Conference

A "broad mass United Front Conference to fight against Criminal Syndicalist Laws" was held here in Peoples' Auditorium by the I. L. D. last Sunday.

It was in every respect a "united front" of the present day Stalinist variety. All the I. W. O., I. L. D., Unemployed Councils and sundry organizations of the Communist party were there. There was also present comrade Frank Buckley, delegate representing the Communist League of America (Opposition). Joe Tash was chosen by the bureaucrats to deliver the main report to the Conference. He talked. He told the audience that the bosses are fighting the workers. He admits at the same time that he does not know so much about the Criminal Syndicalist laws themselves. He also warns the audience against the "Trotskyites" whom his keen eye perceives in the hall. He said that this small group of "renegades" was sure to advance a project for a united front with the fakers of the A. F. of L.

Comrade Buckley immediately took the floor and attempted to refute the lies of Tash, stating correctly the Leninist united front principle that workers organizations, irrespective of political tendency, must be organized into a fight against the capitalist class on such specific issues like Criminal Syndicalism, which could undoubtedly rally behind it large sections of workers, even those who for the present may even be against Communism.

No sooner did comrade Buckley sit down when Bill Gebert, D. O. of the party takes the floor. His face was red and blue. His eyes rolled violently in their orbit. The gleaming white of his eyes could be seen in the back of the hall and might have furnished an excellent target for Colonel Prescott's men at the battle of Bunker Hill. He fumed and stormed and the froth dripped from his

mouth.

While ordinarily it is difficult to understand Gebert when he talks, under this pathological condition it was almost impossible. However, piecing his words together here and there, we heard such choice bits of slander as "Ray Edmundson, Illinois mine faker, ally of the Trotskyites." He also attacked Gerry Allard as stool-pigeon. Saying that he appeared as witness against him in the Benton, Ill., hearing and testified that the National Miners' Union in Illinois was a strike-breaking organization.

From this he generalized the term stool-pigeon to apply to the whole Left Opposition. Pointing with his finger at comrade Joseph Giganti, delegate from the Italian Workers' Club, he called for mob action. Without even a chance to utter a word in answer to the cowardly attack, Giganti was pounced upon by a bunch of hoodlums and forcibly ejected from the hall. He pointed also to Buckley in the same manner, but out of respect for his huge size, the hoodlums were more cautious in handling him.

The meeting then dragged on for several more hours. It was a successful Stalinist united front and the delegates all went home deeply imbued with an object lesson in the "ideological" methods of the present party leadership.

STATEMENT OF THE CHICAGO LEFT OPPOSITION

The crying need of the hour is unity of our class forces to fight the bosses' offensive, but once again the criminal action of the Stalinist bureaucrats scatters our forces. They again demonstrated their deadening influence upon our Communist party at the Sunday conference to fight the Criminal Syndicalist Laws.

They not only ejected comrade Frank Buckley, delegate from the Communist League after he spoke on the Leninist

United Front but also forcefully ejected comrade Joe Giganti delegate from the Italian Workers' Club. This action came after Bill Gebert, the D. O., stirred up the lesser bureaucrats with a speech in which he said there are stool-pigeons and counter-revolutionists in the hall and pointed to these two comrades. Much resentment and protest was shown to this action but the well oiled machine moved on and a dead and dry conference of about 200 went on.

The membership must resist such anti-working class action by the bureaucrats. The bureaucrats cannot throw out the representatives of the most revolutionary wing of Communism without at the same time closing the door to the broad strata of workers moving in the direction of Communism. Scores of such examples can easily be pointed out but one of the latest in Chicago is the Mooney-Harlan Conference of two months ago which promised a bigger and broader one in December. It is long past due and nothing has been done to mobilize the workers for Mooney who still rots in jail while the reformers and politicians are taking advantage and making a football out of the case.

The uneating of the Left Opposition through fear and inability to withstand out Marxist criticism at the same time carried with it the construction of a huge unnatural wall between the class. Morgenstern and Goodman are sentenced in Pennsylvania for Sedition and their representative in Chicago is denied the right to speak, when he calls on all to unite to fight the Criminal Syndicalist Laws and for its victims.

We call upon the workers and sympathizers to work for a broad united front movement, to fight for the release of class war prisoners and against the Criminal Syndicalist laws and support the I. L. D. in this work as far as it will go.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

In Spain

The Fascist Danger and the Need for a United Front of the Proletariat

(Continued from last issue)

What is missing are mass organizations, such as the Soviets, which assemble the whole working class and become the instrument of the insurrection and of the seizure of power. Above all, there is missing a strong Communist party, without which victory is impossible. If the working class is conquered without a battle or after a heroic but ineffectual push, its defeat, its passivity will favor the evolution of the petty bourgeoisie to the right and will permit the bourgeoisie to lead upon it in striking a death-blow against the proletariat. Under these circumstances, Fascism will find a magnificent basis for its development.

This perspective is possible, but not inevitable, far from it. The working class must keep it in mind in order to foresee all the dangers, and to attack the enemy more surely and more decisively. The situation is clearly a revolutionary one. The capitalist class is more aggravated from day to day. There is no solution. The bourgeoisie keeps consolidating its position in a desperate effort, but stumbles over unheeded difficulties in trying to consolidate them definitely.

It tends to gain time by constituting a government presided over by socialists. This working class must take account of this and not give the bourgeoisie a moment's breathing space. In revolutionary periods such as those in which we are living, events develop with extraordinary speed. The revolutionary consciousness of the masses progresses similarly in geometric ratio. What is missing is a party to concretize this revolutionary consciousness into precise formulas and organize the masses for action. This party does not even exist, although there is potentially an intense Communist spirit in the country. The working class must be given this indispensable instrument for its emancipation. A great revolutionary proletarian party must be forged, uniting all the Communist forces which exist in the country, and giving it a clear and precise program. Only in this way can the Fascist danger be averted; and the Spanish proletariat, allied with the peasants, can advance with a firm and sure step on the road which leads to victory.

The possibilities of success in the struggle against the Fascist danger and in the constitution of a strong Communist party will depend principally on the ability to put an end to the trade union split which has torn apart the working class of our country.

In this sense, the Communist party is called upon to fulfill a role of the very first importance, by struggling implacably against the chronic splitters among the anarchists and the U. G. T., by proving in practice to the proletariat that it desires unity, and by an ardent struggle to attain unity.

Unfortunately, the Party in this field has followed a fundamentally false policy, which culminated in the famous Seville Conference and in the constitution of the Reconstruction Committee, which created a deserved unpopularity among the Communists in the C. N. T., and

has deepened the split still further. Three or four months ago the Party, faced with the open collapse of its trade union policy, announced a "turn". It gave up the splitting tactics, which had produced such miserable results, and announced the transformation of the Reconstruction Committee into a Unity Committee.

The Spanish Communist Opposition greeted this "turn" with satisfaction, as it was the same thing as an implied recognition of the accuracy of its criticism; at the same time, it encouraged the Communists to prevent the turn announced by the party from remaining on paper, which there was reason to fear from the persistence with which the party stuck to some of its fundamental mistakes.

"As far as the trade union policy is concerned," said the Central Committee of the Opposition in the open letter addressed, with this purpose, to all members of the party, "the symptoms are even more disturbing. Concrete propositions for a united front have been made to the C. N. T., but the Reconstruction Committee continues to function, and even after the circular of the Political Secretariat announcing the turn in the policies of the party, has published various manifestoes over its signatures. If the wishes of the Executive Committee are sincere, it must prove it in practice. The members of the party must impose their will in this direction on the leaders."

Our fears were more than justified. The party, far from orientating itself sincerely toward unity, emphasized its policy of division. This is the reality, the more so as it tries to present itself on the outside, formally, as the most resolute defender of unity.

Its decision to call a so-called "Trade Union Unity Conference," using as in 1925 (!) the Federation of Working Class Organizations of San Sebastian, can only lead to a second edition, revised and enlarged, of the Seville Reconstruction Committee, that is to say, to the creation of a third central body.

It is evident beyond a doubt that only an insignificant minority of trade unionists will participate in this conference, and that the great organizations of the C. N. T. and the U. G. T. will not send delegates. Under these circumstances, can the conference produce any other result than a new split?

The experience of the last few years shows that this road is not the most desirable one to reach the unity so ardently desired; that with unity conferences and proposals for fusion congresses, absolutely nothing is accomplished. Unity must be achieved from below, after passing through the phase of the united front. The struggle against the bosses' offensive, the problems presented by the revolution, have shown clearly before the eyes of the working class the necessity of coordinating and unifying its forces. Otherwise, it will be hopelessly crushed by the enemy, and the bourgeoisie, allied with the landlords, will accomplish once and for all the destruction of the revolution.

There is not a single worker, no matter how little conscious he is, who does not understand the necessity of forming a single front with the comrades who work with him in the same factory, in the same shop, in the same mine. The Factory Committee, elected by all workers of the same class without exception, whether or not organized in trade unions, or belonging to the C. N. T., or the U. G. T., or whatever their political affiliation may be, offers them the effective possibility of realizing their unity in action. The struggle for unity must therefore be begun from below, by undertaking an energetic campaign in favor of the constitution of Factory Committees throughout the country.

Once unity has been achieved in this way from below, the working class, impelled by the very logic of the struggle, will reach the conclusion that it needs, not yet, the united front, but unity from the viewpoint of organization, on a national scale. This road is apparently slower than that of the fusion congress which is favored as the first and last step, but in reality it is much faster, and above all, infinitely more effective.

The struggle for unity has, besides, other invaluable advantages pointed out already by us in the past. In the first place, it offers the proletariat a magnificent occasion to counterpose the revolutionary control of production, exercised by these Committees, to the project for so-called "workers' control" worked out by Largo Caballero, which is only a concealed form of class collaboration.

In the second place, in the course of development of revolutionary events in our country, the Factory Committees can serve as a powerful stimulus to the appearance of Soviets, those irreplaceable organs of the proletariat.

Let us therefore abandon the empty propaganda for trade union unity and those efforts which, like the conference planned by the party, only deepen the split, and let us work actively and resolutely for real and immediate unity in action of the working class, by driving forward with the greatest energy the creation of Factory Committees.

Barcelona, Nov. 27, 1931

—ANDRÉS NIN.

In Bulgaria

On the afternoon of October 11, 1931, a bloody dispute took place in the courtyard of Philippopol Prison among the political prisoners—all of them comrades who have fought and suffered for the cause of the proletariat. This quarrel, called forth by factional differences, of opinion and by reciprocal insults deeply shook the sentiments of the working-class circles.

The press of Stalin's tools—*Echo, Workers' Action*, etc.—was filled with declarations and protests of prisoners of the Stalinist faction. Our excellent comrades, at the head of whom stands the noble and steadfast D. Gatchev, sentenced to death like so many other Oppositionists, were treated in these declarations as a herd of bandits, as a gang of fascists, enjoying the approval of the prison warden, against whom punishment and removal were demanded. The followers of Stalin, who has not desisted from shooting, imprisonment and deportation of people of the rank of Leon Trotsky and Christian Rakovsky, are all alarmed over the incidents in the Philippopol Prison. They are calling for the intervention of bourgeois justice and are endeavoring to bring decisions of inner-party disputes.

In this, just as all the other lackeys in the rest of the world, they are treating their opponents of the Opposition as traitors, or as tools of the bourgeoisie and of Fascism. They have neither the courage nor the ability for a free and honest struggle to compare both methods; that of Lenin and that of Trotsky which assured the proclamation and the entrenchment of the revolution in Russia, and on the other hand, that of Stalin and Molotov, who are subjecting all the acquisitions of the great Russian revolution, both the ideological as well as the organizational ones, to an international danger by enfeeblement, destruction and demoralization.

More than that; the political prisoners, poisoned by the Stalinist optimism, who are nevertheless our comrades, in the same class and in the same struggle, go as far as to issue—before the whole working class of the country, before the entire world proletariat—in the Stalinist press, which could find not a single word of fraternal conciliation, and reciprocal toleration, this declaration: "It will be impossible to prevent new attacks upon us, bloody conflicts are inevitable." And since the Stalinists are in the majority, it is quite apparent that a new bloody attack is being organized against our comrades, which is already now prepared psychologically and justified in advance.

Whom do these tragic quarrels serve? Comrades! On both sides, come to your senses! Can't you sum up sufficient moral strength to rise above these altogether too primitive methods of struggle, of application for a judgment from the authorities of our class enemies? Are you going to show yourselves incapable of rising to the level of proletarian ethics? Can you not find the strength for this by respecting the views of your

Left Opposition and the Brandlerites

A Letter to a Comrade by Leon Trotsky

Dear comrade:

I will try to express my views on the questions raised by you as briefly as possible. From the first, I had considered the disintegration of the Brandlerist faction as something absolutely inevitable. A revolutionary faction which has no doctrine, no general conception of the world situation, no elaborated strategic principles, is doomed, as a cross between Communism and social democracy, to a hand to mouth vegetation and cannot withstand the convulsions of the present epoch. Brandler and Thalheimer, the "leaders" of the international Right wing opposition called us "sectarians". Now, when we do possess a certain amount of cadres and begin slowly to grow, these alleged representatives of mass action find themselves in the midst of complete disintegration. Half of the leaders want to join Stalin, the other half Seydewitz. When Messrs. Brandler and Thalheimer take the part of yes-men with regard to everything that goes on in the Soviet Union, that does not prove at all, that they are blinded by nature or that they have been dazzled

by the wisdom of the Stalinists, but much rather, that they do not care a snap what happens in the country of the October revolution. Up to February 15, 1928 Brandler and Thalheimer repeatedly said: The Opposition's program of industrialization and collectivization is a utopia. Beginning with February 16, they immediately approved the new program of Stalin which was only a caricature of our own. One can more readily understand why it is that the Stalinists, under the immediate pressure of difficulties and contradictions which they are incapable either of overcoming or even of understanding, are engaged in changing their position sharply and in taking refuge behind lies, but it is really repulsive to see these two Berlin peewees constantly saying yes and yes, without taking any part at all in the affair outside of their fervent desire to be appointed to high functions. And the fact that the Right wing opposition tolerates the likes of them in its midst, nay, at its head, is in my eyes very characteristic of that organization.

We, the Left Opposition, are weak. We are growing slowly. But we are patient. The cadres of the Comintern consist either of completely used up, formerly revolutionary, elements or of neutral hirelings. The Marxist tradition has been broken. What is sailing now under the flag of Leninism is only a mishmash of the most heterogeneous elements, cemented by blunt Stalinist ignorance. The authority of the October revolution has become an obstacle to revolutionary development. That is the dialectic of history: reason becomes nonsense, October revolution becomes Kaganovich. Under such conditions, how can the Marxist tendency be expected to move forward at express speed? In order to master the international situation, its turns, changes, etc., a certain theoretical level is required, or at least, a certain amount of political experience. The masses can only approve of us, insofar as our views withstand the test of events and are confirmed by them. Example: Our small German organization is making a serious step forward precisely because it is holding its own in this eventful situation, while the Brandlerites are forced into bankruptcy.

Com. St. believes, according to what you say, that there are unreliable, confused and even discrediting Cantonists among us, especially in Austria. It is true, in Austria there exist, to be sure, not four but—*insofar as I have been informed*—two groups who count themselves as members of the Left Opposition, both of which we are, however, for the time being, allowing to take their course outside of the framework of our organization because just now we lay more weight on quality than on numbers. Numbers only make up the real mass, when the cadres maintain themselves by their quality, that is, by their ideas, and methods. When will the great successes come? That I cannot tell you. The Left Radicals remained a small minority in the German social democracy for years. The Zimmerwald Left consisted of single comrades from various countries, and they were not—as comrade St. very well knows—not as the best: a young Norwegian poet, the confused Hoeglund from Sweden, Julius Borchardt, etc. But the doctrine was solid, the orientation firm, the methods correct, that is, appropriate for the epoch. And out of this small group, the Third International arose. To be sure, through the intermediary of the October revolution. Great revolutions always consume whole generations, and that is just the case now. To a certain, but only to a certain degree, it is necessary to begin anew at present. In this, the most important task is to preserve the continuity of the revolutionary-Marxist, that is—in our epoch, of the Bolshevik idea and to transmit it to the younger generation. The confused Cantonists, who "discredit" us will be hurled aside. One should choose one's path according to the fundamental, determining, objective factors and not according to the subjective impressions of one group or another of followers of the revolutionary tendency. Engels once wrote to Bernstein somewhat along these lines: "We (i. e. Marx and Engels, naturally) remained in the minority all our life and were quite comfortable at that." I do not mean to say by this, that we should make this our aim. In my life, it also happened that I was among the majority. But all those who constantly rave about the "masses" and the "majority" never actually attain it, at least not for revolutionary ends. The masses are not won over by a special mass technique, as Brandler and Thalheimer conceive of it—in this field, the trade union fakers are sky-high superior to them—the masses are won over in our epoch, full of events and crises, only by a clear revolutionary, social conception.

The further development of the German situation will be decisive for the international labor movement, and in the first instance, for the Comintern. Should the German proletariat be victorious—this can only happen by the greatest tension of all the creative forces latent in it—then the dictatorship of the empty and brutal Stalinist bureaucracy will immediately fall, great ideological struggles will be solved, the Left Opposition will have a fruitfying effect on the renovation of the labor movement in Germany and in the entire world. Should the German proletariat be defeated by the Fascists, then all will be over with the Comintern and possibly also with the Soviet Union. For the world proletariat, that will mean a set-back for long years to come. Under these tragic conditions, the Left Opposition will take over the task of continuing to expand the Marxist idea, but certainly no longer within the formal framework of the Third International. We have a long run perspective. The events can accelerate our development, even give it a feverish pace. All the better! We are, however, also prepared to carry on propagandistic and educational work for long years as "secretarians", in order to prepare the yeast for the future.

With best Communist regards,
L. TROTSKY.

E. BAUER.

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EDITORIAL NOTES

FATHER COX

While unemployment increases daily and the suffering and misery accumulates to the explosive point the militant movement of the workers around the issue completely fails to keep pace. The unemployment movement shows many signs of regression, or at best marks time. This is the price of false and inadequate policies and bankrupt leadership. In the face of such a contradiction the way is opened for all kinds of charlatans to get the attention of the hungry masses. The situation is made to order for them, and those who show skill in the work of deception have the capitalist press for a publicity machine. The most conspicuous and successful of these traffickers in human misery that has yet appeared on the scene is the Catholic priest of Pittsburgh, Father Cox.

The exploits of this clever sky-pilot are crowding the legitimate workers movement out of the daily news. While this can be attributed, in part, to more or less deliberate policy of the capitalist press, it must be admitted that his methods and program have a superficial attraction for many workers. He stole the thunder of the Communists with his "hunger march" to Washington and, from all reports, made just as good a showing. He demands "immediate relief," government appropriations and similar measures, which have a practical sound and make a certain appeal to the desperate workers who are staggering under the heavy blows of the crisis. This is indicated by the attendance of fifty thousand at his Pittsburgh mass meeting. It is not altogether out of question that his project for a national convention at St. Louis should arouse widespread hopes and attain a measure of success.

One thing is incontestable: The intolerable burdens of unemployment are arousing millions who can no longer bear them in silence. They are moving with irresistible force toward some form of expression. Whether it will be a fighting program or a compound of reformist and religious illusions, whether it will be led by revolutionists or demagogues—this remains undecided. It is not written anywhere that the workers, in the first stages of their awakening, will take the road of militant struggle. Neither is it precluded. The policy and methods of the party are the deciding factor in this question. The conditions work in a progressive direction, but the leadership fumbles every time and turns the movement back.

Time is vitally important. Every error and every delay increases the danger that the course of the movement will be turned aside. The spectacular successes of Father Cox are a sharp warning of the reality of this danger.

ATTACKING THE MARINE WORKERS' DEFENSE

The attack on the Marine Workers' Defense Committee in the *Daily Worker* of January 25th is a continuation, under a new form, of the policy of the party and the I. L. D. in this case since its inception. The attack is shifted from the prisoners to their defense committee, but at bottom the attitude remains the same—treacherous disregard for the fate of the prisoners and concern only for the factional interests of this corrupt and degenerated clique. The attempt to disrupt the defense on the very eve of the trial is an act of collaboration with the prosecution no less than was the statement of the *Daily Worker* on the day after the arrest more than two months ago. If the conspiracy to railroad these workers is defeated—as we trust it will be—it will also be a defeat for scoundrels who, in the name of Communism, have done and are doing their best to deprive the prisoners of the solidarity, support and defense that is their due. When the Communist workers finally call these scavengers to judgment their reckless sport with the lives of labor prisoners will not be the least count in the indictment that will condemn them forever.

When Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer were first arrested their friends appealed to the I. L. D. for aid. This appeal was rejected; this organization, which is maintained by the revolutionary workers for such purposes, refused even to send a lawyer to visit them in jail, to hear their story and to inquire whether they were being mistreated. The *Daily Worker* on November 18th disavowed the men and denounced them as they lay helpless in the hands of the third-degree torturers. Said the *Daily Worker* on that date: "Soderberg, secretary of the Tidewater Boatmen's Union, whom the capitalist press calls a 'Red,' was expelled from the Communist party for being a suspicious element and also from the Marine Workers' Industrial Union for disruptive and anti-working class activities. Trajer, Reilly and Bunker were expelled from the Marine Workers' Industrial Union as bad elements." And to this, the *Young Worker* added: "Soderberg is a stool pigeon."

Now, when the case is already on the calendar for trial they come forward and offer a "class struggle defense." What kind of a defense did they offer in the days after the arrest when defense was desperately needed? Nobody stood in their way. The initiative was taken by others only because they would do nothing—noting but denounce the prisoners and leave them to their fate. For this reason also the Marine Workers' Defense Committee was formed at the request of the defendants. The I. L. D. and the Party were invited to participate, to send speakers to the mass meeting, to

help in the organization of a united front of labor for the defense. All this they refused, and the work went on without them. Now they come forward to protect the prisoners from the "betrayal" of the defense committee which did the necessary work which they refused to do or help in doing.

This eleventh hour discovery of the merits of the case by the *Daily Worker* has not occurred without reason. It bears testimony to the effective work of the defense committee in popularizing the issue and it indicates the pressure brought against the bureaucrats by the Communist workers who were ashamed of the things done in their name. But the new approach to the case shows a cynical contempt for the intelligence of these workers. They will stand for a great deal—as the continued existence of the Stalinist-bureaucratic domination—but they have not forgotten the record this bureaucracy has made in the case of the marine workers, and they will not forget it.

In order to refresh their memory and to put all the issues clearly before the workers the defense committee has decided to issue a statement giving an account of its work and policy. This statement, which will adduce documents and facts on every point, will deal another blow to the disrupters and thereby strengthen the defense of the persecuted workers facing trial.

A PROGRESSIVE TENDENCY

The draft of a program published by the Opposition group of the Proletarian Party gives further confirmation of the progressive tendency represented by the new group. The document leaves a number of the most decisive questions unanswered, but in spite of this limitation—which is easily understandable in a group that has only recently taken shape—the programmatic statement of the Opposition gives a fairly clear impression of the nature of the revolt against Proletarian Party leaders who lived too long, in peace. The faction fight—or, more correctly, the split—in the Keracher organization is a fight of revolutionary workers against a sterile and conservative clique.

The sections of the program dealing with unemployment and the trade union question show the strong sides of the opposition as compared with the Keracher official faction. On both these points, so vitally connected with the daily work in the class struggle, the opposition group shows the impulse to break out of the sectarian passivity, garnished with high-sounding pseudo-Marxist talk, which has characterized the Proletarian Party from the beginning. The progressive and revolutionary tendency of the opposition in this regard is undoubted.

It must be noted however that this characterization applies mainly to its program on these points as compared to the official policy and practice. The formulations of the opposition are by no means adequate, and they are lacking somewhat in theoretical motivation. From this the danger can arise of an uncritical plunge into "mass work" for its own sake and the ending of the whole movement in a swamp. If this is defended as a necessary reaction to the "pure theory" of the Keracher group, it must be remembered that it was not the preoccupation of the Proletarian Party with theoretical questions, but the shallowness and falsity of its theories, that determined its isolation and its futility.

The paramount problem of the American labor movement—the prerequisite for its development on the revolutionary path in the next period—is the consolidation of a firm cadre of political vanguard fighters, that is, of revolutionary Marxists. In this task the clarification of theory takes first place. The specific weight of even a small group of this character will be far greater, and its influence on events in a rising wave of class struggles incomparable more decisive, than a hundred amorphous "mass movements" which leave aside the fundamental problems for future consideration.

The formation of the cadres of the vanguard need not be contrasted to the mass movements, but their formation is the condition for the revolutionary effectiveness of the latter. If the opposition group of the Proletarian Party sees the thing this way its revolt against the dead routine of Keracherism can become the starting point for an important contribution to the Communist movement. We hope for a fruitful collaboration with them on this line. The best way to begin this collaboration is to conduct a frank discussion of all the important questions.

J. P. C.

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The Recent Outbreaks in Spain and their Meaning

(Continued from page 1)

which will surely be amplified and confirmed by later information.

"Law for Defense of Republic"

The republican-socialist coalition which took over the government with such elaborate promises for the welfare of the masses and took such deliberate pains to proclaim Spain a "democratic republic of the workers," has not failed to reveal in action its brutally anti-labor character. Not only has it not succeeded in solving a single one of the problems posed by the democratic revolution, but it has steadily instituted regulations and procedures which have steadily increased the discontentment of the workers. The focal point of the rift between the masses and the ruling class it has brought to power has become, to a great extent, the infamous "law for the defense of the republic" and the existence of the equally infamous "Guardia Civil" which is maintained to enforce the draconian measures of the law.

Before the adoption of the law, and now "legally" under the law, hundreds upon hundreds of active militants have been arbitrarily arrested and detained without trial or indictment. The system of "detenciones gubernativas" (arbitrary governmental detention), carried over from the Republic, has been carried over under the dictatorship. Characteristically, under the dictatorship this vicious system was declared against by such present-day authorities as Azana, Prieto, Marcelino Domingo; one of its most ardent opponents under Primo was Galarraga, who today permeates it just as ardently in the capacity of Director General of Security in Madrid. Just as under Primo and Berenguer, working class papers are now administratively suppressed by the minister of the interior or his representatives. *Frete Uno* and *Mundo Obrero*, organs of the Communist party, have been suppressed or harassed. In Catalonia, the civil governor, Anguera de Sojo, completely suppressed the weekly paper of the Left Opposition, *El Soviet*. The powerful daily paper of the C. N. T., *Solidaridad Obrera*, has been seized regularly, particularly since it passed into the hands of the anarchists.

Trade union and political centers of all sorts have been closed by the authorities in the most high-handed manner. Just in the short period of the writer's visit to Spain, the press reported the shutting down of the C. N. T. (anarchosyndicalist) unions in Cadiz; the illegalization of the anarchist-controlled railroad workers' union in Malaga; the outlawry of the autonomous building trades union in Bilbao, led by the Communist party and the Left Opposition; and—with the tacit consent of the three socialist leaders who are in the coalition cabinet—the closing up of U. G. T. (socialist unions) and even Socialist party centers in their stronghold, Estremadura.

In one strike after another, the government—the Madrid center as well as the Catalonian Generalitat, has intervened openly on the side of the employers. The Civil Guard, cordially despised and hated by virtually the entire population, has been used time and again to crush strikes, to beat up demonstrators, and even to fire-point-blank into workers' meetings. All these measures and acts are now elevated to the plane of constitutional law by the new "law for the defense of the republic," voted by reactionaries, socialists and even Macia adherents, which puts more arbitrary and dictatorial power into the hands of the minister of the interior than Primo ever presumed to take! All this by the grace of the socialist ministers and with their benediction.

The Arnedo Massacre

The flames of resentment in the ranks of the working class, which were reduced to a smoldering glow, while back, now seem to have flared up again. From what can be gathered by reading the most recent periodicals, the recent strike outbreaks were precipitated by a horrible massacre of workers in Arnedo, province of Viscaya. Rights into a crowd of defenseless workers came the rifle fire of the Guardia Civil, with the result that besides the many wounded, there is now a toll of ten dead men, women and children, among the latter a fifteen years old boy.

Throughout the country it appears that this was the final straw.

The accumulated hatred of the Civil Guard, which symbolizes oppression, arbitrariness and police brutality to the Spanish workers and peasants, spilled over in all parts of the country. In one section after another, general strikes of protest against the Arnedo massacre were called some for 24 hours some for two days, some for an "indefinite period" in San Sebastian, later throughout Vizcaya, and, as recent press dispatches in-

dicade, throughout Andalusia and Catalonia. Everywhere, the popular demand was raised for the dissolution of the Civil Guard. The republicans and socialists in power, cavalierly oblivious of their solemn promises before the fall of the monarchy to abolish the black-hatted bandits of the Guard, promptly proceeded to send comrades of the same Guards to suppress the strikes with all the ferocity for which they are notorious.

Despite the militancy of the strike movement, which sporadically and spontaneously went so far as to take over control of local municipalities, it is clear from even the meager press reports that it has been driven back by the concentration. And, with the present state of the movement, nothing else could be expected.

The fatal weakness of his movement is its leadership and outlook. Practically everywhere, it is under the domination of the C. N. T. leaders, either of the "pure" syndicalist brand or of the "pure" anarchist brand. Practically everywhere, the actions are consequently precipitated without genuine preparation, with the vaguest, least practical, most "idealistic" aims, without national coordination, without foresight as to the results or the means provided for resisting an agile, mobile, well-directed and centralized bourgeoisie and its apparatus of suppression. The inevitable result is that the anarcho-syndicalists, contempt for the state, are completely discredited and checkmated when the "social myth" of the state turns up at every corner and confronts the heroically confused workers with serried ranks of trained Civil Guards bayonets fixed and rifles leveled.

The concern which every revolutionist must feel over these events is over the fact that the petty-bourgeois ignorance and prejudices of the anarcho-syndicalist leaders resulted in dress parades of an unprepared and undirected working class against a thoroughly fortified bourgeoisie, unnecessarily exhausting the forces of the workers, bleeding them slowly in futile skirmishes, preaching the superiority of primitive guerrilla warfare when only the strategy of centralized war is applicable, practicing the theory of sporadic advances and disorganized retreats under the fatally erroneous impression that it is the bourgeoisie which will thereby be weakened. The continued precipitation of premature and unprospective mosquito attacks, accomplished by taking unwisely advantage of the just resentment and militancy of the masses, means that the anarcho-syndicalists are stretching out Spain's "July days" into weeks and perhaps months. It constitutes a terrific threat to the real progress of the Spanish proletarian movement.

The other side of this situation is the "blipshersin permanence" of the Spanish Communist Party. We have often pointed out the veritable crimes against the revolution which the Stalinist bureaucrats have committed in the Spanish situation. Each acute situation only reveals this horrible fact more glaringly.

In K. C. Opposition

Our first open forum held Monday, January 18 marked a real success for the Kansas City Left Opposition and speaks well for our future work. About sixty workers, among whom were a dozen or so party members, participated in a very lively and interesting meeting on "Why Trotsky was Deported from Russia." The speaker, George Clarke, elaborated on the basic difference between the Left Opposition and the Stalinists; told of the ruinous consequences of the centrist zigzag in the Soviet Union and described the fatal disasters in the international resultant from the non-Marxian theory of "socialism in one country." The talk was well received by the audience. During the question period the party members were quick to seize the opportunity for questions and discussion. But as usual most of the time of their discussion was occupied with easily refutable slanders. The only half-way serious arguments were old ones, viz: "Trotsky wants to rob the peasantry" and "Neither Stalin nor Kalinin could be centrists since they had been in jail and Siberia for their activities." To these the speaker's replies appeared to satisfy most of the listeners.

On Sunday, January 17, at the Negro Organizing Club comrade Clarke spoke to an audience of approximately 100 Negro workers on the "Economic crisis, Communism and the Negro." The remarks on this subject seemed to have struck a sympathetic chord among the Negroes gathered, for the hall fairly rang with applause at the conclusion of his speech. This is the second Negro meeting in Kansas City in which the Left Opposition has explained the revolutionary idea. We hope to continue propagandizing Communist theory and practice among the black workers of Kansas City.

—C.

KANSAS CITY

The Left Opposition Program for America

Speaker, GEORGE CLARKE
MONDAY, FEB. 8th at 8 P. M.
914 Grand Avenue
Second Floor

Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition)

The light-hearted gambling with the problems of the movement, ignorance and ineptness, the stage juggling with the burning trade union question which results in the absence of any decisive Communist influence in the powerful C. N. T.—or the U. G. T., for that matter—has made it possible for the anarcho-syndicalists to debilitate the working class without encountering effective resistance from the Communist forces in the principal mass organizations. So much invaluable, irreplaceable time has been lost by the antics of Stalinism! So much more time threatens to be lost unless a turn is made!

The pitiful attempts of the Stalinist press to cover up the bankruptcy of Ballejos, Adame, Trilla and Co. in Spain, deserve a word. Taken completely unawares, the *Daily Worker* clamored for days about "eight towns" having "declared the establishment of a Soviet Republic!" Such abysmal ignorance about "establishing Soviet Republics" is to be expected from the bourgeois press... and from Stalinist dungeons. Then we learn that "the workers of Spain are turning in masses to the revolutionary leadership of the Communist party"

(D. W., 1-23-32). Unfortunately, this big mouthful is miles distant from the truth, if only for the reason that these same journalist-manufacturers and their Spanish colleagues have done everything they could to keep the masses from the Communist party.

The *Daily Worker* is not alone. The current issue of the *Workers Age*, which contains an outraged article by Gittlow against the bluffs and exaggerations of the *Daily Worker*, does an elaborate piece of bluffing on its own hook. It informs us of the "wide-spread revolutionary uprising under the leadership of the Catalonian Communist Federation (the Right wing group of Maurin and Co.) and the syndicalist unions". That the syndicalist unions are leading the movement is undoubtedly true, but no more. The story about the leadership of Maurin and Co. is nothing but bluff, pure and simple, manufactured entirely out of a typewriter and a piece of paper. The revolution in Spain is still on the order of the day. It is only necessary to understand the dangers it faces, and to overcome them in a serious, Marxian manner.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

Book Review:

Lassalle. By Arno Schirokauer. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. The Century Co.

Of all the figures in the labor movement since the beginning of the era of scientific socialism, none stands out so romantically and haughtily as does the figure of Ferdinand Lassalle. He has not only been biographed by so eminent a critic as Georg Brandes; but he has even been transplanted into the fictional pages of no less a novelist than the great Victorian, George Meredith, who painted Lassalle with the cellophane coating of fiction around him as Alvan, the Jewish firebrand and reformer, in his novel "The Tragic Comedians." And as a "tragic comedian" he has been admired and parlor-gamed over by ever so many well meaning intellectuals, liberals and romantic socialists.

That he should have been taken up by bourgeois intellectuals of his time and after is hardly to be marvelled at. Consider a boy born of Jewish parents—with decided semitic features—rising to the point of confounding the aristocracy, and what's more, the rising bourgeoisie (whom he evidently hated more) up to the great Bismarck, himself. With ingenuous argumentation that resembled more the haggling of some ancient Talmudists than the Dialectics of anybody, he stands up in court and defends the notorious Countess Hatfield. A defense which lasts well on to a decade and culminates in making him the darling of the "haute monde."

The "haute monde" of '48 and in Lassalle a noisy and forceful, if at times, illogical leader. He electrifies with his speeches. He crushes with his denunciations. He even writes a book and a pretentious drama in blank verse. The book is on the Greek philosopher, Heraclitus and it is written not so much to enlighten anybody as to lay a philosophic background for his aggressive behavior. Nothing is too much for him. He is the eagle. (He says so, himself). All the time he is making love to one woman or another. Love and action are inscribed in letters of fire on his spiritual coat-of-arms. He is as helpless without the one as the other. And so the draft caused by his running from the political scene to the bed-room never ceases until the bullet from a pistol shot in a duel over his lady-love, the comely Helen von Donneges, (would he have loved her a week hence?) lays him low.

Now in the sense that the book deals with these situations which are by now a legend in the ranks of the radical intelligentsia, it is a better book than any that has gone before. Certainly the Donneges affair which has been made so much of by other commentators has here been minimized to its proper proportions. The book in general is written with a gusty savor that somehow does manage to recapture the personality that was Lassalle. The style is rapid—hasty—and in keeping with its subject. So much for the formal aspects.

But the social democratic bias from which the author writes can never for a moment be mistaken. With all the painful efforts to be objective the bias stands out like a pair of bow-legs in a Ziegfeld chorus. The Marx-Lassalle disagreements are explained from the personal point of view. To a bourgeois intellectual or social democrat, a disagreement between two people of different political opinions is always personal. If Marx differs with Bakunin and Lassalle, it is placed directly to personal jealousy, by these gentry, or to some disease. If Lenin differs with Plechanov and Martov—he is jealous. If Trotsky disagrees with Stalin—it's a personal issue for power. These creatures see everything through the refraction mirror of their own petty-bourgeois souls. And so Marx's and Engels' dislike and distrust of Lassalle is placed right at the door of personal jealousy. It need not of course be stressed here that the political differences between Marx and Lassalle are barely skimmed over or entirely neglected. Marx's criticism of Lassalle's Gotha Program is not even mentioned. But then, what can you expect of a social democrat, and a social democratic intellectual, at that!

One more point. In the concluding remarks of his biography, Mr. Schirokauer gives himself over to reflecting upon the career of a man who not only died once but three times. Lassalle is dead. His work is dead. His (?) International (the first) is dead. But our biographer sees a faint light gleaming. He argues thus: The chief bone of contention between Marx and Lassalle was the matter of National vs. International Socialism. To put it in modern terms, between Socialism-in-one-country and the Permanent Revolution. Now the spirit of Lassalle, the spirit of the first International (a good international is a dead International nowadays) is coming up over the horizon. For have we not got Socialism in one country in Russia? And are we not instituting a variation of National Socialism right here in Germany, now?

Thus we find, at last, another fore-runner of Stalin and Stalinism. Action—no matter how wrong so long as you're doing something; as against action through theory when the opportune moment arrives.

—M. GTN.

A Communication

We have received the following statement for publication. It is of especial interest because it expresses a growing resentment among class conscious workers against the habit of making the defense of class war prisoners a factional football, whether this be done by the Stalinists, or as in this case, by the I. W. W.—(Ed.)

New York, N. Y.
January 15, 1932

The Militant
84 East 10th St.,
New York City

Comrades:

The following is a resolution unanimously passed at our last meeting: "At our Special Meeting held on Jan. 15th, 1932, at Aristocrat Hall, 69 St. Marks Place, our Delegates reported about the Conference for the Defense of the Kentucky Miners, called by the General Defense Committee held on Jan. 6th, 1932 at Labor Temple, 14th St., and Second Ave., New York, N. Y.

"We endorse the stand taken by our delegates to invite all other Labor organizations, regardless of their political beliefs, to join in the defense of the Kentucky Miners as well as of all political prisoners. We believe—as our delegates—that in order to make the struggle really effective, labor must unite all its forces in the struggle against the oppression by the ruling class.

We express our hope that the Conference for the Kentucky Miners Defense will make an honest attempt in that direction"

We hope that you will give publicity to this resolution.

Fraternalty yours,
Secretary (Signed)
Bielotzerkover Br. 417, W. C.

ST. LOUIS OPEN FORUM

"LENIN, TROTSKY, and the WORLD REVOLUTION".
Speaker: Martin Payer
Friday, FEBRUARY 5, '32
14th and Cass Avenues

Auspices: St. Louis Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

DANCE

For the Benefit of the Imprisoned Marine Workers

Bunker — Soderberg — Trajer
at the
STUYVESANT CASINO

Second Avenue and 9th St.
Friday Evening, February 12th.

Auspices of the
Marine Workers Defense Committee
Show your solidarity with these victims of the frame-up system. Come and bring your friends.



The Railroad Wage Cut

From the protracted negotiations for a new railway wage agreement, the millionaire magnates have emerged victorious. But that they accomplished only by the cunning servility of those with whom they negotiated—the union leaders. These rogues accepted the 10 per cent wage-cut while the 1,500,000 railroad workers were not consulted.

It would be difficult to expect any other outcome in view of what happened since the negotiations assembled several hundred local union chairmen in the Chicago conference. According to one chairman who was present, only speakers designated by the official union hierarchy could obtain the floor. The standing refrain repeated by these worthless early and late was the one: "You will have to accept a wage cut." That spelled defeat in advance.

The New York Times says, in commenting editorially upon the great good which is to accrue—not to the workers—but to business in general, to the insurance companies and to the banks which have more than \$4,500,000,000 invested in railway issues: "Union leadership has sacrificed an immediate advantage in order to obtain a larger objective." No, the leaders sacrificed nothing, not even their honor for such they never had as long as they occupied their official positions. The sacrifice is all on the part of the workers. To them it will mean a lower standard below the \$2.88 per day which is now reported to be the average earning of all railroad workers, counting both employed and unemployed. The railroad owners on the other hand will receive an additional plum of \$215,000,000 to further line their pockets during the coming year, during which this reduction is of remain in effect. These servile, cringing union officials served them well indeed.

The railroad magnates could easily give glib promises of "reciprocity" to the demand for the recalled employment stabilization advanced by the union officials. This promise is just as meaningless as the manner in which the demand was proposed was futile. The promise offers only to endeavor to increase employment whenever practicable. And, of course, with the magnates now pleading inability to meet the payroll because of diminishing returns, this will never be practicable. But after all, as far as the union leaders are concerned they never intended their proposed "stabilization" schemes to be taken seriously. For them it served only as a smoke screen to hide their failure to heed the need of fighting workers—namely to secure the six hour day. A serious fight for this proposal would at least have served as a warning upon the railroad magnates that the workers are deeply concerned about finding some means of alleviating the ravages of unemployment and heavy lay-offs due to the advance of labor saving machine technic.

The railroad companies won this skirmish; but their real objective is a far greater one. They have now begun definitely to come to grips with the railroad unions and they will be certain to lose no opportunity to continue in pursuit of their objective to impose more wage cuts, to gradually undermine the position of the unions in preparation for their final destruction—if possible. This present wage cut was imposed even without the employers having to stop to utilize the rignamories of the arbitration machinery provided by the railway labor act. If it had been the case of a wage increase the workers would surely have been at least compelled first to run the whole gamut of this complicated machinery. But that is what it is for. To function as a brake upon the workers; to be at the service of the employers and to be entirely set aside or ignored when the employers feel themselves sufficiently strong to do so.

To the workers one important lesson should remain in respect to this phase

of the matter. There should never again be any reliance placed upon arbitration machineries or proceedings. The workers can obtain only what they can actually take; what their position of organized strength will force the employers to give into.

What were the heavy compelling arguments which the railroad magnates marshaled to convince all and sundry? It was primarily their plea of inability to maintain earnings in face of the heavy competition from bus passenger transportation and from freight haulage by trucking. It is very true that new modern, and in many respects more competitive means of transportation is to a large extent superseding railroad service. But this does not in the least supersede the dividends collected by the investors in railroad securities because it is the same bondholders in each case. As a matter of fact the existing bus lines are practically all owned by the railroad companies, as for example the Greyhound owned by the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Union Pacific system and the Chicago and Northwestern having their net of bus lines in the Western territory and so forth. The truck hauling is also rapidly being gobbled up by the roads.

The railroad owners thus clip the coupons and pocket the profits from practically all of these means of transportation. But for the railroad workers the situation is an entirely different one. They have been hit, in addition to the wage cut, with heavy unemployment, and lay-offs to the extent of about 700,000 being eliminated during the last decade. Many more are on a part time working basis. Their exclusive craft position in the higher brackets is entire-

ly gone. They face an entirely new perspective for the future.

A Class Approach Necessary
The railroad workers are being reduced from their exclusive craft position. They are now in a more direct sense on an actual class level. Their problems are ever more becoming bound up with that of their class. Only an approach, no longer from the exclusive craft position, but from a class position can hope to begin to approximate a solution. In this sense there is a gigantic change in perspective.

It means new and enormous tasks for their unions and to this we will again return in a future issue. One may say there is some slight ray of hope for future prospects in the fact that in these recent negotiations representatives of all of the unions were brought together and acted together despite the fact of the sell-out by the officials. These latter are, of course, not only still wrapped up in the exclusive craft position of the past, but as much as ever functioning purely and simply as agents of capitalism within the ranks of labor. Hence in any consideration by the railroad workers of future problems one thing at least remains axiomatic. A struggle for conditions, a struggle to maintain or to improve their standard of living, can be carried on only hand in hand with the most determined struggle against all traces of domination by these capitalist agents.

The capitalist offensive against the working class is still in full blast all along the line. It calls for the most determined resistance. Meek submission will only bring new and more ferocious attacks. The railroad workers have an organization, divided and split up along craft lines, repeatedly betrayed by their leaders, but nevertheless a powerful organization if brought into action. It is certainly incumbent upon the railroad workers to endeavor to lead in this resistance. But this requires a fighting program.

—A. S.

New Developments in Far East

Western Imperialists Register Protests as Japs Hold on to Booty

While Japanese warships are continuing to bombard Shanghai, at the same time hanging martial law over Nanking and laying waste the Chinese Woosung fortresses at the mouth of the Whangpoo River, the imperialist government at Tokio is tenaciously clinging to every inch of ground it has seized since the start of the Manchurian adventure.

The brigand powers of the West have quite naturally become alarmed over the enormous advantages gained by their Eastern rival during the last few months. Under the sanctimonious mask of the Pact of Paris—the United States, of course, leading—four powers drafted a "peace formula" pretending to have the interests of pacifism at heart, but whose sole aim was to create a check to the successful robber activities of the Japanese competitor.

Was it a strange that Tokio refused to accept the now famous "Point 5" in the peace formula—"to settle all outstanding controversies between the two nations"? It was, as a matter of fact, to be expected. Japan considers the "outstanding controversy" in Manchuria settled. And Tokio said as much, slyly offering a "satisfactory" apology for the Chamberlain incident, replacing the naval command at Shanghai with the more acceptable Admiral Nomura and deftly withdrawing her troops from the U. S. "Marine Zone". Interference with her already well established conquests, she will not, however, tolerate.

With the exception of a few ultra-jingoist papers, notably the Hearst press, American "public opinion" is hard-

ly inclined to kindle the war spirit; against the imperialism of the East just yet. The present line-up of the powers is hardly a stable one. France, of late one of the instigators of the Japanese adventure, Great Britain, the traditional ally of Japan, are hardly to be counted on. Their interests are not at one with those of Wall Street. But England does need the aid of American finance for the time being. That explains her role as mediator in the present tension.

A flare-up in the current Far Eastern tangle is not excluded. But the relation-ship of forces we are witnessing now, will have to go through a rather sharp transformation, before matters come to a head. In the meantime, the outcome of the class conflict in Germany remains, as before, of decisive importance to all turns of world politics. And it is interesting but sad to note that this determining factor is left altogether out of sight by the official Communist press, which instead, indulges in all sorts of tortuous acrobatics around those poor "growing contradictions", which they are unable to understand.

The 17th Conference of the Commu-

nist Party of the Soviet Union is meeting in Moscow. There was a time when the Communist Party of the Soviet Union justified its leading position in the Communist International by far more than the fact that it possesses state power. That was in the Leninist period, when it was the veritable leader of the world proletariat.

Today, when the flames of social conflagration are spreading from West to East and from East to West, the Stalinized C. P. S. U. has nothing more to offer the international working class at a Conference—than the latest figures on the Five Year Plan. (To which we shall yet come back!) The oppressed and plundered masses of China, the starved and restless proletariat of Germany, are waiting for a word from the Soviets, from the land of light. Stalin has nothing to say to them.

The workers of the world will not forget this. The workers will begin to demand an accounting. It is to take care of this task that the International Left Opposition under the Leadership of Leon Trotsky is preparing itself.

—SAM GORDON.

«Reconstruction Finance Commission» Ruse

The latest patch to our threadbare capitalist society is being applied. They are now announcing the birth of the "Reconstruction Finance Corporation". Not so many months ago the bankers themselves, at the pronounced initiative of the president, created the National Credit Corporation for the purpose of aiding the little banks. Admittedly, it has been of little aid. Now, a bigger and broader plan is being put in effect, the creation of this "p.m.ch." specifies a two billion dollar fund to be raised through the sale of bonds (\$500,000,000 to be subscribed to by the government) which money will be used to loan money to banks' advance money to the railroads to cover maturing bonds' aid to over-mortgaged farmers' and similar transactions, the essential nature of which is the "thawing out", for the present holder, of "frozen" and perhaps even worthless paper. The success or failure of the entire scheme can be established only after a survey of the entire banking situation today.

About three years ago the first rumblings of the present crisis could have been detected by the trained ear—from the ever lessening pounding of the tap hammer, as fewer and fewer rivets were driven home to secure the girders in the many buildings that had been shooting up. Beginning with the construction industry, the wave of depression rolled ever onward, from industry to industry, until now even the mighty banking system of this country has begun to wobble and grow dizzy with the constantly mounting list of casualties.

There are in general three types of banks (aside from Investment Houses, Insurance Companies' Personal Loan Societies, etc.—that have many functions similar to those of banks). They are (1) Mutual Savings Banks—Bovary Savings (2) Commercial Bank—National City (3) Private Banks—J. P. Morgan. The first two concern us primarily. They are the ones that hold the meager savings of the "well-to-do" worker and small business man. They are the banks that act as the support of the industrialist from the moment of the purchase of his raw materials until the time he secures the returns on the finished product. These banks are the ones that falling will add a heavy blow to the attempts of the capitalists to rise from their present prostration. These are the banks that the Reconstruction Finance Corp. is to aid.

THE IMPORTANCE OF BANK STABILITY

For savings banks the almost total, and for commercial banks the overwhelming bulk of the liabilities (money the bank owes to other people) are to the depositors. Thus the recent statement of the National City Bank shows out of a total liability of \$1,800,000,000, the sum of \$1,400,000,000 under the item of deposits. This grand sum came from industrial and commercial concerns who are constantly depositing and withdrawing money to transact their business. On the side of the assets we find a similar item: "short term loans" (for circulating capital) of \$912,000,000 out of a total assets of \$1,858,000,000—the largest single item recorded. A failure of a commer-

cial bank means the throwing of a monkey wrench into the wheels of all the business that was transacted by the concern having deposits there, increased unemployment and misery. The failure of a saving bank, although not having the direct effect upon business in general as that of a commercial bank, brings within its train the pauperizing of all the depositors, who particularly during times of crisis look upon the few dollars saved during the seven or eight years to tide them over the present lean years. More so than the bankruptcies of ordinary industrial and commercial houses' bank failures—because of the wide spread tentacles of modern financial capital—although also an effect of industrial crisis, add new fuel of a most highly inflammable nature to the economic catastrophe.

The importance to Capitalism of a sound financial system cannot be underestimated. It is for that reason that they have been so quick to apply any remedies that they hope may relieve this growing infection. The R. F. C. is but one of many of the most grandiose ones of all. There are the Mutual Aid Plan of the New York State Savings Banks; there is the National Credit Corp.—but as even the bankers admit, they have not been of much help. Of the present scheme, all that can be said is, that although it may succeed in helping through the coming few months the smallest and weakest of the banks, no too great bank ability can be secured with it.

THE TRENDS TO BE COUNTER-BALANCED

The present bank crisis hinges on many important trends. The Federal Reserve System though its rediscounting power of short term loans helps the banks to overcome the failure of the industrialist to make good on his loans. The R. F. C. was created for the purpose of counterbalancing those features of the bank crisis—those of a long time trend. (1) The collapse of the real estate market (2) The sharp drop in railroad bonds. (3) The defaulting of the European and the South American countries. (Aside from the increase in stock holdings, accompanied by their subsequent decline in value). The act has as its avowed intention the alleviation of any weaknesses displayed by the banks as a result of the first two of the tendencies enumerated above. Of course this will at the same time lessen the effect of the defaulted foreign bonds.

The importance of these trends upon the bank situation can be easily observed by a glance at the asset side of the large banks of the country. Thus the Bovary Savings Bank, the largest savings bank in the country, lists out of the total assets of \$535,000,000.

Mortgages \$294,000,000
Railroad bonds 94,000,000
The books of commercial banks would also list large bond holdings. The complete collapse of the real estate boom of the prosperity era brought with it a consequent depreciation of the value of a goodly percentage of all mortgages. The totality and depth of this shrinking away of values can be gathered, to a slight extent, from a recent survey of mortgage bonds throughout the country. Of a total of ten million dollars outstanding, (Continued on page 4)

STATEMENT OF THE MARINE WORKERS DEFENSE

The case of Soderberg Bunker and Trajer, the marine workers indicted in the New York "dynamite plot", is on the calendar for trial and the whole conspiracy will soon be unfolded before the court. At this moment of deepest peril for the indicted workers, when the question of their liberty or imprisonment is about to be decided for many years to come, the defense committee, which was formed at their request and which has conducted the struggle from the beginning in their behalf, turns again to the working class with an appeal for solidarity and support.

All the work of the committee has been carried on under the slogan of unity and solidarity, for we have been convinced that the united support of the workers is the best defense of the men on trial and the strongest safeguard against another frame-up tragedy. For the same reason the committee, which is comprised of delegates representing various organizations and many diverse views, has refrained from all controversy and has endeavored to concentrate attention on the single issue of the defense of persecuted workers in the court of the class enemy.

Through no fault of design of the committee the whole public discussion of the case has not been maintained on this level. Attempts have been made to divert the defense movement on the eve of the trial by the International Labor Defense. These attempts at disruption have been furthered by an article in the Daily Worker of January 25th, which falsifies facts and jeopardizes the interests of the defendants at the time of their greatest need.

It becomes imperative, therefore, to reply to these attacks and bring out the truth of the situation with facts and documents. An exposure of these disruptive attempts, as a form of assistance to the prosecution is at present a nec-

essary means of defense. From this point of view, a chronological statement of the facts of the case is herewith submitted. This bare statement of the case as it really stands will suffice to enable the honest workers of all camps to judge the disrupters and call them to order.

THE WORK OF THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE

The first and most important answer to the accusations against the Marine Workers Defense Committee is the record of its work. Coming together for the defense of persecuted workers, who were deserted and without any other means of defense, the committee succeeded in securing able counsel to look after

the legal interests of the defendants; it brought the case to the attention of the labor movement through systematic publicity work, distribution of leaflets, speakers before organizations and a public mass meeting. It succeeded in uniting in a common fight, organizations and groups of conflicting tendencies and views on a broader basis than has been seen for many years.

In harmony with the wishes of the defendants, the committee dedicated itself from the very beginning to the principle of the united front of labor against the frame-up system. On that basis it invited every important labor organiza-

(Continued on page 4)

BUILD OPPOSITION PRESS!

By April 1, an important addition to the Left Opposition press in America will make its appearance. That is to be the publication of the first issue of our theoretical organ, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST REVIEW.

Undoubtedly this will be greeted with genuine enthusiasm by our sympathizers and supporters everywhere.

We have already made some valuable additions to the Left Opposition Press. The beginning was made with the Youth organ, the Young Spartacus, next followed in rapid succession the Left Opposition organ in the Greek language, Kommunistes and the Jewish language paper, Unser Kampf. These are here to stay. We can now announce the most important addition to our coming theoretical organ. With that, our press will receive its necessary rounded character and equip us with a powerful instrument for the regeneration and rebuilding of the Communist movement as originally conceived and founded by Marx and En-

gels and again restored by Lenin and Trotsky in common with their Bolshevik co-workers.

Never before in the history of the world revolutionary movement, we can say with emphasis, have there been such fateful and deep-going problems facing it as just now. We are entering a truly decisive phase of the epoch of capitalist decline and world revolution. The part the Left Opposition must play is extremely important.

But this effort to more fully equip ourselves for the task imposes a very serious duty upon us. Before us yet remains the job of building the Left Opposition press into the powerful and effective instrument it should be. Our platform is unassailable, but it must be translated into reality. The first step is to further build our press. However, we condition the appearance of our theoretical organ on the date set upon the support to be given by our comrades and sympathizers. We expect you to help build the Left Opposition Press!

The «Uprising» of Nov. 7 -- by L. Trotsky

In the campaign now being conducted with increased vigor against the Left Opposition, a considerable place is devoted to the question of the uprising of November 7, 1927. In his "historic" article Stalin places this "uprising" in the foremost position as the main evidence in favor of the policy of reprisals against the Bolshevik-Leninists. When the best revolutionaries are subjected to the most frightful injuries and to acts of violence in the solidarity of Verkhne-Uralsk: when they are forced to resort to hunger strikes in order to defend their most elementary human rights: when they are being fired upon without warning: when Bakovsky and hundreds of others crowd the places of deportation; when the ver-

itable flower of the party is destroyed, incarcerated and choked off; when Stalin has Butov choked to death and Blumkin shot by Yagoda—all this is explained not by the fact that the Left Opposition has not recognized the theory of socialism in one country? that it did not agree to the bloc with Chiang Kai-Shek and that it rejected today the capitulation before Hitler! No! The bloody reprisals are explained by the fact that the Left Opposition is supposed to have made an attempt at an armed uprising four years ago. All the organs of the various sections of the Comintern have once more reminded their unfortunate, systematically deceived readers of it.

(Continued on page 3)

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Organization Notes

Active Militant builders we have but entirely too few. If there were more, it would soon tell in a serious way on our subscription list. As it is, only the efforts of the few keeps it growing, but growing very slowly. Yet we have no doubt that there will soon be more comrades joining the ranks of the Militant builders.

For a couple of months there has been no account in these columns of this phase of our activities. That is not due to a standstill but merely to the absence of the Secretary on a national tour. Henceforth, we shall again render a regular account. We include among the builders none of these readers who merely send in the subscriptions or renewals for themselves but only such who make sufficient efforts to secure subscriptions besides their own. Such are those listed below with the number of subscriptions turned in since January 15, 1932:

V. R. Dunne, Minneapolis	2
A. Koulikow, Boston	1
C. Shechet, Boston	1
C. R. Hedlund, Minneapolis	5
Leon Goodman, Philadelphia	2

BUFFALO P. P. OPPOSITION INDORSERS LEFT

By invitation of the Buffalo Proletarian Party Opposition! comrade Swaback spoke at a Lenin memorial meeting arranged by 15 members on Jan. 24th. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Workers League of Buffalo. It had a fairly good attendance, listening attentively to the speaker's elucidation of the historical role of the great world revolutionary leader. Quite a few members of the official Communist party were among the audience.

As could be expected, this latter fact very much helped to enliven the discussion which followed the lecture. Not so much by virtue of the arguments presented by the party members who took the floor, as they presented only the old-time slanders and condemnation of the

Left Opposition with the Workers' League coming in for a good share. No, the enlivening part was attained rather in the opportunity this gave to the speaker to further clarify for the audience many of the disputed issues within the Communist movement.

On the following evening comrade Swaback spoke before the branch membership. Due to its recent expulsion from the Proletarian Party, it naturally faces a number of problems in common with the rest of their expelled Opposition comrades. On these problems, the whole of the discussion centered until late in the night. The members present asked numerous questions from comrade Swaback which together with the answers given helped considerably in making the Left Opposition views clear to them. From the inception of their opposition to the Proletarian Party regime these Buffalo comrades have recognized that they cannot remain isolated or independent of the main currents of the Communist movement today. Their sympathies very early and pronouncedly turned toward the Left wing. They are now making a serious effort to get away from the state sectarian attitude which prevailed in the Proletarian Party, but they have no illusions that the mere orientation toward mass work can substitute for the real task of building of the revolutionary cadres. While they have taken active part in common with the efforts of their opposition center to help in the creation of an unemployment movement it is their intention to press on for a definite orientation of revolutionary views. They fully recognize the validity of the question: "Whose views—Left, Center or Right—will the Proletarian Party Opposition accept and to which of these currents will it adhere? They agree that this question must be put first on the agenda and their answer was already given unequivocally in this meeting—to the Left Opposition.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

Our second forum was even better than the first. More than seventy people were present. The majority of them were party members and sympathizers. Comrade Clarke spoke for an hour and a half in an exposition on the causes of war; the conflict between the imperialists in the Far East; the danger of a war against the Soviet Union; and the problems of the Chinese revolution. Not one person left the hall before the lecture was concluded and there was very little uneasiness noticeable. The Stalinists were evidently impressed with our program—not once in the whole course of the presentation and summary did they heckle or interrupt. Although they dissipated themselves in slander, calling Clarke a "skunk" and other very high-minded commendations, and one worker proclaimed in a hysterical voice that made the windows tremble, that he was with the C. I. right or wrong, first, last, and always, our program seems to have sunk in. After the meeting they eagerly took the Militant and there is no doubt but that they will be present next Monday.

Last Thursday comrade Clarke also spoke on invitation, before one of the unemployment councils. He was very favorably received—in fact he has been invited to another council. It appears that the local Stalinists, through blundering negligence and arrogant bureaucracy have alienated and antagonized these councils in which there are several party members, who feel the same way about the abuse of the bureaucrats. There seem to be excellent opportunities for us but nothing can be said definitely about the outcome.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

On Sunday, January 31, comrade Albert Glatzer spoke at an open meeting held by the Philadelphia branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition), on his visit to Trotsky, and the present international situation.

There were fifty workers present who listened to an account of Trotsky's famous and illegal deportation, and his exile in Turkey. Comrade Glatzer spoke at some length on the present international political situation. He dealt par-

For A Fighting Unity of the New York Food Workers

What is the situation in the Food Workers' Industrial Union? Was it in the interests of the Left wing movement to split away from the A. F. W. U.? Are there any results in organizing the unorganized? All the same time the membership of the union must ask themselves why the third year of the crisis the union finds itself totally incapable of defending the interests of the starving unemployed of the industry. Why the union is unable to give any advice as to what to do with those hundreds who are coming here for it? Why it is equally

incapable of defending even those insignificant few who accept its leadership and go on strike, as in the Crusader Cafeteria? At the last convention of the union, Obermeyer, its national secretary, said: "We must recognize the fact that we should not have been so much in a hurry to split away from A. F. W. U."

What he meant is that the Left wing should organize itself better before it undertook the split. Therefore recognizing the mistake, so to say, organizationally. The officials of the union still refuse to recognize its suicidal stupidity for the movement in the industry as a whole. The half-truth becomes still more criminal because it keeps the awakening workers from a correct estimation of the real situation and thereby from a possibility to exert their pressure on their adventurist leadership.

THE MISTAKES OF THE PAST

Once for all it must be stated, not in a half way confession, but in a real Communist manner, that the split was a mistake, that without full recognition of the fact and all three devastation it has brought, no correct policy can be adopted, and do way out of an unbearable situation can be found. The truth allowed on the organizational facts only leaves a rat hole for sneaking back into the "company unions" (A. F. W. U.) so that those who are there shall not be called "social fascists" any more, but it is certainly not a starting point for the adoption of a correct policy as to how to reach the unorganized, how to fight for the unemployed. At the same time that policy certainly cannot point out the way how to reach such a unity of action for the workers in the food industry, which would give prestige to the Communist party and Left wing movement. And if the bureaucrats high pressure of the "third period" brought with it the split of the food workers' organization; if that split together in the "united front from below" played havoc with the Left wing movement and at the same time crippled those unions who remained entirely at the mercy of reformist misleaders; then it is all the more the duty of the C. P. and F. W. U. to issue the slogan of trade union unity.

Comrade Trotsky, in his article on the question of trade union unity, writes in relation to the united front that his

is the only way that one can prevent the reformists and above all their Left wing agents from opposing to the practical task of the class struggle, the formal slogan of unity. And precisely if the policy of the genuine united front is one of the means of liberating the workers from reformist influence by confronting the reformist leadership with concrete task of struggle for immediate demands, then the revolutionary significance of that struggle if initiated by the Communists and Left wing under their influence can serve at the same time as a basis for the slogan of unity, for amalgamation, for creating one union in the industry. As comrade Trotsky in the same article points out "it would be a thorough mistake to oppose the policy of the united front to that of the unity of the trade union organizations."

Without such a revolutionary, Communist policy, all the talk of the bureaucrats of the F. W. U. of organizing the hundreds of thousands of slaves in the packing industry, in the food factories' restaurants, bakeries, the grocery clerks—will remain futile talk. And the active members of the union must begin to understand that all the good work that they are trying to do: making the union function according to the departmental system, improving the function of the grievance committee leading small but militant strikes etc. cannot be anything in itself. That alone will not extricate the union from the position it was forced to by the "third period" bureaucrats and by the policy of "united front from below". These activities can only be a necessary improvement of the organization in preparation for the policy advanced by the Left Opposition in the trade union movement as a whole.

There must be put an end to all that kind of stupid talk as that of the representative of the Central Executive Committee at the convention about using two lists, one of the united front of the rank and file, (the "united front from below"), a distortion denying the genuine united front, and the other list, of organizing the unorganized. Objectively, it means a continuous playing into the hands of all kinds and species of reformists together with the harm that kind of policy brings with it.

—A FOODWORKER

I. L. D. In Boston

BOSTON, MASS.

Three months after the Mooney Conference in Boston, what are the achievements of the committee organized at the conference? What has been done to rouse the broad masses to tear open the gates of San Quentin and liberate Tom Mooney?

Without a doubt, the significance of the case together with its recent developments presented the Left wing with golden opportunities. Has the Left wing availed itself of these opportunities? So far as Boston is concerned we can say emphatically, no.

The October 25th conference called by the I. L. D. blew up like a bubble in the air. At the conference our delegates correctly pointed out the necessity of broadened activity and warned against the dangers of being satisfied with merely calling conferences. The assembled delegates received our remarks well while the apparatus-men tried to distort those remarks and prepared to fall into their usual state of lethargy.

Despite the fact that a number of the delegates pledged their utmost activity which, if carried on with the sincere cooperation from the leaders, could have developed a strong movement, the "leaders" found no time to call meetings for several weeks after the conference. In all the three months of its existence only three meetings were called and those were very poorly attended. At each meeting, the delegate of the Boston Left Opposition stressed the importance of reaching the workers and organizing them, of visiting organizations on behalf of Mooney. A number of organizations were visited by our delegate. But what was the result? After the third meeting of our committee one had no organization to bring a report to.

Weeks have passed since the last meeting of the Mooney Committee. The executive committee does not function at all, or at least the present writer, who is a member of the executive, does not know of its activity. Not a single mass meeting was called to organize the masses for the release of Mooney. Not a leaflet was printed to bring Mooney before the eyes of the masses. And all this in the face of the greatest opportunities present!

With the significance of the case, with the latest developments in the case, with the Walkers and Rolphs once again unmasking the face of the master class, the Left wing should be able to rally the workers to its banner. Yet when an official of the I. L. D. is asked why no meetings are being called, she tries to get out of a difficulty by answering that no one can be gotten to come to meetings. Such an answer, however, calls for another question. Why? The answer is that the true reason for such a lamentable situation is that the I. L. D. instead of carrying on as a mass organization, has isolated itself from the masses. The Stalinist machine is satisfied to limit the I. L. D. to a handful of selected Stalinists and blind followers who, right or wrong, will carry out their master's will. The next must follow. The few "true worthy" I. L. D. members are already so overburdened with the many tasks of the other Left wing organizations that they simply cannot attend all of the meetings—with the results described above.

How much longer can this go on? Is Tom Mooney to suffer the consequences of Stalinist stupidity practiced by the I. L. D. or are its leaders going to wake up to the sense of genuine united action for his release? Can the leaders of the I. L. D. who called the conference be satisfied that they have now fulfilled their duty to Mooney as representatives of the revolutionary movement? If there is a red spark in their hearts and minds these leaders will say with determination, "No, not until we have organized a genuine united front as called for by Mooney in his August 20th appeal will we have fulfilled our revolutionary duty and carried out the will of Tom Mooney!"

—C. SHECHET.

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The Struggle of the Railroad Workers

This is the third of a series of articles on the conditions of the Railroad workers. The other two have appeared in previous issues of the Militant. More are to follow in subsequent issues. —Ed.

Already in the early part of 1931, it was becoming clear to even the casual observer of the developments on the railroads that wage cuts were looming up on the industrial horizon for the railroad workers.

Wage cuts always follow in the wake of industrial depressions, which result from the inherent defects in the profit system of production. Even in 1930, production was slowing up and many roads were reducing their working forces. But at any rate, with the beginning of 1931, it should have been clear to any one calling himself a labor leader that unless certain energetic organizational steps were taken to strengthen and solidify the railroad workers, wage reductions and further loss of working conditions would soon be knocking at their doors.

However, the best time to build and strengthen the labor unions is under so-called capitalist "prosperity" or when workers are not losing their jobs by the millions through lack of work. The Brotherhood leaders had a splendid opportunity to do this from 1923 to 1929. During this period there were nearly one million men and women employed on railroads, who did not belong to the Brotherhoods. And, in spite of the enormous resources which these leaders had at their command, practically nothing was done to get these workers into the unions. There were millions of dollars available in the Brotherhood treasury for the printing of handbills, leaflets and circulars, to put periodically into the hands of every railroad worker in the United States and Canada, telling him or her of the importance and necessity of joining the unions. In addition, the leaders had the Brotherhood journals and the weekly paper, "Labor", for their use and control. These publications reach many railroad workers in every railroad terminal in the country.

Brotherhood Officials Too Busy Enjoying their Big Salaries to Organize the Workers

In addition to the printed page with which to reach the workers, the Brotherhood officials had literally thousands of individuals on the Brotherhood payroll, such as assistant presidents, vice presidents, general and special organizers, general chairmen, (several thousands of them) business agents and legislative representatives, who managed to hang on to the payroll most of the time. Then we have B. M. Jewell at the head of the railway department of the A. F. of L., a department which does not exist except on paper.

With all this money and personnel at their disposal, the Brotherhood leaders could have put on a real organizing campaign in every railroad terminal within the jurisdiction of the Brotherhoods. They could have coupled up the organizing campaign with a concerted wage movement to shorten the day without a cut in wages and to raise the minimum wage level in the railroad industry to the Five Dollar a Day mark. This program would have attracted thousands of lowly paid workers and also many of

the higher paid workers who were beginning to lose their jobs on account of income-saving machinery installed by the railroads.

The Brotherhood officialdom have had and have now at their disposal enough money and men on permanent salaries, to hold union meetings at every railroad center, on a united and concerted scale for the purpose of organizing and amalgamating the railroad workers. The necessity of One Union of railroad workers, instead of twenty-one should be explained and advocated at every meeting. And if the leaders would do this, instead of fighting and obstructing amalgamation at every turn, it would be possible to hold an Amalgamation Convention within one year and there to launch an Industrial Union of Railroad Workers.

But instead of using the Brotherhood's money and press to put on an organizing and amalgamation campaign, the Brotherhood bureaucracy has been busy "selling" the useless and expensive Craft System, with its useless and overpaid leadership to the railroad workers. The "Grand" Chiefs have been assisted by general organizers and general chairmen to see to it that nothing took place at local or union meetings which would be against the interests of the bureaucrats. "Lame ducks" have been appointed as special organizers at \$16 per day (the usual rate) to serve mostly as administration henchmen and stool-pigeons and to help keep the "Reds" out of the unions. Both men in the locomotive cab are now engineers. The man on the Left side has been an engineer for years. Still, two organizations are maintained in the Brotherhood and general organizers are kept on the job by both unions to pull members from one union into the other. As a matter of fact, the only interest that these \$15,000 a year labor skates have in working men is to collect dues from them and to keep them satisfied with things as they are.

While this article is being written, January 28, an extra is appearing in the streets announcing that "Rail Workers Accord: Shush for One Year," as a headline. Although it may require one or more special articles to properly discuss and explain this gross betrayal of the leadership we wish to point out right here and now, that the railroad workers were never given an opportunity to either accept or reject the wage cut. The Brotherhood officials decided this for them. The excuse the bureaucrats advance for accepting this wage cut is as foolish and silly as the one they gave for accepting the last wage cut in 1921.

—A. E.

The Recent Wage Cut

The railroad workers have taken a 10% cut and once more the folly of the bosses is paid for by the workers. Already the effect upon other industries has been felt: wage cuts are the order of the day in all parts of the country. The railroads through their committee informed the workers that the only way out of the impasse was a wage cut, and properly so—from their standpoint, if it is the path of least resistance. And up to the present, with the labor funkies of

capitalism, their contentions have proven correct and will be proven wrong only when the railroad workers take things in their own hands; when the policy of class struggle replaces the policy of class collaboration.

The lack of planned railroad construction, the increased competition from other means of transportation and the turbulence of the present crisis has driven the railroads in a tight corner. This cannot be denied. However, its admission merely proves our general contention: that the anarchy of capitalist production must be replaced by socialist planned economy which is only possible by establishing a workers' dictatorship in the United States. On the other hand, even if we confined ourselves to the figures presented by the railroad magnates we can show that they do not stand upon economic foundation but rather upon the foundation of the force of the capitalist dictatorship and its liars and fakery.

Mr. Willard, in the Chicago conference, said that despite the reduction of operating expenses many roads face bankruptcy because they cannot meet the fixed charges of 1931. He says the fixed charges for 1931 are 695 million dollars, but only 784 million dollars is available, which only leaves 89 million total net income. Because of this, the interest on the funded debt alone was 495 million. This is just some more statistical fakery. To whom does the interest go if it does not go to the capitalist class, no matter what section it is. Is not this 49 million, to say nothing of the 784 million, obtained, part of the capitalist surplus robbed from the railroad workers? And further, how do they figure this? In relation to the variable capital? No, of course not, they figure their profits in relation to the total watered stock. It is true that in times of crisis much water is squeezed out but this is only partially the case with the big roads.

So long as the workers are not organized properly, are not under class struggle ideology and have the type of railroad leaders they do, the capitalist will find easy pickings. We know the capitalist can sell below value and still make profit and we know the capitalist class in their offensive against us, in the crisis, have been striking at strategic points: the steel workers, the railroad workers, the increase of the number of political prisoners and of deportations. These moves and particularly the railroad workers' wage cut are of vital importance for the living standard of the whole class. The capitalists of America are tightening up on the home base in order to prepare for greater onslaughts on the world market against rival imperialists, in the struggle for the redvision of the earth. Are we going to stand by idly while this tremendous international conflict is in the making. No, all signs point to an increase of class battles in the United States. —HUGO OEHLER.

Amter Speaks on the Radio

What can be done by a revolutionary working class leader to develop class consciousness when the capitalist class places its press at his disposal was taught us by Marx—"as contributor on the leading Anglo-American newspaper, the 'New York Tribune', at which I have now been engaged for eight years—" (author's preface to Critique of Political Economy); by Lenin on numerous occasions; and more recently by Trotsky, particularly in his statement in the Manchester Guardian, reprinted in part in the N. Y. Times of April 13, 1931 under the title "TROTSKY SAYS SOVIET POINTS WORLD PATH." How a working class "leader" can misuse the same opportunity to sow confusion in the working class was demonstrated by Stalin in two interviews he gave to representatives of the New York Telegram and New York Times toward the end of 1930.

A FATAL INTERVIEW

Last week, Amter, faced with a choice between these methods, strove mightily to emulate his master, Stalin. It is true that Amter was not interviewed. He spoke over the radio. It is no less true that Amter is not Marx, nor Lenin, nor Trotsky. This he fully confirmed again by his speech.

The occasion of the broadcast was a dinner given by the Association for Better Citizenship, Inc. attended and addressed in addition to Amter by Rudolph Spreckles, the financier, Chas. Solomon, of the Socialist Party, and Wickersham of the commission bearing his name. To this strange position had life brought Amter; from directing gangs to break up Opposition meetings to speaking over the radio at a patriotic dinner together with financiers and a social fascist! We do not wish to be misunderstood. We believe that it is correct to utilize such opportunities to speak to sections of the working class. We have nothing in common with those party supporters, misguided by Amter and Co., who call Trotsky a "counter revolutionary" because he writes for the capitalist press. We base our judgment of the speech or writing not upon the place of its appearance but upon its content. From this point of view Amter's speech spelled confusion.

THE CAPITALIST SOLUTION

Spreckles' as his contribution to the Association's program of "systematic enlightenment of better citizenship" proposed, among other things, as a solution for the misery of the working class, a tax on short sales on the stock exchange, a tax on the export of capital to provide an unemployment insurance fund; and prohibition! Solomon gave a polite, innocuous and abstract exposition from the socialist point of view of the class struggle. It could have been given in toto ten years ago so little relation did it have to the realities of the present international and national situation. Nor did Solomon offer any solution except a description of what Socialism is! Wickersham who followed Amter and was the last speaker launched into an eulogy of the physical grandeur of "our country". As he was completing his lyric of pa-

triotism the entire broadcast, having exhausted its allotted time, was cut off. We are therefore unable to comment on Wickersham's proposals for a way out of the crisis.

Against the bankruptcy of Spreckles and the empty abstractions of Solomon, a Communist presentation would have stood out in the listening workers' ears like a clarion call on a dark night. In our opinion Amter should have made a short statement of the extent and depth of the workers' misery in the present crisis, followed by a brief explanation of its causes and a concise outline of the Communist solution. He should have mentioned the various capitalist attempts to solve their crises by wars (what about the war danger and the U. S. S. R.) And then he should have emphasized that the only solution was an international proletarian revolution, that in preparation for it we must fight unitedly against the sweeping capitalistic offensive, for immediate demands such as the six-hour day, credits to the Soviet Union, unemployment insurance. His conclusion should have explained the role of the Communist party in this struggle for immediate demands today, and for the overthrow of capitalism tomorrow and how it is distinguished from the socialist party.

AMTER FAILS MISERABLY

But this is precisely what Amter did not do. He began by attacking the diners. Having "vanquished" them, he called upon the unemployed workers to "join the Communist party which fights hunger." Similarly he called upon the employed workers to join the Communist party to fight wage cuts and upon the Negro workers to join the C. P. to fight for social, political and economic equality. He denounced "Walker's open, shameful submission to the bankers of Wall Street". At this point he was indistinguishable from a Republican Party demagogue of the type of, let us say—congressman MacFadden. And so on and so forth he rambled without plan.

A non-Communist worker listening to Amter would have come away not a whit enlightened as to what Communism is, what the Communist party stands for, nor how it proposes to fight hunger, wage cuts, lynching, deportation. Nor would we have suspected that the American Communist Party is a brother section of the German C. P., which is facing a critical historical moment, upon whose success or failure in uniting the masses against Fascism depended to a large extent his own fate. Neither would he have dreamed that a war is brewing nor would he have been enlightened on how to fight the war danger.

To the objection that Amter could have in ten or twelve minutes give an exhaustive analysis of the entire world situation, we can reply: Marx, in writing the program of the First International was forced to present his ideas in such a manner that his conclusions, which for political reasons he could not include, would follow inevitably in the mind of the reader. But, as we have already pointed out—Amter is not Marx.

—T. STAMM.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Terror against the Greek Opposition

ATHENS, GREECE

The capitalist regime of Greece is carrying a reign of terror against all revolutionary workers and is concentrating its efforts especially to exterminate by all means at its disposal, the comrades of the Opposition (Archio-Marxist-Bolsheviks) on account of their valiant activities in the front ranks of the class struggle.

Now that the edifice of the capitalist system of Greece is enfeebled by the acute economic crisis, the bourgeoisie of Greece are desperately trying to suppress every workers' resistance by exterminating the vanguard of the proletariat, the Communists. They imprison them for many years in dark cells, and they deport them to desert islands, and very often apply terrorist measures, as in the case of our comrade Theodore Baboucoupos.

Comrade Baboucoupos has been a member of the Archio-Marxists for the last two years and has participated with all the Archio-Marxists of Athens in the demonstration that the party called on Omonia Square to celebrate the 14th anniversary of the Russian revolution.

The Rizospastis, the Stalinist organ in Greece, merely reported the arrest of a few Archio-Marxists, and later mentioned our comrade as a hero, inferring at the same time that he is a member of the Youth League, the Pali Ton Taxeon, organ of the Left Opposition, in its issue of December 29, 1932, prints a letter sent by comrade Baboucoupos from his bed in the Municipal Hospital.

We bring his letter in full below:

"To the Communist Organization of Bolshevik-Leninists (Archio-Marxists),
Comrades,
As is known, I was arrested with another member of our organization, comrade Coton for the events of the 14th anniversary of the Russian Revolution during the demonstration at Rotzi lair by the lackeys of Charalambidi, who followed us about and they sentenced comrade Coton to three years imprisonment and two years deportation and myself to one and one-half years imprisonment and two years deportation.

"They threw me and 7 other Archio-Marxists into the cave that the bourgeoisie calls 'reformatory' and they began our extermination by applying the archaic methods of the 'Holy Inquisition'. What to describe most, I don't know... the more I try to think of it the dizzier I get. Later on, when I'll overcome the danger hanging over me, I'll write you in detail.

"The last 'scene' took place because we protested against the suppressed measures as a means of punishment, they forced us to run like horses around the prison-yard.

"When we refused to run, the bestial guards knocked us down unconscious and then they placed our feet into the frog bars, beating us for hours at a time until our feet began to bleed of the wounds and only fatigue exhausted our hangmen. I was left within the prison without a doctor's care for ten days and my

foot became sore. When my comrades and myself protested we were told: 'I have not got anything' and when the pollution progressed and the gangrene rotted my foot and threatened my very life they brought me here and cut off my foot and at present I am struggling with death.

"Another question that I wish to pose is this: The Rizospastis attempts to present me as their own comrade. I declare that I denounce the Rizospastis and the Stalinists and that I was and I'll always be a Bolshevik-Leninist (Archio-Marxist).

"The life of our comrades in the prisons is in danger. The state is planning assassinations. Fight for general amnesty! Fight to save them!

With comradely greetings,
Theodoros Baboucoupos,
Municipal Hospital."

The Crimes of the Capitalist prisons must be brought to light!

Our comrade Baboucoupos is struggling with death. This horrible crime shall not be left without consequences

HISTORY MADE TO ORDER - ala STALIN

We must come back once more to the article by Stalin in the revue Proletarian Revolution, in which the General Secretary of the Russian Communist Party violently attacks the "rot en liberalism" which exists among the Communists with regard to "Trotskyism."

What is the reason for all this world of Stalin's? The "chief of the world revolution", proclaimed as such by all the bureaucrats, who dare not deny their master anything, and celebrated as such at all official occasions and by the entire Stalinist international press—what has he to fear from "Trotskyism" which has been crushed and annihilated for years? And moreover, who are those rotten liberals who have introduced the Trotskyist poison into the history of the Russian party without his knowledge?

STALIN CREATES A HISTORY OF APOLOGETICS

In his leisure time, whatever it is granted to him by the affairs of state, Stalin has taken the trouble to go over the history of the revolution and the Russian party. Imagine his surprise to see that in almost all the publications conducted by people who are loyal to his own person, his role as leader of the Russian party ever since the first weeks of the February revolution (before Lenin's arrival in Russia), he has not been presented in sufficiently laudatory terms! Certain historians said, for example, that immediately upon his arrival in Petrograd, Lenin found it necessary to radically change the orientation of the Bolshevik party led by Stalin and Kamenev up to that time.

Others, like Slutsky, even went so far as to employ the term "rearming" of the party used by comrade Trotsky in his history of the Russian revolution, to designate the April Theses of Lenin and the

for the bourgeois class. All the horrible tortures, all the crimes which Greek capitalism pursues in order to exterminate the victims of the proletarian struggle must be brought to light. A committee of workers and intellectuals must be formed to visit all the prisons in which revolutionary workers are detained and undertake a broad and thorough investigation and bring to light all the criminal activities of the capitalist organs against the imprisoned and deported revolutionary workers.

The Victims of Capitalist Atrocities Are In Danger

The assassins of comrade Baboucoupos refuse to give even medicines. Comrade Baboucoupos is the victim of the cannibalism of the watch-dogs of the capitalist regime, and is in a critical condition. The fever fluctuates between 30 to 40 degrees centigrade.

Following the amputation of his foot, two wounds were opened up on his shoulders and one on his arm.

During the last few days a new bag of pus has formed on his other arm. It

is possible that they may have to open this, too. Our comrade is passing grave moments and the doctors openly express their fears.

Characteristic of the hostility of the capitalist regime is the criminal indifference that the administration of the Municipal Hospital shows toward the condition of our comrade.

His food is miserable, medicine are refused him. The comrades collected money among themselves for the purchase of medicines. The Labor Defense does not follow at all the condition of our comrade and has neglected to meet his needs.

The Stalinists do not allow any discussion at the I. L. D. Branches on this question in order to conceal the fact that he is an Archio-Marxist.

Many workers' organizations have protested vigorously against the Czarist methods.

The Leather Workers, the Cigarette boxmakers and Lithographers, Stevedores, Hotel Workers, I. L. D. Branches of Tombras' Salonika, Neopoles, etc., Needle Workers Union, and Cafe and Confectionery Workers Union, are among these.

—PAUL TON TAXEON.

German Opposition Documents

False Strategy -- False Tactics

Dangerous Perspectives

Just as a proletarian revolution in Germany would open up a new epoch for the revolutionary proletariat, Fascism in Germany will open up a new epoch of reaction in Europe. A victory for Fascism would lead to the last attempt of capitalism to postpone its impending downfall for decades through the destruction of the proletarian movement.

A victory for German Fascism means war against the Soviet Union. An alliance between the Soviet Union and the other imperialist countries, France not excepted, in a campaign for the annihilation of the Soviet Union is more than probable. Should it come to that, it would mean that the social revolution would be made impossible for an entire epoch.

Does that mean, that there is no way out of this situation? To maintain this would be pessimism and would signify a complete surrender of the faith in the inner forces of the proletariat. Should the Comintern and the party change their strategy and tactic, were the Soviet Union and the Red Army to actively take their stand as the organizing forces of the German revolution, Fascism will not even reach the threshold of power.

To allow Fascism to get as far as the threshold of power, that is to permit them to enter a coalition government, means to clear the road for the full seizure of power by Fascism. To believe that the right moment for an action against Fascism is the time of its "exposure" in a coalition government with Brüning—only people who are planning to dodge the enemy and to capitulate are capable of. At the moment Fascism enters the government, the signal will be given for a struggle against the proletariat. The only answer to that is the proclamation of the General Strike. That is the point of time at which the defensive of the working class begins, which is transformed in the course of struggle into the offensive. The General Strike will deal the Fascist bands their first blows and open up the mass struggle against the bourgeoisie. Its outcome will be neither Fascism nor a Brüning.

The moment the united front of the proletarian class is established in the course of struggle, the real disintegration of Fascism begins.

Nearer to the social democratic and trade union masses! This is the burning slogan of the moment, if the struggle is not to end in a defeat united front with the S. P. G. and A. D. G. B. (Trade Union) organizations is the command of the hour.

—PERMANENTE REVOLUTION
(January 1932)
(To Be Continued)

A Letter from Germany

HAMBURG, GERMANY

As you probably know, I have joined the party in Germany and they are beginning to suspect that I am a "Trotskyite". At the last meeting, I defended the line of the united front and denounced the "Red Referendum". I asked why it was that we (the C. P. G.) are not gaining all the S. P. G. votes that they are losing. There was a leading comrade

from Hamburg present. He said: "We definitely do not use the united front from above, for only opportunists will go into a united front with the social Fascist leaders; we make only a red united front from below."

NO UNITED FRONT!

On my objection that I did not mean the kind of united front made in England at the time of the General Strike or in China with Chiang Kai-Shek and the Kuo Min T'ang, but to officially offer the S. P. G. and the trade union, without binding our hands in any way, a fighting united front, side by side, against the Fascists, as the Bolsheviks did in 1917 against Kornilov's cossacks, he replied very weakly: "This is a different situation; there was an immediate demand of crushing Kornilov's army. Our main enemy is now the S. P. G., who tolerate everything that Brüning or the capitalists didate". He wanted to talk with me alone later on, but never said a word about it again. He admitted that they had a big fight in the Central Committee about the "Red Referendum" but he said it was from a tactical point of view, a question regarding the moment they will be able to mobilize the masses and that they had to take such a vital issue out of the hands of the nationalists and Fascists to make it a red one (sic!).

I just heard, at a functionaries' meeting to which I was invited, that this comrade from Hamburg will come down again to organize the group here and that I am going to be a functionary with plenty to do.

The activity of the party group here is very low, they have not had a membership meeting for more than two months. Theoretically they are so backward that they don't even know the most fundamental teachings of Marx and Lenin.

If you pick up a party paper or pamphlet nowadays, you are sure to find some kind of a polemic against Trotsky and the Left Opposition. This is a good sign. It shows that the Left Opposition with its Marxist-Leninist understanding is taking root in Germany too, and it is sure to be necessary, for a great deal depends on the L. O. in the immediate future.

WINNING S. P. WORKERS

I am also often participating in discussions with social democratic workers and they are still an influence here, as strong as ever. Their influence is not shattered at all, as I should be by the Communists, what with the continual open betrayals of their leaders. I am doing my best to win them over to the C. P. G. or at least to make them friendly to the party.

I hope I'll be able to do some good work here before I get bounced, but then of course, I am going to devote myself entirely to Opposition work. I hope that things will start rolling over very soon and that the proletariat will come out as the victor. We've got some tough work ahead of us for the next few weeks and months.

—BILL (V. B.)

The "Uprising" of Nov. 7th. 1927

(Continued from page 1)

WHAT REALLY HAPPENS?

What really happened on November 7, 1927? Naturally, the Opposition also participated in the demonstration of the Tenth Anniversary. Its representatives marched together with their shops, factories, institutions of learning and Soviet institutions. Many Opposition groups carried their banners in the general parade. It was with these banners that they left their shops and other institutions. What sort of counter-revolutionary banners were they? Let us recall them once more:

1. "Carry out the testament of Lenin!"
2. "Direct the fire toward the Right—against Nepman, Kulak and bureaucracy!"
3. "For genuine workers' democracy!"
4. "Against opportunism, against a split—for the unity of the Leninist party!"
5. "For a Leninist Central Committee!"

Workers, employees, soldiers of the Red Army, students and pupils walking side by side with the Oppositionists who were carrying their banners. There were no clashes. Not a single worker with a sound mind could interpret these banners as banners directed against the Soviet power and the party. Only after several individual factories had joined the general current of the demonstration, did the G. P. U. send out special divisions upon instructions from the Stalinist secretariat to assault the demonstrators who were carrying their banners peacefully. After that several clashes took place, consisting entirely of attacks by the divisions of the G. P. U., who tore their banners away and heaped blows upon them. A selected group of Red Army commanders broke down the door of Smilga's quarters and forced their way in, on the balcony there were hanging the banners of the Opposition and the portraits of Lenin, Trotsky and Zinoviev. This, then, was the uprising of November 7, 1927.

The slogans: "For workers' democracy", "Against Nepman, Kulak and Bureaucrats!", "For the unity of the party!", were considered—naturally not by the working masses—but by the Stalinist apparatus as counter-revolutionary. Nevertheless, at that time no one of the apparatus people dared as yet to speak of an armed uprising. Such an invention would have seemed altogether too shameless and insolent in the eyes of the participants in the demonstration. When more than a year after Trotsky had been exiled by Stalin, the G. P. U. accused him of preparing an armed uprising, it was not with regard to the demonstration of November 7, but something quite new, which the G. P. U. could not, however, refer to by name. After the exiling of Trotsky, this accusation was not repeated by anybody. Stalin did not dare introduce it into the press. The very memory of it disappeared, went up like smoke.

Only when the facts began to fade from memory, did the Stalinist school of falsifications begin to spread the legend of the attempted uprising of November 7. The fact that this legend has, to a certain degree, become the central point of the campaign, is politically significant. That proves that the real actions of the Bolshevik-Leninists do not appear to be "crimes" in the eyes of the masses of workers and party members. Stalin actually complains that despite the eight years long campaign "Trotskyism" is still being regarded as a Communist tendency inside of the party! For his policy of reprisals, Stalin needs some basis of support that lies outside of the real activity of the Left Opposition. This basis of support, he tries to find in the police myth of the rising of November 7, 1927. Even if we had no other signs, this fact alone would suffice for us to say: the personal dictatorship of Stalin and his plebeian regime are in a bad way, in a very bad way!

—L. TROTSKY.

January 2 1932

A RED HISTORIAN DARES QUOTE LENIN

Another historian, Volosovitch, did not merely content himself with narrating the historical events already known universally from the testimony of John Reed (Ten Days That Shook The World) or from the memoirs of Shliapnikov on the February revolution and the shameful role of Stalin in that period. Volosovitch also attempted to analyse the facts and the political positions adopted in the past by the Bolshevik party, to draw the logical conclusions flowing therefrom. Here is what the Pravda (12-17-1931) says about him: "The 'historian' Volosovitch 'proves' (this plethora of quotation marks is the Pravda's own brand of irony—M. M.) that Lenin in 1915 did not pose the question of building socialism in one country. Volosovitch distorts the history of the party in the Trotskyist manner by opposing the tasks of the world revolution to the question of the complete possibility of building socialism in one country, as it was posed by Lenin (our emphasis—M. M.). In falsifying history and in slandering Lenin, Volosovitch writes that for Lenin 'the question is not posed from the point of view of the growing over of the bourgeois revolution into the socialist revolution but solely from the angle of the fundamental Bolshevik slogan of the given period, notably, that of the transformation of the imperialist world war into a civil world war. Consequently the question of building socialism in our country does not even enter' (Third Edition, page 84). Volosovitch even goes further. He declares that 'even when this growing over (mentioned above) becomes an established fact, the question of building socialism in our country alone while the other countries remain capitalist, is not a question for the present' (Page 85)."

THROUGH TEN EDITIONS
And Smilga, the author of the article in the Pravda, cannot contain his wrath any longer, concluding: "And it is these smuggled Trotskyist gods that Volosovitch offers to the reader under the cloak of quotations from Lenin, 'profound meditations, etc.' This unhappy censor will still have to affirm with great bitterness later on in the same article that what is most revolting about the whole affair is the fact that 'these smuggled gods have gone through ten editions'."

Stalin's article in the Proletarian Revolution was not only a manifestation of impotent wrath in the face of historical truth, it was also a decree for all the state publishing houses to make a complete revision of everything relating to the history of the Bolshevik party and

Left Opposition in Toronto

TORONTO—

Our Toronto comrades have recently begun to unfold activities which speak very promisingly for a real growth of the Canadian Left Opposition in the near future.

They are among the most active participants in the Open Forum being conducted by the Toronto Workers' Club, at which comrade Maurice Spector lately gave a successful lecture on "Lenin-Luxemburg" during the course of which discussions of a more comradely nature than has been the custom for some time took place, with leading members of the official party taking part in them.

The Toronto party is also involved right in the midst of the struggle against the government reprisals against the Communist Party of Canada, which goes under the name of the "Repeal Section 98 Movement". Delegates from the local branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) were seated at the conference called by the party's defense committee and the Opposition's proposals and views for carrying on this work are gaining a ready ear, some of them already adopted and bringing good response. Articles dealing with the exceptionally interesting developments in the "Repeal Section 98 Movement" will shortly appear in the Militant.

SIMON AND SCHUSTER Inc.

announce

the publication, February 27, 1932

THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

by LEON TROTSKY

Translated from the original Russian

BY MAX EASTMAN

Volume I--The Overthrow of Tsarism

(February to June 1917)

\$4.00

A STATEMENT OF THE MARINE WORKERS' DEFENSE COMMITTEE

(Continued from page 1)

tion, party, group and tendency to participate in the common work on an equal basis. The committee now contains representatives of two Communist groups, the C. P. I. A., the I. W. W., the Young People's Socialist League, trade unions, Anarchist groups and other organizations. The I. L. D. and the Communist Party are absent only because they refused specific and repeated invitations to participate.

That record alone, made in the face of many difficulties in a few weeks' time, could stand as a refutation of any attack against the committee. But there is one more accomplishment, and the most important one of all: The Marine Workers' Defense Committee established the fact that no worker, no matter how obscure he may be, who falls into the hands of the class enemy shall be deserted and left without means of defense. Those who try to infringe this principle and deny assistance to a persecuted worker—as the Communist party and the I. L. D. did in this case—will find a defense movement arising spontaneously without them. This is the greatest significance of the work of the present committee and its strongest appeal to the honest workers of all organizations.

HOW THE DISRUPTERS ACTED AT THE TIME OF THE ARREST

When the Daily Worker comes forward in its issue of January 25th with the statement that the defense committee has a policy of "betrayal of the class struggle and of the defendants particularly," it invokes a reminder of its own policy and conduct, and that of the I. L. D. in the case. The people who now proclaim themselves the only champions of the defendants, who offer to "defend" them even against their own committee spoke in a slightly different manner in the days following the arrest—when Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer were helpless in the hands of the police without influential friends' money, attorneys or any means of defense. Here is what the Daily Worker wrote on November 18th, two days after the arrest:

"Soderberg, secretary of the Tidewater Boatmen's Union, whom the capitalist press calls a 'Red,' was expelled from the Communist party for being a suspicious element and also from the Marine Workers Industrial Union for disruptive and anti-working activities. Trajer, Relly, and Bunker were expelled from the Marine Workers Industrial Union as bad elements." At the same time the Young Worker stated: "Soderberg is a stool pigeon."

Then, when personal friends of the accused men went to the I. L. D. for aid, it was refused. The I. L. D. refused to have anything to do with the "renegades," the "suspicious elements," the "stool pigeons," the people who had been "expelled from the Communist party." And from Nov. 18th until Jan. 25th, the Daily Worker never mentioned the case by a single word! It requires a supreme cynicism and an unbounded contempt for the intelligence of the workers for those who made such a record in the case to come now two and one-half months later, on the very eve of the trial and pose as the only real friends of the prisoners. They come too late!

THE UNITED FRONT POLICY OF THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE

The Marine Workers' Defense Committee was formed only after the I. L. D. and all other defense agencies had refused or failed to intervene. It was formed at the express written request of all three defendants who had no other means of defense and nowhere else to turn. The first nucleus of the committee, at its first meeting, adopted a policy of united front and invited all elements in the labor movement to join and cooperate. In its broadcasted statement on the case, published in various papers and in leaflet form, it stated: "It is the aim of the committee to broaden its membership to include representatives of all tendencies in the labor movement." On that line it sent invitations to the Communist party and the I. L. D. On December 5th, on December 18th, and again on December 28th, it addressed letters to the I. L. D. asking for cooperation in the struggle to arouse the whole labor movement for a united fight. All these invitations were ignored. The request for a speaker to represent the I. L. D. at the public mass meeting was unanswered.

THE ATTEMPT TO DISRUPT THE LEGAL DEFENSE ON THE EVE OF THE TRIAL

Rejecting all appeals to help in the organization of the workers' solidarity movement, the I. L. D. resorted to an insidious campaign, through its lawyers, to demoralize the prisoners and induce them to change counsel at the last moment. Taking advantage of statements of the prisoners that they wanted the help of the I. L. D. as well as that of all other organizations—which was likewise the policy of the committee—the I. L. D. lawyers tried by every means to induce the prisoners to sign a statement repudiating their defense committee and the legal counsel employed by it and to turn the case over to them.

When the nature and seriousness of the charges against the marine workers is taken into consideration—charges of hav-

ing committed specific crimes which carry a penalty on conviction of as much as forty years in prison, with an agent provocateur and perjured evidence to combat which requires the most thorough and skillful legal preparation—one must be appalled at such a criminal maneuver. To propose the discharge of able counsel thoroughly familiar with the case and prepared by weeks of patient work to conduct the trial, and substitute new lawyers whose specialty is minor cases in the Magistrate's Court—is that not playing with the lives of men? Is it any wonder that the prisoners who would be glad to have their help if it were given in good faith, recoiled again, this infamous proposal with the bitterest indignation and refused to talk with them any further?

It was in answer to these machinations that all three defendants sent their telegram to the mass meeting and declared: "We reaffirm our fullest and unswerving confidence in the committee handling our defense and appeal to all workers everywhere to give the committee its fullest cooperation and assistance." On the basis of that express declaration of the prisoners themselves, which is only a restatement of what they have said on every occasion when the matter was called into question, the defense committee resolves to continue its work and calls on the I. L. D. to cease its disruption.

THE FRAUDULENT ISSUE OF "CLASS STRUGGLE DEFENSE"

Condemned by their record in the case from its inception, their dishonest maneuvers repulsed by the prisoners, and their own rank and file members protesting against their policy—the disrupters seek to justify themselves with a final argument. They want "all workers and workers' organizations to fight this case along class lines, along the lines of mass defense." This argument against the Defense Committee is just as false, just as dishonest, as all they have said and done in the case. The Defense Committee has worked from the beginning to convince the workers that this case is an issue of the class struggle, and by no means an ordinary criminal case. Its chief activity has been to organize the united front of labor to protest against the frame-up and defeat it. It was for this aim that the cooperation of the I. L. D. was requested in written form three different times. But instead of cooperation to build a united mass movement of the workers' the I. L. D. offered unqualified lawyers to replace the counsel already retained. At the eleventh hour they promise a workers' mass movement, and begin with an attempt to disrupt the movement that has already been organized while they kept silent. Their own statement in the Daily Worker testifies to the effectiveness of this movement. When they say in this statement that the "International Labor Defense considers this case as a direct attack upon the workers in the marine industry" they are only repeating what they learned from the publicity material of the Defense Committee. What they have yet to learn is that all workers have a common interest in repulsing the attack and that they must fight unitedly to that end.

The Defense Committee appeals to the honest workers of all sections of the labor movement to join and support this united fight and condemn the attempts to disrupt it. If Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer do not stand alone before the court, as they stood in the first days after their arrest, it is due to the principle of labor solidarity which called the Defense Committee into existence. Labor solidarity is the best, and—in the final analysis—the only real defense of persecuted workers who fall into the hands of the class enemy. Those who violate this principle, who put narrow factional interests above it, who seek to disrupt the movement, organized on that basis, are acting against the interests of the class. A defeat of these disrupters will be a victory for the class and for all class war prisoners, now and in the future.

Build a stronger movement of workers' solidarity for the imprisoned marine workers!

Defend all class war prisoners regard- less of their views or affiliations! Collect funds to help the defense of Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer!

MARINE WORKERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE
82 East 10th St.
New York City

DANCE
For the Benefit of the Imprisoned Marine Workers
Bunker — Soderberg — Trajer
at the
STUYVESANT CASINO
Second Avenue and 9th St.
Friday Evening, February 12th.
Auspices of the
Marine Workers Defense Committee
Show your solidarity with these victims of the frame-up system. Come and bring your friends.

ADMISSION: 35 Cents

The R. F. C. Ruse

(Continued from page 1)

three billion would have to stand a loss of approximately 42%; two and one-half billion losses of 18%. The merchant and worker unable to pay the high rents of 1928 and 1929, the real estate owner unable to pay the interest on the mortgage and the same with the farmer; the bank unable to pay its depositors. This is the picture presented.

In the field of railroad bonds the situation is exactly as serious. More than 70% of all railroad bonds are held by banking and similar institutions. The severe decline in the net income of railroads, dropping from \$1,284,000,000 in 1929 to the low of \$324,000,000 for 1931, brought about a consequent decline in the railroad bonds. In 1931 alone, it says nothing of the sharp decline of the last few months of 1930, railroad bonds have experienced a decline of 25 to 50 percent. Of course there are various remedies that are being experimented with now, to increase railroad income. Namely: the rate increase recently granted, will succeed in bringing in an additional profit of \$100,000,000; the second, if put into reality, another \$200,000,000; while the amount of bond interest not being earned now is estimated at \$75,000,000. The holder of railroad bonds and securities might put much hope in these prospective increases, were it not for the realization that very little replacing of fixed capital, very little of necessary repairs to locomotives and cars has been done during the past year. Were the actual balance sheet to be drawn, it would be much worse than it now appears; for money that should have been used for replacement purposes, has been used for dividend purposes to the stock and bond holders. The proposed savings of \$300,000,000 is already being balanced against replacement of worn equipment. Only a substantial increase in the total haulage of the railroad of the country can return to them a portion of the income of the prosperity days. This increase in haulage is dependent upon a general improvement on the business situation as a whole.

The third unsolvable factor is the defaulting on both the European and the Latin-American markets. The vastness of this item is impossible to determine, but when we consider the countries defaulting—countries in which the American banker has been investing his funds for the past decade, an inkling of the size of the canvas can be obtained. In a recent statement of the Chase National Bank, it was pointed out that approximately 3 1/2% of the total resources of the bank consisted of German credits (with Germany on the verge of defaulting). Adding to the above the loans to the S. A. and European defaulting countries, brings the total to a far from negligible item on the asset sheet. A general all-around, world wide refusal to pay, as seems to be imminent, would seriously impair the condition of the American banking institutions.

The above are the conditions that the creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corp. is to remedy. Even the leading financiers of the country are very skeptical as to its value. "Sixty billion dollars in values lost during the past three years cannot be repaid by two billion." The *Annalist* of January 15, 1932 uses the phrase "There is no real remedy for this depreciation in security value, except the restoration of earning power." In referring to the recent measure they say, "the business depression cannot be cured by such measures." Recognizing the truth of the above statements, one must search elsewhere for the explanation of the creation of this present Corporation.

A DOLE FOR BANKERS—STARVATION FOR WORKERS

The bill has been described as a "two billion dollar bill to relieve bankers' mistakes." The explanation of the above is easily seen by a careful reading of the measure as passed. The initial capital is to consist of \$500,000,000; the remaining 1 1/2 billion is to be made up through the sale of bonds, but and this is the all inclusive but, "the said obligations are to be fully and unconditionally guaranteed as to interest and principle by the United States," by the government. In other words, the U. S. government has agreed to buy two billion dollars worth of depreciated and worthless paper from the banks and railroads. The proper title for the measure should have been "The Bank Subsidy Bill of 1932".

All this by itself is nothing new. Big business repeatedly attempts to secure the aid of the class as a whole for its own particular enterprises. The whole campaign to dump the reparations into the Atlantic revolves around the question of aid by the capitalists' government to a particular group—the bankers. The present plan has exactly a similar character.

The latest patch has been applied to our industrial and financial system. Two billion dollars have been diverted from the taxes to aid the bankers and railroads in their present "sore plight." Although the measure may have a temporary effect, "there is obviously no real remedy for this depreciation in security values except the restoration of earning power." The trend out of the present crisis must occur in the industrial field, in the field of manufacture. Without a pick-up for industry as a whole one can expect to begin hearing before long of a

Spain's Bourgeoisie on the Offensive

This is the second of a series of articles on the situation in Spain by comrade Max Shachtman who recently returned from an extended visit to such centers as Madrid and Barcelona.—Ed.

Have the workers gained politically from the establishment of the Republican-Socialist coalition government which came into power after the overthrow of the monarchy last April? What rights have they been accorded? To what extent do these "rights" conform with the high-sounding phrase "the democratic republic of all the workers" which the socialists had incorporated into the fundamental law of the land?

An Atmosphere of Suppression

The visitor to Spain is immediately impressed with the fact that the most rigid control is exercised by the police authorities not only over foreigners but even more so over the native born. Spain is the only country on the continent, except Fascist Italy, known to this writer where there is a passport or document examination in the course of a trip in the interior of the country. Passport control at frontier countries is a matter of course everywhere, but in Spain the traveler who makes a trip from one interior city to another has an official going down the length of the railway carriage demanding his documents. We traveled with one of the comrades from Madrid to Barcelona, two cities well within the frontiers of the country, but we had scarcely got under way when a police official, accompanied as usual by the evil-looking Civil Guards, approached us and asked for our documents. My comrade's revolutionary "notoriety," (he has been arrested 29 times now!), gained us both the dubious honor of being accompanied all during the voyage by the agent, who kept pacing in front of our compartment till we reached Barcelona, casting the most suspicious glances at us all the while as though to prevent us from making the slightest move to disturb the law and order of the country from the vantage point of a train car. While representatives of the most reactionary section of the foreign bourgeoisie receive the undisturbed hospitality of the government, foreign Communists have not only been arrested, but, as in the case of some Communist members of the French Chamber of Deputies who came to Spain, have been transported to the border of Spain for deportation. Under Primo de Rivera, practically every labor organization, regardless of its form or activity, was suppressed or declared illegal. The only exception to this rule was the Socialist party and its organizations, for the simple reason that the sanguinary dictatorship enjoyed the collaboration of no less a personage than Largo Caballero, party leader, secretary of the socialist trade union center, and councillor of State under the monarchy. The advent of the republic has not brought about any appreciable change in this respect. The labor organizations exist at all as yet is due solely to the fact that the bourgeoisie, in forsaking the monarchy, was compelled to give a formal recognition to the militant labor organizations which had broken through the dictatorial repressions of Primo and of Berenguer in the months before the fall of the latter. But now the rights which the working class and peasantry gained for themselves by sheer force in the early moments of the republic are being cynically abolished by a reactionary bourgeoisie in power which is taking no chances on allowing the workers the democratic political rights which were originally promised them.

Legalizing An Organization
Under the republic today, all organizations, whether trade unions, political parties, chess clubs, sports associations or sewing circles, must "legalize" themselves if they have 10 members or more. The statutes of the organization must be presented in advance to the Director of the Ministry of the Interior, who will then issue a license. This is a new scheme to restore confidence and return prosperity. To the millions of unemployed workers, the government's refusal of the slightest aid. But to the financial oligarchy it is prepared to lend its entire machinery. As the coadjutor of American capitalism, WIN Rogers, intimates: The government is always ready to help those who do not need it—those who do, the working class, will have to wrench it from them in the course of the struggle against capitalism for its eventual overthrow.

—H. STONE.

THE MILITANT

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General of Security (roughly, the equivalent of our police chiefs), or to the governor of the province, and if that worthy grants the required permission, a formal meeting is called eight days later, at which the organization is formally constituted. At this meeting, two police officials must be present for the purpose of supervising the procedure and taking notes for their reports to their superiors. If the meeting formally approves the proposed statutes and the officials of the organization are elected, a report is then turned in to the "Seguridad", together with the names and records of every officer, and then—only then—is the organization "legal"; we hasten to add, providing all of this has been approved by the authorities. Every meeting, regardless of whether it is a public mass meeting or a closed business meeting of an organization, must receive the O. K. of the authorities before it can be held. A local trade union cannot call its own members together to discuss its internal affairs without permission from the "Seguridad" which also has the right (and exercises it) to send a detective and a uniformed policeman to attend the meeting for supervisory purposes and to make a report. Even the Socialist party, which has scores of representatives in the Cortes and three ministers in the cabinet, must apply for permission to hold a public or private meeting and have them attended by police! A regular branch meeting of the Madrid local office of the Opposition which I attended was also graced by two plain clothes men, who made no secret of their business, listened to the proceedings with great attention and made copious notes. At both ends of the street on which the meeting place was located, were stationed four Civil Guards and two regular police—quite an escort of honor for the business meeting of the Madrid Opposition! The Russian Okhrana could do no better.

We have already had occasion to write about the Spanish court system in relation to workers. The abominations of "governmental detention," despised so heartily under Primo, are carried over today into the republic without the slightest change. And carried over mostly unaltered, the regime of the very men who fulminated so violently against the system when the dictatorship applied it. The outstanding example is Galarza, the Director-General of Security in Madrid; others, like Azana, the president, Prieto, the socialist minister, Domingo, "the man to the Left of the Left," could be mentioned. Workers may (and are) arrested without charges placed against them. They can be held without either charges or being brought to trial. They can be kept in prison for years without "due process of law."—That is the system of "governmental detention."

Just as the workers have not gained the real right: to organization so little have they gained the right to strike. In 1926, Primo created the so-called "comités paritarios," or parity committees, which were composed of one representative of the workers, one of the employers and the "impartial" government chairman—compulsory for every industry. This scoundrelly law was elaborated and approved by his councillor of State, Caballero, and only the socialist unions (U. G. T.) and the Catholic unions approved it; the anarcho-syndicalist C. N. T. would have no part of it. These "parity committees," which virtually crippled the right to strike, are still in force today, at least to the extent that the workers recognize them.

The Government and Strikes

When the workers go out on strike in spite of the strangulating class collaboration committees, they meet with the violent, organized opposition of the government. The same people who today occupy some of the most important posts in the state once did all they could to foment strikes and disturbances under the monarchy; today they drown them in blood if necessary. During the famous national telephone strike of more than six months ago, directed at the American trust which holds the mono-

Resolution of Marxian Y.C.

The resolution below was passed unanimously at the Marxian Youth Club, on Sunday January 31. The reason for its issuance is evident from its contents.—Ed.

1. The Marxian Youth Club has received a letter from Welsbord making accusations against one of the former members of his organization who is now a member of the club.

2. In view of the fact that Welsbord has taken his case against this worker to the capitalist court, we consider it beneath the dignity of a workers' organization to consider the charges at the same time they are pending there.

3. We condemn this appeal to the capitalist courts as a violation of the ethics of the labor movement and as a far greater offense even than the one charged against the worker in question.

We demand that Welsbord withdraw his case from the capitalist court. Only by that can he gain the right to appeal to any workers' organization. When that is done, the Marxian Youth Club will consider the accusations and pass judgment on them.

—MARXIAN YOUTH CLUB

poly, the government and its Civil Guard were to be found exclusively on the side of the employers. In Madrid, the telephone exchange was completely occupied by the Civil Guard. Each scab repairman who went out, was accompanied on the truck by four Civil Guards, armed to the teeth and ready for business. The same story can be told about any other strike. Nor do they stop at "giving protection" to scabs. The instances are piling up when the Civil Guard has fired point blank at strikers, killing and wounding men and women and even little kids.

Now, with the adoption of the "Law for the Defense of the Republic," the situation becomes worse. Merely to quote from its provisions will give an idea of how the shades of Bismarck and the Russian Czar must envy the reactionism of their successors. The following are considered as "acts of aggression against the Republic and as such liable to the present law":

"4. The indirect provocation or incitation to commit acts of violence against persons, things or property for religious, political or social motives.

"5. Every word or gesture of contempt for institutions or organizations of the state.

"6. Strikes not announced eight days in advance, unless there exist other intervals designated in the special law; strikes launched for motives other than questions of work and those not having been preceded by arbitration or conciliation."

Punishment is indicated in the second article: "The direct authors of the acts enumerated in paragraphs 1 to 10 of the preceding article, as well as those who will have incited them to commit them, may be deported or banished for a period no greater than that of the validity of this law, or have imposed upon them a fine up to the maximum of 10,000 pesetas."

A Dictatorial Power

In the third article, we read that "The Minister of the Interior has the power to: 1. Prohibit public meetings or manifestations of a political, religious or social character when, by reason of circumstances, it may be assumed that their unfolding may disturb the public peace. 2. Dissolve centers or associations considered as inciting to the realization of the acts enumerated in article 1 of this law." And article four informs us that the application of the law is confided exclusively into the hands of the Minister of the Interior.

The results of the application of such a monstrous piece of ultra-reactionary legislation may well be imagined. The reactions of the workers and peasants to the law, of the workers and peasants who retained so many of their illusions in the "republicanism" of the bourgeoisie, are increasingly satisfactory from the revolutionary point of view. The bourgeoisie, by the adoption of this law and by its subsequent application, is manifestly on the offensive. It is aiming at the complete suppression of any independent working class movement, of reducing the proletarian and peasant movements to the subterranean, illegal level to which it was depressed under the rule of Alfonso and Primo de Rivera.

Even before this law—voted by the socialists and Catalonians as well as by the bourgeois parties!—but especially after it, the repression has been accentuated. Scores, perhaps hundreds of Communists, are in prison now. When I was in Barcelona, the editor of the C. N. T. daily paper, *Solidaridad Obrera*, the anarchist Felipe Alai, told me that in Barcelona alone there were more than 200 members of the C. N. T. imprisoned, and more than 1,000 throughout Spain. The number has undoubtedly increased since then, especially after the recent revolutionary events.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.
The third article will deal with the Socialists and the question of a Socialist government in Spain.—Ed.

CORRECTION

In the article by comrade Maurice Spector on Rosa Luxemburg, which appeared in the *Militant* of January 23, several unfortunate mistakes crept into the proof, which require rectification.

In the paragraph beginning with "The response of Rosa . . .", the sentence reading "When the character of the Russian revolution was debated at the London (1907) Congress of the Russian social democracy and Lenin defended the position of the Mensheviks (1), Rosa Luxemburg along with Lenin represented the viewpoint of the Bolsheviks . . ." should, of course, read: ". . . and Plechanov defended the position of the Mensheviks, etc."

The sentence at the beginning of the last paragraph, should read: "German menshevism and the bourgeoisie had triumphed," not "has triumphed." —Ed.

CHICAGO OPEN FORUM

Sunday, FEBRUARY 14, 1932
"What Will the 12 Million Unemployed Do?"

Speaker: JOHN EDWARDS
at
1435 N. Western Avenue
Auspices: Chicago Branch, C. L. of A.
(Opposition)

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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PRICE 5 CENTS

N. Y. Dressmakers Strike

Workers Unity against the Common Enemy Imperative

In the New York dressmakers strike, now on, the crucial issue is that of working class unity. But it will be attained only with a policy based upon that objective. And so far the exact opposite is the case.

Every working class action constitutes part of the historical laboratory testing the program and policies of the revolutionary party. No evasion of fundamental duties, no emasculation or counterfeiting for these duties, however cleverly proposed, can circumvent this test. Its results will only be new confusion and strengthening of the enemy's hands. That completely holds true also in this instance in the needle trades market.

How do matters stand in this strike? Last Monday the Left wing, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, issued the call. Obviously that was in accord with the policy of the official Communist party leadership which controls the union. For some time the union under Right wing control, the International Ladies Garment Workers, has been preparing for a strike and has made such a decision with the actual date not yet set. This decision, of course, is the direct result of pressure from the rank and file leadership. In the center of the demands of all workers stands the abolition of the sweatshop, improvements of the standard of living, enforcement of the reduced work week, and insurance for the unemployed. These demands are made by the workers upon their common enemy.

The condition of two unions existing within the needle trades is not one originating today and cannot be changed at will. To that extent the workers are naturally and of necessity divided. But it is precisely because of this condition that the problem of working class unity has become the crucial issue. For this reason the only policy of the revolutionary party which can stand the test in this situation is the one which is founded upon the united front of all workers involved in the conflict. This policy, which, in other words, is a fundamental duty of the revolutionary party, the Stalinist leadership has constantly evaded. It has constantly followed the opposite direction. It has pursued a course which culminated in a complete emasculation of the united front policy, in the establishment of a counterfeit—the so-called United Front Committee—which does not at all proceed from the two unions as its base. It does not provide a bridge for unity in strike action of the two unions but rather a preventative. Therefore it must be said unequivocally that in the crucial issue of working class unity, the policy of the official party leadership completely fails the test.

There need be no illusion of the strike intentions of the Right wing union leadership. They have gone as far as they have only under pressure from below. All past experiences prove its treacherous role and fully justify the most severe indictment. It would be foolish to expect it to have reformed today. Within this union, the Lovestone group occupies a peculiar position, though one quite in accord with its general orientation. Does this group now demand from the I. L. G. W. that it immediately decide upon the strike date in common cause with the workers of the industrial union who are already out? Do they take up the fight for a united front of all the dressmakers within that union? There is no evidence of either. Despite all of their clamor of participating now in a progressive movement the fundamental fact remains that when they unconditionally returned to the folds of the Right wing controlled union, they deserted the Left wing and all it stands for.

It is a well known fact that the Right wing leadership have with every possible means resisted all efforts for a workers' united front. That they will continue to do so need not be doubted for one moment. But their views and policies are not determined by the revolutionary party, nor is it responsible for them. Its responsibility rests exclusively with its own policies for which it must render an account to the working class as a whole.

It is true that the official party leadership has made progress from its one time position of the industrial union members staying at work while the members of the I. L. G. W. were out on the streets. But this progress is miserably small and far from sufficient in the present much more exacting situation. The requirements are much greater than that. The rank and file pressure for struggle has vastly increased. So much so that the Right wing officials are compelled to heed their demands.

But let us again recall the exact situation today. The workers of both unions are in a direct conflict with the common class enemy. It represents the immediately threatening danger. Its defeat is the common objective. Can that be accomplished separately at all, or are the possibilities better when united? Certainly the latter. Could the two unions, one following a Left wing policy, the other a Right wing policy, be completely united at once? Hardly. That will most likely proceed through several conflicts. But for the common strike objectives, for a practically identical set of demands and for the defeat of a common enemy, a united front could and should be established. There will be objectors, saying: the Right wing leadership are the out and out emissaries of capitalism. To this we answer: that is completely true, but how can these emissaries be defeated except by the unity of the workers. In a united front, the Left wing would, of course, not for one minute cease its criticism of nor its fight against these Right wing capitalist finkies.

If the Communists should not endeavor to unite workers who should? Does a call upon those workers in the I. L. G. W. to leave their established union bring unity? No, experience has shown that this is not the way. Another course must be found and the direction for that course is clearly indicated.

By far the largest section of the organized dressmakers are in the I. L. G.

OPEN FORUM

Lecture by
MAX SHACHTMAN

Imperialist Aggression in China—the Danger of War

at the
Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue

Saturday, February 13, 1932

at 8 P. M.

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

ADMISSION: 25 Cents

Unemployed Workers Admitted Free
Auxiliaries: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

W. The N. Y. I. U. is a minority; but the Left wing spirit is by no means crushed within the former. Yet it is a matter of two distinct organizations; two movements. In this situation, the party leadership can square its responsibility to the working class only by sincerely and genuinely fighting for a united front on the common strike objectives. A united front from organization to organization, from movement to movement. Concretely, it would mean to fight for a joint strike; for a joint strike leadership to jointly work out the demands for settlements. The party leadership should tell the workers in the shops who belong to the I. L. G. W. not to leave their organization, not to forsake it for a counterfeit institution but to fight with it for a united front. Undoubtedly, it would produce a powerful and favorable echo. This is the way to defeat those who have designs of betrayal. Incidentally it will also be the way to re-establish the seriously damaged prestige of the Left wing.

This policy, the Left Opposition has repeatedly emphasized. It is the policy of Lenin. In this decisive moment, in the face of a serious conflict, it has become so much more imperative.

We call upon all the dressmakers to heed the strike call, as far as the Left Opposition members are concerned, they will strike with the Left wing.

—A. S.

Imperialists Meet at Geneva

French and Americans Wrangle for Lead in Struggle against U.S.S.R.

The imperialists are shuffling their cards once more at Geneva. Despite all the bourgeois press comment to the contrary, it appears, nevertheless, that the French proposals are the real trump. Wall Street statesmanship has always been known for its "pacific" for its "democratic" gestures. At the disarmament conference now in session, it runs true to form. The antipathy of the American delegation to the Tardieu offer is easily understood in this light.

In the general comment on the presentation of France's delegate, a great deal of attention was devoted to the complications in the problems of "eastern Europe". And it is not idle talk, as the bourgeois press feigns to believe, to say that the French proposals are directed in the first instance against the Soviet government and against an eventual upheaval of the German workers. One needs only to bear in mind the French applause of the Japanese actions in Northern Manchuria, the various diplomatic plots sponsored and initiated by Paris, to realize this.

It is not at all surprising to find Wall Street and American imperialism opposed to the French plans. An "international police force" under the control of the League of Nations, would inevitably have to act under the hegemony of Gallic imperialism. The French army is the strongest and best equipped military force in capitalist Europe. France is, of late, one of America's most powerful rivals. Wall Street can have no interest whatsoever in a compact European army under French direction. The same holds true for Great Britain, especially if we consider the recent financial obligations of that government to the United States bankers.

COMMON ACTION AMONG IMPERIALISTS

However, while we are disinclined to schematically outline a united imperialist front in advance, as the Stalinists do, it does remain important to point out the possibilities of common action among the robber governments in the event of a war against the European working class. While the Americans have not concealed

their discomfort and vexation in the face of Tardieu's proposals, the head of the Washington delegation, Ambassador Gibson, does find it possible to say in its name that it "is prepared to consider any form of military limitation and reduction which promises real progress toward a feeling of international security, protection against surprise", etc. It is clear that this statement is a reservation on the part of the Hoover regime with regard to the French proposals. And it will be remembered that the United States imperialists once before joined the European vultures in an attack on the U. S. S. R. That was in 1919, although the "Polar Bear" division of Wilson's troops was sent to Vladivostok without any definite instructions to cooperate with the other Western powers. One could hardly expect less from Hoover than from Wilson.

In liberal bourgeois circles, it is being said rather apathetically, that the current Geneva Conference will be the last before the next war. And, in view of the developments in the Far East and in central Europe it must be admitted that there is a great deal of truth in the contention. The Japanese in the Orient, who can hardly afford the all too costly extension of their Chinese looting expedition, proposed to the other powers, the demilitarization of the main Chinese ports, or in other words, a repartitioning of China. The Americans naturally find this Japanese design unacceptable. What they need most is a centralized China, to serve as a reliable market for the inflated American industries. All indications point, however, to some sort

of an agreement, between Tokio and Washington, on the one hand, and between Washington and the Quai d'Orsay, on the other.

It is quite indisputable that the most serious danger at present is that of a war against the working class of Germany and against the Soviet Union. As the political crisis develops, the oppressed masses of the Asian continent will look more and more to the European proletariat, for succor. Upon the leadership of the revolutionary European proletariat devolves a role of the foremost historic and world magnitude. To trifle now with a mocking intransigence toward the social democratic workers' organizations, to heedlessly overestimate the importance of the Red partisan movement in China, to subordinate everything today to the needs of the Five Year Plan alone, means to head for irreparable losses, to drive blindly towards an epoch-making defeat.

The working class of the world must be aroused to the danger facing it. Only international action on its part can save the Soviet Union, can keep the achievements of the heroic struggles of the Russian workers intact and carry them further, beyond the boundaries of the capitalist world. To do this, the possibility must be created to speak to the broadest sections of the masses. Every "little" mistake, every obstacle lightly put in the way of reaching the masses, is bound to prove extremely costly not only nationally, but internationally, not only for a year, but for a whole epoch.

—S. G.

Philadelphia Oppositionists Sentenced

Bulletin

Comrades Bernard Morgenstern and Leon Goodman, members of the Philadelphia Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) have been sentenced by Judge Reed of Philadelphia to ninety days imprisonment. They were found guilty of violating the notorious Flynn Sedition Act of the state of Pennsylvania. Comrades Morgenstern and Goodman were arrested a year ago for distributing leaflets issued by the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition), explaining the causes of unemployment and stating that the international proletarian revolution alone can bring a real solution to the misery called forth by the capitalist system.

The case of Morgenstern and Goodman has been most shamefully sabotaged by the Stalinist bureaucracy heading the International Labor Defense, who have not turned a finger for them and whose policy it has become, to defend only members of the Stalinist faction and not all working class prisoners, for which purpose the I. L. D. was originally founded. All workers, all revolutionists, all Communists must be aroused to this fact. The dangerous and criminal sabotaging policy of the Stalinists must be stopped, if the staunchest fighters of the

proletariat and all the workers with them are not to suffer the inevitably harmful consequences.

Comrades Morgenstern and Goodman will serve their term in prison. They have been sentenced for distribution of leaflets of the Left Opposition emphasizing to the working class that the final solution to the unemployment problem can be found only in the proletarian revolution. For its realization they are prepared to fight regardless of their incarceration in the capitalist bastilles. (Further news of the case will be found on page Two).

Com. Glotzer's National Tour

Our second national tour is about to start. Comrade Albert Glotzer, member of the National Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition) will speak at a series of meetings now being arranged throughout the country. Comrade Glotzer has just returned from a visit to comrade Trotsky. He spent about four weeks discussing with Lenin's closest co-worker some of the pressing problems of the world revolutionary movement today.

Comrade Glotzer was also fortunate in being able to get a first hand view of conditions now existing in Germany, England and France. An account of his impressions should be of extreme importance to American workers, particularly in view of coming decisive events in Germany. This will naturally be the subject of his lectures and contain an intimate account of comrade Trotsky's views on the threatening Fascist danger and the problems of Communism in Europe.

His subject will be
WHAT IS EUROPE HEADING FOR?
The following is the schedule for Glotzer's tour:

Boston, Mass. February 19
Montreal, Canada. . . February 21
Toronto, Canada . . . February 23-24
Buffalo, N. Y. February 25
Chicago, Ill. February 27-28
Other dates will follow.

The meeting for Glotzer in Montreal will be held at Universite Ouvriere, 85 East Craig St., Sunday evening, Feb. 21, 1932.

Three months subscription: \$0.50—a copy of either one of our 10c pamphlets. The *International Communist Review* will appear in 48 pages, bi-monthly in the beginning. The price per copy will be 15c, subscription will be \$1.50 for 12 issues and \$1.00 for 8 issues.

There will be no delay in preparations for its appearance. We count similarly on no delay in your response. Help us build the Left Opposition Press!

Is Trotsky's Life to be Kept in Danger?

The *Daily Worker* of January 8, 1932, reports a White Guard plot to assassinate Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs. In addition it quotes from a note sent by Krestinsky, acting Commissar of Foreign Affairs to Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League of Nations, in which it says:

"Our authorities have learned reliably that certain Russian emigres in Paris led by Miller, Dragmlov and Shatlov, were given orders to make an attempt on Litvinov's life. . . ."

That the White Guards are planning to murder a number of Russian revolutionists has been known for some time. The menace is imminent in the most direct and immediate sense. Several months ago, on October 22, 1931, the *Rote Fahne*, official organ of the Communist Party of Germany at Berlin, first exposed this plot, bringing news at the same time of a plan by the White

Guard emigre, Turkul, to murder Leon Trotsky, in his place of exile near Istanbul, Turkey.

The report which has reached the *Daily Worker* omits that part of the story printed in the *Rote Fahne*. We want to know, first of all: has the *Daily Worker* done this willfully, under instructions? Secondly, do Stalin and the Central leadership of the Russian party intend to content themselves with merely casting off the responsibility for an eventual murder of our comrade by the White Guards, as was apparent from the tenor of the *Rote Fahne* report? Thirdly, will the Stalinist leadership continue to sabotage the protection of comrade Trotsky despite the fact that it is they, as heads of the Soviet state who have discovered the plans of the White Guards? We demand an answer promptly.

The organizer of the October victory,

the first leader of the Red Army, Leon Trotsky, the comrade in arms of Lenin, is in danger of losing his life at the hands of White Guard murderers! Every further attempt to neglect precautionary measures against the would-be assassins, every attempt of the Stalinists to wash their hands of the whole matter will be interpreted only as assistance to the White Guards, as united action with them. The workers of the world will understand that full well.

Let every worker-Communist, every sincere revolutionary in the Communist Party of the U. S. A., demand an accounting of the leadership. The question must be posed to them sharply. What do they intend to do with Trotsky? Do they intend to leave him exposed to the daggers of a White Guard assassin? Is Stalin in a united front with Turkul?

Help Build Opposition Press!

When we launched our Expansion Program about this time a year ago one of the most important steps contemplated was the publication of *The Militant* as a weekly. It became a reality. But a serious extension of its circulation still remains ahead. Can we now ask the cooperation of all our comrades and supporters to take this up in earnest? We propose that all put their shoulder to the wheel and make a real effort during the coming three months: March, April and May. This is the time of our regular subscription drive.

Our weekly has appeared now without fail for some seven months. Our readers, we are sure, fully appreciate this accomplishment. But what they may not appreciate so well, is the fact that it has been running on a mere shoe string.

This, however, has not affected its character in the least. On the contrary, we feel confident we can also say that the weekly appearance has increased its theoretical, its informative and its fighting quality. It has become a real source of additional strength to the Left Opposition. This is at it should be. The

press is the fighting instrument of the revolutionary movement. For the Left Opposition that holds doubly true. But it will only become that fully when it reaches to the farthest corners of its field, when it reaches every live, thinking, militant worker. This is what we aim to make our immediate task.

With our newest addition to come, announced in our previous issue, that is with the addition of a theoretical organ,

The International Communist Review, this task should become considerably facilitated. First, because it will make possible further improvements of *The Militant*. It will become a means of seriously broadening its appeal and give its character a more popular touch. It will enable us to further consolidate our position.

Will our supporters assist us in this task? Will they help build the Left Op-

GERMANY The Key to the International Situation by LEON TROTSKY

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DANCE

For the Benefit of the Imprisoned
Marine Workers

Bunker — Soderberg — Trajer
at the

STUYVESANT CASINO

Second Avenue and 9th St.

Friday Evening, February 12th.

Auspices of the

Marine Workers Defense Committee

Show your solidarity with these victims
of the frame-up system. Come
and bring your friends.

ADMISSION: 35 Cents

Pay Reduction in the Building Trades

A Blow at the Workers' Standard Throughout All the Trades

The wage cut drive in the building industry now initiated in several large cities simultaneously reveals a concerted plan of action. In the cities of New York and Chicago alone the demanded 25% cut will involve more than 200,000 workers. But the objective is a far greater one. The objective is to strike at this section of "privileged" workers, to more effectively pave the way for the reduction of the workers' standard throughout. A devilishly well fitting complement to the much heralded Hoover Home Building Program.

The Building Trades Employers' Association hardly awaited a reply to their proposed wage cut, it immediately became a virtual ultimatum. It was practically offered as: "Take it or leave it." In this they counted on the effective assistance of the lashing whip of unemployment.

The extent of the increasing tempo of wage-reductions recently applied can very well be understood from the late reports made by the Department of Labor. Up to September 15, when the U. S. Steel Corporation took over leadership in wage reductions, there had been during 1931, 2,257 cuts involving 315,229 workers. In the ensuing two months alone there were 1,074 reductions, involving 290,082 workers.

With this ultimatum the wage cut drive is carried into the very center of the A. F. of L. unions. For among the exclusive craft union make-up of the A. F. of L., the building trades still constitute the actual backbone. But it is also this exclusiveness of craft organization and craft ideology, terribly antiquated in conditions of modern class relations, which spells the greatest handicap to these unions.

What will be the answer of the Building Trades Unions to this ultimatum? Will they resist? It should be clear that failure to resist at the outset will soon start them on the toboggan slide with one wage cut following another. William Green and his A. F. of L. hierarchy have repeatedly made grandiose declarations that the unions will resist wage cuts. Now the A. F. of L. backbone faces the test. But there are no indications that this leadership will back up its declaration with preparation for action. The Chicago union leadership has already offered a compromise. This is how much the grandiose declarations of Bill Green and his hierarchy mean.

For public consumption the employers have for some time held up in horror the example of the high wages in the building industry. The fact, however, that employment is extremely seasonal, that the building trades worker manages to keep a job only a few months out of the year is never mentioned. Though now glib promises are being made that a wage-reduction will increase building and thus increase the jobs. Yet it is a well-known fact that the amount of building to be done does not at all depend upon the wage level of the workers in that industry. As one example, we may cite the instances of cities where building trades wages have remained low, or where cuts have been accepted,

that did not bring an increase in building. As a second instance it is well to remind building trades workers that the present crisis has already seriously diminished building requirements; and with a general reduction of the working class standard of living one could not at all expect an increase in residential buildings. Thus wage reductions will rather react in the reverse of the promises made.

Within the building trades unions the corrupt practice of business unionism flourishes. The miserable incompetence of the leadership stands out glaringly. A host of useless petty grafting-business agents has infested these unions with the general result that the organized position is today very seriously weakened. The power of the organization is not at all maintained on the job. Workers find employment today in practically every instance only by accepting a wage considerably below the official scale. Some unsuspecting worker might think that it would be better to reduce the official wage scale to the level of what is actually being paid—and this is a quite widespread belief. They forget, however, that the minute a cut of the official scale is accepted it will be as much reflected in the wage actually paid. That will be immediately cut further also.

Thus the wage cut ultimatum looms as a real problem before the building trades unions. Added to this is the present heavy scourge of unemployment. Meek submission to the employers' demands cannot at all solve the problem but only aggravate it. It can only result in a further reduction of the workingman's standard. An aggressive attitude is necessary. The unions do not face a question of maintaining what is being charged to be a high wage scale but of maintaining a bare possibility of existence. Acceptance of a wage cut can never bring relief to the workers either for their maintenance of a standard nor for the problem of unemployment. To find a solution for these problems it is first of all necessary to prepare well to

utilize all the power of the organization to resist the attack, to resist the wage cut. Secondly, it becomes necessary to give serious consideration to the reduction of the workday so as to actually help relieve the unemployment situation. This is where the six hour work day without reduction of pay should be particularly

considered. The building trades workers unions today constitute the backbone of the organized labor movement. As such they should show the lead in resisting the general attacks upon the workers' standard of living.

—A. S.

Morgenstern and Goodman Sentenced

A Letter from the Two Philadelphia Defendants

Moyamensing Prison
Philadelphia, Pa.
Monday, Feb. 8, 1932

Dear Comrades:

This is our answer to Judge Reed: "We are members of the C. L. of A. (O.) We fight under the banner held high by comrade Trotsky. We are Communists, not for a moment have we been fooled by the trickery of the court's legal liberalistic tinting.

"We are not here as criminals. Nor as repentant sinners. It is a year since we were arrested for daring to tell the workers the cause of their misery and for urging them to struggle unitedly against worsening conditions. Has capitalism solved any of the crying contradictions of society? Have not conditions grown worse for the masses of people? For this you will suppress us. What matters your vaunted civil rights? For us—civil terror, but that solves nothing. Nor can the cancer of capitalism be eliminated under capitalism. Only the proletarian revolution can do that.

"Your sentence shows that it is you who stand in fear of us. It is not we who are afraid. High indeed would rise the wrath of the workers against the arbitrary repression against us revolutionists, were it not for the sabotage of stupid and corrupt bureaucrats put in charge of working class organizations.

"We are here as fighters of your starvation system, not as criminals. Your class has grown rich and powerful on our poverty and degradation; has flourished on the blood and tears of the working class. For wanting to change all this; for our struggle to overthrow

capitalism, to emancipate society from human slavery and to build a Communist society where exploitation and hunger no longer exist, you persecute us. Your verdict we can only accept as a verdict of capitalist class justice. Today you pick us out because you think us small and weak. Tomorrow you will stretch further—to every brave voice of working class freedom. You jail us; you can never jail the ideas we stand for. The day will soon be here when your whole system, already doomed, will stand before the bar of proletarian justice.

HAIL THE REVOLUTION!
(Signed) Leon Goodman and Bernard Morgenstern

This is the first opportunity we have had to write and we hasten to do so. Judge Reed who passed sentence on us for violation of the State's notorious Flynn Sedition Act gave us ninety days in Moyamensing. This is as "punishment," he said, for teaching the overthrow of capitalism. The lawyers fled appeal to the Supreme Court. Bail has not yet been furnished.

We were very fortunate to be placed in the same cell. There are about 45 party members and party sympathizers in the same prison. Forty of them are here for resisting an eviction. Our two hour period in the prison yard permits us to fraternize with the other comrades.

This despite the I. L. D.'s sabotage of our defense and the vituperation against us.

With Red greetings to all our comrades,

L. GOODMAN.

B. MORGENSTERN.

The Minneapolis Branch of the Left Opposition in the Fight for the Unemployed

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

As we go to press, six workers are on trial before Judge Carroll for participating in the unemployed meeting at Bridge Square on February 4th. About 50 policemen, according to the capitalist press, on the orders of Mayor Anderson, charged about two thousand workers assembled to hear the speakers. A magnificent resistance was put up by the crowd which laid low and sent to the hospital 4 policemen, although the latter were armed with murderous saps and black-jacks. Working women were especially prominent in the fight, kicking, scratching and breaking lath posters over the heads of the cops. A dozen or more

comrades and sympathizers sustained wounds and one comrade is in danger of losing an eye from a vicious attack at the hands of a cowardly cop with a sap.

The Daily Worker of January 9, 1932 carries a vicious slanderous attack against our comrades, inventing a story about Oppositionists beating up a party comrade. The whole story is just one more despicable Stalinist lie, unfounded and without any actual basis. The remarks concerning the "counter-revolutionary" leaflet can be judged for what they are worth from what follows.

Below is the leaflet issued by the Minneapolis Branch of the Communist League calling for a united defense movement for the arrested and for a Free Speech Conference.

STATEMENT:

SAVE FEBRUARY 4th VICTIMS

Mayor Anderson has again shown his true colors! On February 4th, he ordered his police, armed with saps, to crack the skulls of a peaceful meeting of unemployed workers at Bridge Square. The meeting was called by the Minneapolis Unemployed Council to discuss the present crisis and to propose a solution.

The brutal attack of the police is an attempt to take away an elementary right, hard-won in many struggles. And no one can deny that the Farmer-Labor Mayor was elected over the Republican Kunze on the promise (now violated) of free assembly for workers and adequate relief for the unemployed. A year ago, when our headquarters were raided and closed by Kunze's police, Anderson, then prospective candidate for office, volunteered to defend the right of free speech and assembly in court. Can we now take seriously the Mayor's excuse of traffic hazards? Shiners, Templars, or any capitalist movement get the Square—or any public street—without

question. Our Mayor had 50 police break up a peaceful meeting; but none to direct traffic and protect the meeting.

THE MAYOR IS HIDING SOMETHING! He does not tell us that the Rands, the Deckers, the Pillsburys who control the relief funds and city budget dictate to the "Farmer-Labor" Mayor to cut relief to the bone, to cut the wages of city employees, etc. THEY WANT NO PUBLIC CRITICISM OR PROTEST ON THE PART OF THE WORKERS. Anderson does their bidding. On February 4th, he came out in the open as the YES-MAN OF THE EMPLOYERS. He proposes to relieve unemployment by slugging the unemployed.

Thousands of workers, enthusiastic for the "Labor" candidate, reproached the Communists for "splitting the labor ticket" in putting forward a Communist worker for Mayor. The Communists predicted that Mr. Anderson's middle-class reformism could give no benefits to the workers, but only serve the bosses. Only through organization, they said, can workers gain. This prophecy is now fulfilled.

Three women and three men face jail sentences for challenging the right of Mayor Anderson to forcefully break up a peaceful meeting. Their conviction, to any thinking worker, questions the right of any body of workers to meet and carry on business. The fight for Unemployment Insurance and immediate relief must go on. An effective fight can only be carried on by winning back the workers' right to meet and express themselves.

This latest attack of the bosses must be combatted by a determined united defense movement. The defendants, members of various labor organizations (A. F. of L. Unions, Unemployment Councils, I. L. D., Communist Party, as

Tampa Tobacco Workers Struggle

Florida, winter playground of the bourgeoisie, is the latest scene of capitalist oppression against the workers.

On November 7th the workers of Tampa gathered to honor the memory of Lenin at the Ybor City Labor Temple. The meeting was well attended. A majority of those attending were tobacco workers who responded to the call of the Tobacco Workers Industrial Union. The meeting was running to a successful conclusion when the doors were suddenly burst open and a cordon of police aided by American Legion thugs rushed into the hall clubbing and terrorizing those present. During the melee a shot was fired and a policeman dropped. Fifteen workers were arrested.

To try these fifteen workers, a laboring jury was judiciously picked. The verdict from these twelve good (to their masters) men and true (to their class) was never in doubt. The workers behaved staunchly in the court room. They showed the entire proceedings from the raid to the trial to be engineered by the Tampa Tobacco Manufacturers Association. They called upon the workers to defend their union and to pay no

heed to the efforts at "red baiting" of the manufacturers' hirelings.

For this these workers have just been sentenced to from one to ten years in the penitentiary. A new trial has been denied them. But the workers of Tampa are not discouraged. These workers of Florida have shown that they can take it—in a revolutionary way. MacDonald, one of the workers arrested and now in prison, writes: "The concerted efforts of . . . capitalist henchmen with all their mass arrests, lockouts, clubbings, evictions and coercion have not shaken in the least the solidarity of the Tampa Tobacco Workers. On the contrary, the solidarity of the workers has been fused in the struggle and they stand today more determined than ever to stand shoulder to shoulder in their fight for decent working and living conditions."

The struggle of the Florida tobacco workers is our struggle. This new capitalist frame-up carried to its conclusion, again lends emphasis to the imperative necessity of class unity from coast to coast and from border to border to defend the elementary right of free speech for the working class.

R. R. Fakers & Bosses Join Hands

To Improve The Health of «Our» Industry

Messages of congratulation and praise were today pouring in on the leading lights in the drama successfully enacted at Chicago, Feb. 1st, to "voluntarily" cut \$215,000,000 from the rail workers' pay checks and give it to the coupon clippers. The plot in the drama contains both comedy and tragedy. The comic part consisted of the farcical pretensions on the part of the labor spokesmen, headed by D. R. Robertson, to fight the wage cut. The tragic part of the seventeen day Chicago show was the added sacrifice and suffering it brought to the railroad workers for the benefit of the parasites who live on the labor of others.

The 17 day Chicago wage conference, which began on Jan. 14th, and ended on Feb. 1st, was merely a farcical display of controversy to fool the railroad workers into believing that their leaders were putting up a real fight against the wage slash. We maintain that those who spoke for the railroads at the conference and also those who were supposed to speak for labor, all knew what the outcome of the conference would be and this was also quite clearly set forth in the daily press reports released on the day the conference opened. One United Press report dated at Chicago, Jan. 14th, under the following headline, reads in part as follows:

"Union Chiefs and Presidents Seek to Provide Work for 700,000 Through 10 Per Cent Wage Cut"

"Chicago, Jan. 14 (UP)—Capital and labor sat down across a conference table today determined to provide dividends for rail investors and work for unemployed rail men."

"The decision expected was a 10 per cent general wage cut for union workers. This will save the railroads \$250,000,000, sufficient to meet interest requirements and provide work for many of the industry's 700,000 jobless."

"Two white-haired leaders, each long in the service of the railroads, led the conference groups. These were Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore & Ohio road, chairman of the presidents'

group, and David B. Robertson, union chairman."

"Both Robertson and Willard were optimistic that an agreement would be reached."

Up to this date no one has explained how this \$250,000,000 wage cut is going to furnish work for 700,000 jobless railroad workers. But of course, the conference was not held to get anything for the workers; it was held for the special benefit of bond and stock holders. And organized capitalists were jubilant over the outcome, although they knew it in advance, because it netted them \$215,000,000 more profit taken from the meager earnings of the workers.

Labor Bureaucrats Play the Role of Puppets

Even by reading, the daily press reports, a worker could learn that the Chicago railroad wage conference was nothing but a mock drama where the \$15,000 a year labor officials played the part of that many puppets sitting on the knees of the railroad officials. And for the readers' benefit we will again quote a few excerpts from a press report appearing in one of the big dailies dated (Chicago, Feb. 1st:

"The final scene, enacted in the conference room of a loop hotel, climaxed 17 days of negotiations that were without precedent in the history of all railroad relations. Never before had the two factions pooled their efforts to solve a problem of like nature or magnitude."

"As labor made the decision known, its chief, David Brown Robertson, gave emphasis to the reason for the concession."

Now Listen to "Davy"

"In the hope that our action," he said "may improve the health" of our industry, may improve the relations of management and employees, may stimulate revival of business and advance general welfare, we have decided to accept the proposal."

Brother railroad workers, we will ask you to read the above press quotation from Robertson for several reasons. He was the chairman of that bunch of "chiefs" which is supposed to look after the interests of railroad labor. David, whom Edward Keating, the editor of Labor, affectionately calls Davy, is a high-priced labor "spokesman". The poor and hard-working locomotive firemen pay Davy \$15,000 a year and expenses.

Now Davy, together with the other twenty chiefs, decides to take \$215,000,000 from the pay envelopes of the workers and give it to the owners of railroad stocks and bonds to "improve the health of our industry". Mind you, Davy speaks of the railroads as "our industry". The lowly part of the jobless and part-time workers in "our industry" does not seem to bother him much, if we are to judge from the way this wage movement was handled from beginning to end. Davy also states that the wage cut was accepted so that it "may improve the relations of management and employees".

You section men and other part-time and poorly paid workers please note. However, don't take it too seriously, because what Mr. Robertson really means is, the relationship between the railroad and brotherhood officials. We will quote below Mr. Willard's statement to the press after the conclusion of the conference, where he joins with Robertson in his hope and wish. The difference is that Dan Willard speaks for the real directors of the show. We quote from the same press report from which we quoted "Davy":

"Dan" Joins with "Davy"

"With you, we indulge in the hope, the result of this conference may tend to improve relations between railway management and employees, and also tend to stimulate the revival of business and promote the general welfare."

Note the above paragraph carefully; note that the spokesmen of both groups at the wage conference join in the same wish, namely, that the result of the conference may increase the profit of the railroads at the expense of the workers. That is exactly what their joint wish and hope amounts to, when boiled down to actual facts.

Brother railroad workers, the whole thing is but another act added to the long string of betrayals by the brotherhood bureaucrats whose high salaries place them far closer to Willard and his group than to the workers whom they are supposed to represent. That is exactly why the two groups cast their joint support to the railroads. The brotherhood "chiefs" never did a thing to organize or mobilize the railroad workers for united action against the wage cut which was looming on the industrial horizon for the past year or more. These over-paid drones have never stirred to organize the motor transport workers. Instead of organizing the bus and truck drivers they engage in the foolish business of trying to put restrictions on their operations, thinking that this will please the railroads.

\$15,000 a year labor officials like Robertson and his kind will never organize the workers nor lead them anywhere but to defeat. The fake wage conference at Chicago is but cumulative evidence of this. A minority movement must be organized and developed in the brotherhoods to help the membership not only to drive these misleaders from office, but to drive them from the labor movement in disgrace.

(To be continued)

—WORKER CORRESPONDENT.

—A. E.

The Annual Heresy Trial

Almost a year ago, the party held a mass trial here in New York to show the workers—that "the Communist party will not tolerate any trace of white chauvinism within its ranks"—

The sacrificial lamb in that case was August Yokinen, a Finn, who had uttered expressions of anti-Negro bias. In a lynching atmosphere, the high priests, Hathaway and Moore, the prosecuting and defense attorneys, together offered up Yokinen to cover the failure of the party leadership to educate the party rank and file against anti-Negro prejudices. Yokinen was expelled. Immediately afterwards he was arrested by the vultures of the labor department and held for deportation. The party was forced to launch a movement to demand his release. Contrary to the expectations of Hathaway et al, this spectacle did not eradicate white chauvinism from the revolutionary movement. From time to time the Daily Worker has reported its manifestations.

The latest took place in N. T. W. I. U. A worker in the needle trades, Burns, has been accused of white chauvinism. A mass trial was ordered. It took place on Feb. 7th in the same hall in which Yokinen was read out of the party. In place of Hathaway as prosecuting attorney we had the notorious bureaucrat Ben Gold; in place of Moore, Alexander. The faces, the actors were different but the farce was the same. Gold spoke first. He made two points: he admitted, in anticipating the argument of the defense, that the leadership of the union was at fault in "not fighting insistently against white chauvinism", but held it necessary to make an example of Burns to prove to the Negro masses that the union really means to unite the masses and wipe out white chauvinism. He asked for Burns' expulsion from the union.

Alexander jesuitically argued that Burns was guilty but that his guilt was not as enormous nor as horrendous as Skylock-Gold had made it out to be. Alexander, following Moore's line of a year before almost word for word, described Burns as a victim of capitalist class ideology and of the leadership of the union, which should have fought in the ranks of the union against "this poison". He proposed in place of "expulsion, a period of probation in which Burns was to be assigned special work:

in the coming strike he is to be in the forefront of the workers' defense corps against the gangster attacks; he is to bring into the union an unstated number of Negro workers, and he is to sell a certain number of Liberators.

Then Burns took the floor to make a statement of denunciation. In Yokinen they had a meek lamb who agreed that he was all they said about him. But in Burns they caught a Tartar. Until he spoke, it was not clear what the specific charges against him were. It appears that Burns and a Negro organizer got into a personal dispute over a typewriter in the office of the union; that they had heated words, freely insulting each other which, by a process familiar to Stalinists, passed into blows!

With unconscious poetic justice Burns called Gold, Mr. Gold, accused him of discrimination in bringing only him to trial, criticized him and his fellow bureaucrats for not instructing him in what was white chauvinism and race hatred. He also accused the Daily Worker of exaggerating his statements. It was remarkable that the hundreds of party members and sympathizers in the hall took this last charge as a matter of course. It was obvious that they were aware of the Daily's policy of exaggeration.

Burns' statement was really, though not intentionally, a terrific indictment of the bureaucracy in the union. Not all of Gold's demagoguery in rebuttal could cover this up. The blows Burns dealt were too telling. The workers' jury brought in a verdict of guilty with a recommendation of probation with assigned tasks. Gold's plea for expulsion was refused.

This is a good sign. It demonstrated that the Stalinists can't always get away with such raw frame-ups. In our opinion, they should have brought in a recommendation to expel Gold from the union and along with him his fellow bureaucrats. Spectacles such as this do not and cannot eradicate racial prejudices. What is needed is, as the Militant remarked on March 1st, 1931, apropos of the Yokinen trial, "Education—an atmosphere free from demagoguery, hypocrisy and incitement; an atmosphere created by teachers of the proletariat, not by terrorizers."

—T. STAMM.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

German Opposition Forges Ahead

Growing Sentiment for a United Struggle against Fascism

Very encouraging processes are taking place in the labor movement today. In the factories, in the trade unions, in the non-party proletarian organizations, a powerful impulsion toward a united front is furrowing a path for itself after a long period of marking time. Skeptical over the ability of their leaders to establish the united front of their class, the workers in the factories are beginning to set up a united front from below force a united front upon their leaders.

The decision of the Berlin Gas Workers is of great significance in this respect. The factory councilmen of these workers are recognizing the seriousness of the situation at the present perilous hour, expressed in the program of the Nazis to transform Germany into a bloody dictatorship and felt by the workers of the gas works and by the working class as a whole. The workers' council has issued an appeal to the leaders of all parties, to do everything in their power to establish a united front of all the workers. The workers' council will undertake all the necessary steps, to create and assure the united front of all the workers.

The functionaries of the Berlin Shoe Workers Union have adopted a resolution: all proletarian parties are to enter into a united front, committees of action are to be formed, etc.

The S. A. P. workers are obliging their leaders to take the path toward a united front. They demand a united front with the C. P. G. From the *Rote Fahne* of January 5, we can glean that pressure for a united front has also been brought by the party organizations in Wurtemberg, Saxony, etc. These phenomena show, that despite all obstacles, despite all difficulties, the working class itself is beginning to realize the united front.

What is the party leadership doing? Instead of supporting the first real steps towards the creation of a united front coming from the factories, instead of leading them into revolutionary channels, it casts suspicion upon the workers in the factories with such accusations as the following: The S. P. G. factory councilmen only want a united front in order to harness the working class for the policy of betrayal promulgated by Wels. For that reason, the C. P. G. cannot participate in the united front and that is why only the "red united front" remains. The party leadership

rejects common action, not only with the S. P. G., but with the S. A. P. (the new centrist Socialist Labor Party) as well. Every worker is expected to accept the leadership of the C. P. G. in advance as the one chosen leadership of the working class.

By tearing themselves loose from the S. P. G., by realizing that only through the dictatorship of the proletariat will they achieve socialism, the workers have brought an expression for the fact that they have entered the terrain of revolutionary class struggle. By the creation of the S. A. P. they have announced in advance that they have no confidence in the present leadership of the C. P. G. And it is precisely the policy of the present leadership of the Communist party that forces them to have a party of their own, to nourish their illusions with the policy of certain leaders of their party, namely, that it is necessary to create a new Communist party since the one that exists cannot change its policy. What does the C. P. G. leadership tell these workers? With your organization we cannot have a united front since your leaders are only "left wing social fascists." You must destroy your organization and enter the C. P. G.! Only in this way will the real united front of a proletariat, i. e., the "red united front" be realized.

The present party leadership, which alone bears the responsibility for the fact that these workers who have torn themselves from the S. P. G. have not come directly to the Communist party, which is doing everything to hold them back from that at present, believes that the S. A. P. workers will immediately follow their call and destroy their own party.

Really, the Communist party has never pursued such a light-headed, irresponsible and criminal policy in all of its existence.

If the "iron front" signifies betrayal of the working class, then the policy of the "red united front" signifies sabotage of a united struggle of the working class. This is the opinion of millions of German workers regardless of their party affiliations. Not to take cognizance of this correct class instinct means to work consciously along the lines of a defeat. And it is precisely this that the present day leadership of the party is doing.

Because the Left Opposition condemns

this policy of the party leadership which is bound to culminate in a bloody defeat of the German proletariat with all the necessary sharpness, the party functionaries, in their press, daily pour their pails of refuse and slander out against them. The *Rote Fahne* of January 8th writes that comrade Trotsky has landed on the position of Noske and Grzesinski. The editors of the *Rote Fahne*, for whom their jobs are more important than anything else and for whom the revolution is merely a phrase, are great heroes when it comes to fighting with despicable methods against the Left Opposition, but when it is a question of the slightest activity on the part of the class enemy, they fall into the greatest panic.

It is not intransigence in principle that cause them to reject a united front with S. P. G. and S. A. P., but political helplessness and the simple fear of being overpowered by the opposing parties in a united front.

The fact that the *Rote Fahne* of January 5th must occupy itself with the "Trotskyites", with the "vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie", proves how deeply the ideas of the Left Opposition are penetrating into the party. In the party, a process is tak-

ing place on the basis of the sentiments in the factories, which will have the effect of negating the policy of the leadership. It has become a fact that even the followers of the R. G. O. (the red trade union opposition), are not prepared to continue along the lines of the party leadership. The partial strikes, carried out on command, lead to great sacrifices for the Communists in the factories, without in any way strengthening the influence of the party therein and on the contrary, causing its further enfeeblement. The *Rote Fahne* of January 5th reports that in Wurtemberg, Saxony, Berlin, the Ruhr, etc., there exist opportunist deviations. These are phenomena which were hardly possible several months ago. It is undoubtedly, the more strongly the desire for a united front makes its appearance in the ranks, the harder it will become for the Communists in the factories to carry out the policies of the party leadership. They will inevitably come into contradiction with the party leadership.

It is the task of the Left Opposition to follow up this process in the party with the greatest attentiveness. It is necessary to cause those party comrades who are already beginning to understand that the policy of Thaelmann and Remmele is leading the party to a precipice, to take further steps on the path of the reconstruction of the party, to organize them into a firm faction. Therein lies the only guarantee for victory in the decisive struggle for the "Communist

—PERMANENTE REVOLUTION.

(January 16, 1932)

Reactionary Policies and the Working Class Movement in Spain

The government of the republic constantly threatens the people with fantastic and imaginary dangers which, according to it, endanger the republic, and which each time are increasingly imminent. Those responsible for these dangers are those who carry on acts characterized by violence against public peace and order. This naturally is the language used by those who under the government have shut off the voice of the people and above all, the voice of the proletariat, when this voice has asked for the fulfillment of the promises which the same government made before proclaiming the republican regime. This language is used to justify the repressive actions of the state power against the people.

The republican government of Spain leans ever further toward an essentially reactionary policy; social-democracy, collaboration with the present government constitute the false mask of official democracy, in reality a hypocritical reaction. The constitution with which the Constituent Assembly has endowed the "defense of the republic", was already a reactionary and retrogressive constitution, outmoded and anti-democratic at bottom, even from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie. If we add to this constitution and to this law for the defense of the republic the shameful

declaration of Azana, when he took over the presidency of the government, that stupid and reactionary phrase, "the republic will make itself respected, and if not, then feared"; if we take into account the mildness and consideration with which the government has proceeded against the reactionary religious orders, there will be nothing to surprise us in the repressive policy which is being carried out today.

It is said that the religious orders will be subjected to a special law, to shut the mouths of the working classes who demand the immediate expulsion of the Jesuits, the friars and the monks from the country, but this law has not yet been passed; another law was passed and approved, to shut the mouths of the proletariat, to crush the rebelliousness of the working masses who were clamoring for bread and justice. The law for the defense of the republic was approved against the wishes of the people and in order to crush the people. The Civil Guard has been charged with making "respected" the law passed and promulgated by those who placed among the first of their demands the "dissolution of the disastrous Civil Guard" when they were conspirators.

The recent and present struggles of the workers are openly and frankly struggles for the dissolution of the Civil Guard. Here is where the government has exposed its truly reactionary and repressive character, defending the murders perpetrated by the Civil Guard, protecting and defending what its members had characterized as a "fatal body".

The very laws of the republic, these same reactionary laws, are violated and trampled on, do not employ the respect of the government itself. The law on individual liberty is a ridiculous lie. Today men are thrown into jail without taking the least account of this liberty, and the government behaves in social and political conflicts as in the best period of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and Berenguer.

"The Law for the Defense of the Republic"

The law for the defense of the republic was aimed exclusively at the working-class revolutionary movement. The social democracy, which sees in the working class revolutionists its most direct enemy, has taken the most direct and persistent part in the framing of this law.

The working-class movements, past and present, against this brutal repression have had the defect of being purely spontaneous and lacking in leadership. We have seen workers defend themselves—Communists, anarchists, syndicalists, socialists and non-party men—forming a compact bloc, but the united front of the leadership has not been realized, because the leaders have not wanted it. There has not even been created a real political united front, no orientation has been given to these proletarian movements.

The C. N. T. has not seen these events; its leaders were occupied with sterile internal discussions, and divided into two groups, the "pure" syndicalists and the anarchists, likewise "pure". This division has paralyzed the activity of the C. N. T.

The official Communist party has not seen them, as it has not seen the need for correct Bolshevik tactics. It has not known how to take advantage of this situation, which was developing favorably for our conquest of the masses. The Spanish Stalinists, the same who on the day of the proclamation of the republic launched the slogan, "Down with the bourgeois republic!", today, when the working class needs to be orientated and guided in its struggle with the Civil Guard and with reaction, cannot find the appropriate slogan, but launch a far different one, contradicting themselves, mutilating their own slogans, disorientating the masses who need the most absolute simplifications of the problem.

The Workers' Solution

The solution lies in the united front of the proletariat, but in a real and self-respecting united front, not in the united front and the maneuver which the official party proposes.

The dangers which threaten the republic—the government itself protects and defend them, by betraying its own promise. We say "its promise", because we believe that the republican government has not betrayed the people, as anarchists and Stalinists preach, which would mean believing that the republicans could fulfill a promise, which they have not fulfilled when in reality the republican government arrived for the purpose of defending the interests of capitalism against the attack of the proletariat.

There is therefore nothing strange in the activities of the government. It is accomplishing its historical mission. This is how the working class must approach the problem, to give it a correct solution.

Madrid, Jan. 10, 1932

—HENRI LACROIX.

THE SPLIT IN THE BRANDLER GROUP

On January 12, a number of the leading founders and spokesmen of the German Brandler group were expelled by the Brandler-Thaelmann majority for their policy towards the newly-formed wing of the social democracy, the Socialist Labor party (S. A. P.) of Seydewitz and Co. The expelled leaders include such people as Walcher, Froelich, Koehler, Rose Wolfstein, Enderle, Karl Frank, Thomas and many others. The expulsions, which are tantamount to a split, mark a new stage in the development of the central and strongest section of the international Right wing faction.

The Walcher-Froelich group stood up on the ground of virtually liquidating the Brandler organization and merging with the social democratic Centrists grouped around Seydewitz. In other words, they planned to eliminate even the last nominal pretense to Communism which is still hung out on the signboard of the Brandler-Lovestone-Roy international. The dissidents have already held confidential meetings with the Seydewitz leaders and their formal entry into the Socialist Labor party is merely a matter of arranging the details. In fact, by this writing, the marriage has probably already been consummated.

When the Right wing first took shape in the Communist International, the Bolshevik-Leninists constituting the Marxian section of Communism declared that the

wants France to grant concessions, France whose little clients and valets (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Belgium) are agitated by unrest, raises her head and makes believe that she has no one to depend on except herself, that is to say, upon her "rights", upon her cannon. Under these conditions, Fascist Italy, whose economy is in a state of full-fledged internal decomposition, attempts grand gestures which are commented favorably in the entire imperialist French press: it is necessary to establish a "united front" of the European creditors against the U. S. Thus we are witnessing a transformation in a double sense: on the one hand, American pressure accentuates the rivalries and the dissensions among the European imperialisms and on the other hand the self same pressure obliges them to attempt common efforts with regard to their mammoth rival. There is not the slightest doubt that the present phase will bring about an accentuation of the process of dissension. The capitalist "united front" is merely a utopia when it is a matter of going against the U. S. It can only be of reality when it turns against the Soviet Union. Against the international working class, against the Soviet Union, imperialism can realize the united front and is realizing it. But against America, that is to say against the capitalist competitor who monopolizes by himself almost half of the world market, no united front is possible. Every attempt at a "union" among the capitalist countries can but signify an attempt at hegemony by one of them over the others within European framework. Brandler's "European Union" was an attempt of this sort to definitely settle upon the others the domination of France. In this sense it was an attempt to conclude the work of the Versailles treaty. The "Anschluss" was the embryo of an attempt of the same order by Germany. But these attempts have crumbled pitifully under the pressure of America. Now less than ever will they succeed to revive them.

(To Be Continued)

—LA VERITE.

Right was a bridge to the social democracy. The Left Opposition made this affirmation at a time when the Right wing was in power, or at least shared the power with Centrism, in the highest instances of the Comintern and the Russian party. We made this characterization at the time when Brandler was the principal theoretician of the Communist International, when Roy was one of its main spokesmen, when it was planned to put Brandler and Thaelmann back into the leadership of the German party, when the Right wing ran the American, Swedish, Alsatian and other parties. After the Sixth Congress, when the Right wing was expelled throughout the International, we repeated our characterization with increased emphasis and pointed out that it would not occupy for long a position between Communism and the counter-revolutionary social democracy. Our strictures aroused the hottest denials from the Brandler and Lovestones. More than that, they treated our assertions with scorn and contempt, for were they not being made by the "Trotskyist counter-revolutionists", who had "broken with Communism" and therefore deserved the expulsions which the Brandler, Roy and Lovestones had organized against them? But time is replete with revenges, particularly for the Marxists who have such a powerful protector in the form of history against the calumny, the violence, the misrepresentation and the philistinism of the Right wing liquidators.

The Right wing condescendingly explained to us that they could not share our "sectarian" point of view. They, you see, were for winning the masses, for going to the masses "as against" us. We retorted that they would never win the masses, certainly not for the proletarian revolution and Communism. Time has here again vindicated theoretical considerations. The Right wingers have long ago started to "go to the masses" . . . of the social democracy. In Czechoslovakia, the bulk of the much-advertised Right wing group promptly proceeded to shift its activity into the ranks of the social democracy of the

Czech republic. Shortly after its formation, the Brandler group yielded such leaders like Rost Aschenbrenner, Xavier Buchs and many others to the ranks of the party of Wels, Noske and Scheidemann. Not long afterward, Messrs. Miller, Levitch & Co. quit the Lovestone group for the more fertile and "massy" fields of the social democratic "progressives" and worse, while the Lovestone group as a whole became positively thunderstruck with admiration for the "revolutionary, pro-Soviet" Militant faction in the American Socialist party.

Now, the numerous supporters of the Walcher-Froelich faction (and also a number of supporters of Brandler and Thaelmann, as their organ reports) have added to the list by joining the social democracy of the more despicable and cowardly and treacherous type, that is, of the "Left wing".

Thus the Right wing produces the flowers for the social democratic bouquet. Each shading of the Right wing moves its bridges to the social democracy in its own particular way. Some rush forward to the party of treason, impatient at the failure of the promised "masses" to materialize; others pass lightly over to the "Left wing" of the social democracy still others capitulate quietly by going back to the Centrists through or by dropping out of working class politics entirely; and the rest oscillate feverishly with the winds, waiting for the most favorable opportunities, regretful that the impatient ones have reduced their bargaining power with those before whom they are prepared to capitulate in the end.

Lovestone only a few weeks ago wrote that the differences between Brandler and the minority were not so fundamental or serious. We want to be recorded in complete agreement with this thought. It is largely a difference over "stages" over "tempo". Patience is never unwielded. Let us wait but a while. Who is bold enough to say that where Walcher or Bert Miller is today, Lovestone or Brandler will not be tomorrow?

—MARSH.

Changes in the Policy of French Imperialism

PARIS, FRANCE

The internal crisis of the government, that is to say, first of all, the shelving of Briand, has a far greater significance than *l'Humanite* assumes. Here is the opinion of the party paper: (1-16-32): "A change in policy? Not really! There is a profound identity between the policy of Briand-Herriot, Briand-Poincare, Briand-Blum, Briand-Laval and the present day Tardieu-Laval policy. How can this policy vary from the other today? It is hardly to be expected that the crisis is going to calm down the ferocious intent of our imperialism. Quite the contrary."

The editors of *l'Humanite* are deceiving themselves completely. They do not even take into account the fact that the second part of this paragraph literally contradicts the first part. In fact it is precisely the crisis which, by "making our imperialism more ferocious", to employ his own impression, imposes certain changes in the political orientation of the bourgeoisie. One has to be blind not to understand that. In fact one has to be not only blind but as limited as the Stalinists in order not to understand that the economic development, that is to say in the last analysis, the international and national class relationships necessitate different reactions on the part of the bourgeoisie as a consequence of the situation with which the latter is faced. In this sense, it is false to say that the policy of Poincare, Briand or Tardieu bears the same traits.

If one wants to speak of a "profound identity" in their policies simply in the sense that they are all bourgeois policies and the representatives of capitalism in the government, then that is merely an elementary truth, but if one wants to say—and that is just what *l'Humanite* does want to say—that all the reactions of the bourgeoisie in the course of the development of events are always the same, that is a profound mistake. The policy before the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 is not the same as that after the failure of that occupation. The policy after Locarno is not the same as that before Locarno, and now it is

possible to say that the policy after the Hoover moratorium, after the failure of the negotiations with Bruening, who affirms that the German bourgeoisie will not pay any more reparations, is not the same and cannot be the same as the one pursued before that.

M. M. Laval, Tardieu and Co. understand that very well. The "triumphant" voyages of Laval to Berlin, London and Washington has not fooled them at all, although they have attempted indeed to throw sand in the eyes of the middle classes and workers. The actual results of the Berlin trip and of the establishment of the Franco-German commission (with the aid of Jouhaux) is the declaration of insolvency made by Bruening on the eve of the Lausanne conference. As to the actual result of the voyage to Washington that has brought only increased pressure of the United States on the internal policy of the European governments, not to speak of the insults proffered by Borah to our chauvinists. Under the veil of a very relative, temporary, strong financial position, the real weakness of French imperialism, which is doomed to lose part of the fruits of its pillage of 1918, are revealing themselves. And this turn in the situation is not to have serious repercussions in the ranks of the bourgeoisie itself? And yet that is just what *l'Humanite* wants its readers to believe.

In the month of June, the Left Opposition showed how America was going to profit from the crisis by which the principal European countries have been seized, in order to reinforce its tutelage over them, in order to more quickly force Europe to content itself with its "rationalities."

Laval has attempted to break the stranglehold, trying to take advantage of a particularly difficult financial conjuncture in the U. S. His little black-mail game at Washington did not meet with very great success. And now, Hoover turns to ravage Europe and declares: "The reparations are your affair. It was not we who signed the Versailles treaty. On the other hand, the payment of your debts to us is our affair. That must be carried out."

This attitude on the part of the U. S. must of necessity bring dissension of the most serious proportions into the camp of European imperialists. Germany feels herself encouraged by this attitude on the part of Hoover. England, coping with difficulties within its own empire,

ST. LOUIS OPEN FORUM "The Religious Fakers Confuse the Unemployed"

Speaker: John Scott
Friday, FEBRUARY 19, 1932
14th and Cass Avenues
Auspices: St. Louis Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

EDITORIAL NOTES

I. W. W. WISDOM

Some comrades who have contributed money to the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W. to help in the defense of the Kentucky miners—as the *Militant* suggested a number of times—have called attention to the statement in the *Industrial Worker* of February 2 to the effect that “the Trotskyites have never donated a single penny for the relief or defense of the Kentucky miners,” and the profound conclusion: “Classify the Trotskyites with the other traitors who have sabotaged the Kentucky miners.” We can only attribute the indignation of the comrades in question to inexperience. If you have any dealings with the I. W. W. you have to get used to playful remarks of this kind and not take them too seriously. It is just the I. W. W. way of writing out receipts.

What is more important to notice is the approach of the *Industrial Worker* to the serious defeats suffered by the working class in the convictions of Jones and Hightower. In these defeats, there is revealed a deplorable weakness of the labor movement. This should be the point of analysis and discussion by every militant who considers things from the standpoint of the class and its armament for future battles. But the *Industrial Worker*—if one is to judge by its extended comments on February 2—has not considered this side of the question. That is why its comments are so barren, so permeated with petty factional recrimination and so devoid of any proposals for the future organization of the class fight in such a way as to make good the defeats.

LASSALLE

The editorial board of the *Militant* owes an apology to its readers for the publication, in the issue of January 30, of the book review dealing with a recent biography of Lassalle. The superficial quality of this article, as well as its flippant and presumptuous tone, have been remarked as more appropriate for the *New Masses* than for our paper. The entire article contradicts our attitude toward the great historic figures of the proletariat, among whom we count Lassalle. Its appearance in these columns was entirely accidental. We are decidedly against the attitude expressed in the article, and we are still more against the spirit of it.

CHICAGO OPEN FORUM
“The Two Billion Dollar Credit Pool, the Crisis and the Workers”
Speaker: Hugo Oehler
Sunday, FEBRUARY 21, 1932
at
1435 N. Western Avenue.
Auspices: Chicago Branch, C. L. of A. (Opposition)

N. Y. Open Forum

On Friday, February 5th, comrade Glatzer spoke to an audience of about eighty workers including some party members on the subject of **Communism or Fascism in Germany**. Comrade Glatzer developed the implication of a Fascist victory in Germany for the international working class, including the Soviet Union, and sharply criticized the Comintern's present capitulating policy. The outstanding incident of the discussion which followed was a presentation of the Stalinist position on the German question. Incredible as it may seem the comrade argued that India or China, not Germany, was the key to the international situation. He claimed, too, that the victory of Fascism in Germany would not precipitate intervention in the U. S. S. R.

Comrade Glatzer's summation of the discussion shattered these arguments to bits. He showed again, upon the basis of the Stalinist move, the frightful consequences for the C. P. G., the trade unions, all working class organizations including the social democracy, of a Fascist victory in Germany; the inevitable world wide reaction that would follow, and the certainty of intervention on the U. S. S. R.

The forum was a demonstration that despite the shameful silence of Stalin and the Comintern generally and the *Daily Worker* in this country, on the burning importance of the situation in Germany, revolutionary internationalism is still alive even in the ranks of the party stifled by the bureaucratic leadership.

THE MILITANT
Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)
at 84 East 10th St., N. Y.

EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck

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The founder of the German labor movement were not without shortcomings in the field of theory and tactics. Marx, who was his contemporary, explained them sufficiently and they are known to the students of socialist history. But, for every serious revolutionist, Lassalle remains Lassalle, the sword and the flame of the proletariat. We do not grant to anyone the right to disparage and belittle him—and thereby to distort him altogether and to obscure his grandiose historic import.

Lenin, who was not so presumptuous, spoke of Lassalle many times, and always with respect. He began his famous brochure “What is to be done?” by quoting, in thesis form, from a letter of Lassalle to Marx. In another place he speaks of “the historical service Lassalle rendered to the German labor movement.” Trotsky has referred to him in the same manner in “Our Revolution” and in other works. Such examples were lost on the reviewer who appraised Lassalle in the *Militant*.

It is necessary to protest against the utterly false evaluation of Lassalle in the review under consideration. But it is no less important to react against the spirit it manifests. We have to be careful that such a movement as ours which is obliged, especially under present conditions, to emphasize the critical side of its work, does not become a playground for smart-aleckism and parvenue self-assurance. Tendencies of this kind are to be seen now and then, especially among the youth. The parvenue spirit is the petty-bourgeois spirit. It is alien to an organization of proletarian revolutionaries and has no legitimate rights within it.

—J. P. C.

In Spain: The Socialists and State Power

Reformists Maneuver to Avoid Responsibility before the Laboring Masses

The party with the strongest influence among the workers and peasants of Spain today is the socialist party. In the coalition cabinet of the Cortes it is represented by three ministers, Caballero, de los Rios and Prieto. As a consequence of the relationship of forces in the country the question of a socialist government in power has become one of the most acute issues in the present-day politics of Spain.

One can scarcely point to any other body in the country that has played a more despicable role in Spain than the socialist party. During the period of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, with its record of reaction and repression, the socialist leaders worked hand in hand with the dictatorship. Largo Caballero, the leading spokesman of the socialist party and Secretary of the socialist General Workers Union, was a Councillor of State under Primo, and by his assistance the dictator purchased a legal existence for his party and his trade union organization, both of which were converted into docile agencies of the state. It was Caballero, functioning as Councillor of State, who elaborated the notorious law providing for the “comités paritarios,” consecrating by compulsion the system of class collaboration throughout every industry. Until virtually the last day of the monarchy, the socialist leaders helped to drag the dictatorial juggernaut over the prostrate bodies of the Spanish working class and peasantry.

The intensification of the revolutionary situation, marked by fierce general strikes in the principal localities served to cut the reluctant socialist away from the dictatorship. The bourgeoisie, com-

pelled to sacrifice the monarch to the furious advance of the insurrectionary people, wisely provided themselves with a buttress on the Left side in the form of the bourgeois-socialist coalition in the revolutionary committee which subsequently constituted the government.

The Socialists in the Coalition

The drawing of the socialists into the coalition had a double advantage for the bourgeoisie. In the first place, the election apparatus of the S. P. was immediately placed at the service of the joint coalition—no small matter, for the S. P. constituted after the proclamation of the republic about the only political party with even a well-equipped skeleton organization. Secondly, the presence of these socialist and trade union representatives in the government served to give it sufficient of a rose tint at the outset to attract the support of masses of workers and peasants who, still dominated by strong democratic illusions, would have regarded a purely bourgeois government with considerably greater suspicion and even hostility.

But such an inconvenient combination cannot last forever. That is to say, the development of the struggle, far from moderating, is becoming increasingly acute. The masses are demanding a cash payment for their revolutionary uprising which ushered in the republic, they are demanding the fulfillment of those multitudinous promises with which the bourgeoisie bought their support. Issues are therefore being put so pointedly that it becomes increasingly difficult for the socialist leaders to take the same position towards them as is taken

by the reactionary bourgeoisie, out of fear of disillusioning the masses who still have a measure of faith in them.

The Purpose of a “Socialist” Government

In addition, the problem should be regarded from another angle. A bourgeois government in which the socialists merely participate but do not “govern” necessarily brings down upon itself growing measures of popular wrath. Necessarily, for the simple reason that the bourgeoisie, to consolidate its position, is compelled to inaugurate reactionary proposals which rob the masses of any pretense to democratic rights and which flaunts all the promises made in the early days. As the resentment and activity of the masses, rebelling as they are against these proposals, increase, the bourgeoisie, or at the very least, a substantial section of this class, find it the best part of wisdom to put a “Left” wall between its domination and the assaults of the masses, in other words, a “socialist government” which they hope will more easily absorb the shocks of mass action. Another section of the bourgeoisie, it is true, bolder and headier, demands even stronger measures for the establishment of “law and order,” measures which lead straight in the direction of Fascism. Thus is established the division of opinion in the ranks of the bourgeoisie: the latter standpoint is represented by Llerroux, who is already proceeding to organize a Fascist band throughout Spain; the former standpoint is advocated by fairly powerful organs of the ruling class, for example, the ex-monarchist and now “republican” daily in Madrid, *El Sol*.

The Attitude of the Socialists

In the ranks of the socialist party leaders themselves, however, there is a division of opinion on the matter of a “socialist government,” or more accurately, of a “socialist coalition,” for none of them has yet advocated a “purely” socialist cabinet. Largo Caballero, one of the least popular but strongest of the socialist leaders, ruling figure in the G. W. U., minister of labor in the cabinet, and ruled by an uncontrollable ambition to head the government, has already declared publicly the readiness of the socialist party to constitute the government and its cabinet. In the interview which he granted a couple of months ago, he emphasized however, that the socialists would not take over the government completely, but would include in their cabinet the representatives of other parties, for they realize that they have not enough strength and that the situation “is not ripe enough” for the socialists “to put through their complete program.” The same point of view was underscored

Pioneer Publishers Notes

The Catholic Church exercises a strict censorship over the books its flock is permitted to read. In this manner it keeps its sheep in peaceful ignorance, and therefore docile and obedient to the Church.

The readers of the official Communist parties have learned from the Pope—or have they never forgotten their early training? They too dictate to their flock: “You must not read anything by Trotsky or any of the Left Opposition writers.” By this prohibition they hope to keep the membership ignorant of the issues under discussion. But here and there, as in the Catholic Church, daring individuals rebel against being kept ignorant. They insist on their right and duty to read the opposition material if they are to polemize intelligently. For the benefit of these, as well as others who want to know what the disputes are which have torn the Communist movement of the world into factions, we have undertaken the task of publishing for the first time in English all the manuscripts which have been suppressed by the “official” party.

THE DRAFT PROGRAM

The first of these manuscripts was *The Draft Program*, smuggled out of Russia. Months later we discovered that this was only part of Trotsky's criticism submitted to the Sixth World Congress. We then secured the balance, and published it separately under the title of *The Strategy of the World Revolution*. This pamphlet is in reality the second part of the Draft Program.

CERTIFICATE HOLDERS

All those who have subscribed for certificates in the *Pioneer Publishers* paying the \$10 in full or in part, are requested to send their names and addresses so the certificates can be mailed at once. Those who have not yet subscribed are urgently requested to do so immediately. Payments can be made on a weekly or monthly basis. All holders of certificates are entitled to a 33-1/3% discount on all of our own publications and 15% discount on books of other publishers handled by us.

With a little additional capital we will be able to extend our publication work and include in our list a number of the Marxian classics now out of print and some never printed before. Send for application blank to-day.

by Caballero's colleague, de los Rios, minister of Justice, in his interview to *El Sol* last November.

Opposing this standpoint is the group headed by Besteiro, a more popular figure in the party, who is in fact, its chairman, as well as the chairman of the G. W. U. and the president of the Cortes. Besteiro opposes a socialist coalition until the party is in a “strong enough position” to carry out the “full socialist program for the reconstruction of society.”

The Reformists Fear the Consequences

Between both viewpoints, the whole essence of the issue is juggled around with an elaborate and pompous cynicism. The socialists are the strongest party in the country, with the largest representation in the Cortes. They do not take power as a “pure” socialist government for the simple reason that they fear the consequences of assuming so heavy a responsibility before the masses. A real socialist party government could do little more and little less than social democratic governments have done in the past in such countries as Germany, Belgium and England. It would carry out, in every essential respect, the policy of the bourgeoisie, to which it is bound by a thousand threads. But carrying out a bourgeois policy under its own name, without the possibility of furnishing pretexts or shifting responsibility, would hasten phenomenally the disillusionment of the masses who still follow the socialist party and are beduced with democratic fantasies. Upon the background of a socialist government, would be starkly revealed all the cowardice, shamelessness, impotence and reactionism of the social democracy, in such a manner as would become clear to all. That is why the socialist leaders recoil from the prospect; that is why even the most hard-pressed bourgeois thinks twice and three times before taking such a step—for after it might come the revolutionary deluge.

What Is the Official C. P. Doing?

In view of this situation, the official party obviously refuses to adopt the slogan and tactic advocated by the Left Opposition which is for driving the socialists into a corner and compelling them to take a stand in the government which will facilitate the winning of the masses for the revolutionary cause: the slogan and tactic which Lenin's Bolsheviks applied with such exemplary success between the February and October revolutions in Russia. Against this position, the Stalinists adopt a thoroughly sectarian and sterile attitude. Bureaucratic boasting replaces revolutionary tactics.

The party is forced into a position of inactive expectancy, waiting and hoping for the socialist party to lose influence among the masses automatically, so to speak. It is quite true that the socialist party leaders have conducted themselves before and since the proclamation of the republic in a most hideous manner, which has undoubtedly resulted in a certain decline of its influence. Unfortunately, this process is by no means a one-sided one, it is not automatic, and does not follow a straight line. If it took place in a vacuum, one might even establish with mathematical accuracy the point at which socialist influence upon the masses would reach the vanishing point. But it takes place, on the contrary, in a live and complicated environment. Just as socialist opportunism has so often resulted in a strengthening of anarchist and syndicalist ideology in the masses, so also does anarchist sectarianism and impotence frequently drive the disappointed masses back into the arms of the social democratic opportunists. This is being proved in Spain today. One need only point to Barcelona, where the socialist G. W. U. is gaining strength for the first time in years as a result of the hopeless course pursued by the anarchists. Thus these two extremes of the labor movement feed upon each other parasitically. Worse yet, the antics and incapacity of the Stalinists have nullified many of the splendid opportunities which Communism was offered at the expense of the social democracy in Spain. A more detailed exposition of these phases of the Spanish situation we leave to the forthcoming articles.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

MINNEAPOLIS
WORKERS OPEN FORUM
“The Kentucky Miners’ Strike”
What It Means to American Workers
A Lecture by Carl Skoglund
at 1530 E. Franklin St.
Sunday, February 21, 1932
Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition)
ADMISSION FREE Everyone Welcome

BOSTON
A Class on the Fundamentals of Communism
Instructor: Comrade A. Konikow
Every Tuesday at 8 P. M.
at
Elm Hill Building — 532 Warren St.,
ROXBURY
Auspices: Boston branch, C. L. of A. (Opposition)

NEW YORK BRANCH
Classes.
Marxism: Instructor—Arne Swabeck
To Begin Soon. Register At:
84 East 10th St.,

--From Comrade Trotsky's Letter to the National Sections--

1. I have received No. 5 of the organ of our Bulgarian friends, *Osvobodhenie* (Emancipation). This number contains truly astounding material of the maltreatment of our comrades in the prisons by the Stalinists imprisoned there. It appears that a group of supporters of the Left Opposition has been formed against the prisoners in some of the Bulgarian penitentiaries. Against them, a rabid and thoroughly poisoned, that is, a purely Stalinist baiting is carried on, which is fostered by bureaucrats from the outside. One need not doubt that among the incarcerated Stalinists there are not a few honest and upright revolutionists. But when in the name of the Comintern they are told all sorts of atrocities about the Left Opposition, atrocities which they cannot verify in prison, they pour out their prison hatred upon the Left Oppositionists, that is, they take the road of least resistance. The demand of the Oppositionists that these accusations be stated openly and verified, leads to new calumnies and physical collisions.

In Plovdiv (Phillipopol) a few comrades were heavily wounded, the Stalinists applying to the state prosecutor with a complaint against our comrades who were thereupon completely locked into punitive cells. Concerning this incident a letter of comrade D. Gatschev, addressed to the state prosecutor, on October 16, 1931, is published in *Osvobodhenie*. An excellent document which—as the editorial board correctly writes—despeaks the high proletarian morale of our incarcerated friends. In my opinion this letter must be brought out in the whole international press of the Left Opposition; it deserves it in every respect. The declaration begins by pointing out that its author belongs to the International Left Opposition. Further on it says: “Mr. State Prosecutor, I have never wanted and would never permit your interference in our factional struggles. You are the representative of bourgeois class rule against which we are fighting in order to replace it by the rule of the working class. We are a fraction in the class struggle movement of the proletariat which is a foe of the class which you serve.” Since his faction opponents nevertheless turn to the state prosecutor, Gatschev considered it necessary to put the truth correctly. Further on, the tragic episode of the collision, is presented in detail. After Gatschev has quoted Trotsky's article on the impermissibility of terrorized methods in the internal faction fights of the working class, he continues: “We cannot make use of provocation, terror, swindle, calumny, killings, etc., in the struggle against comrades. But when we are assaulted—shall we not defend ourselves? Yes, we defend ourselves because we are no Christians.”

The letter ends with the following words: “The real judgment will be given by the working class. It is to it that I appeal.” Similar incidents took place in other prisons. The public opinion of the working class must be informed as widely as possible about these facts. Our Bulgarian comrades must feel that they are not alone, that there are hundreds and thousands of comrades with them in every country and that the number of their friends is growing rapidly. It should be added that comrade Gatschev was at once time sentenced to death.

2. I have received a group picture of 23 Greek comrades, Bolshevik-Leninists, “Archio-Marxists,” who are incarcerated in Singros prison in Athens. This picture gave me a living and direct idea of the composition of our Greek section. Shameless, paid bureaucrats have had the cheek to call these proletarians whose revolutionary spirit is written upon their countenances—Fascists! Wherever the faction of the Bolshevik-Leninists in Greece has sunk firm roots in the working class the future belongs to genuine Bolshevism, to genuine Marxism. I salute most warmly our imprisoned comrades.

3. Just two months ago we received documents and material from the U. S. S. R., which characterized the theoretical and political work of the leading cadres of the Left Opposition. This material consists of a few hundred small sheets which are written with such microscopic letters (for the purpose of conspirative dispatch) that it took some six weeks to decipher it with magnifying lense in hand. By their external alone they bespeak the high revolutionary efforts that are concealed behind them. The material received after so long a delay, we have begun to publish in the *Bulletin of the Russian Opposition*. In No. 25-26 there is reprinted a large article by comrade Rakovsky and programmatic theses of three exiles. Every reader will be convinced without difficulty of how far the Russian Opposition stands from the idea of a capitulation. The material, which contains the internal discussions in the Left Opposition evidences the high level upon which the theoretical political level of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists is unfolding. In it a new generation of Marxists is taking shape, which will not permit the extinction of the theoretical spirit of scientific Communism. The less opportunity the Russian comrades have to let themselves be heard from at the right time and audibly, the more resolutely and intransigently the foreign comrades must repel intrigues and insinuations of all sorts, regardless of the source from which they come.

The January Conference of the C. P. S. U.

4. The preparations of the January Conference of the C. P. S. U. are entirely under the sign of the struggle against “Trotskyism.” How long ago is it that the Stalinist bureaucracy declared “Trotskyism” liquidated? (Molotov exclaimed: “Coffin, finished!” and so forth.) Is it so long ago that it was established: “The Right opposition is from now on the main danger!” Now we have a new turn. “Trotskyism” is the principal foe!! It is discovered that “Trotskyism” has penetrated into all the institutions of learning, into the most important text books and even into the commentaries to Lenin's works. The Central Committee informs the organizations by telegraph that—while the Right wing opposition seeks points of supports on the land, in the Kolchozes, etc.—the “Trotskyists” raise their heads in the industrial districts. Kaganovitch, the Amsterdamer, presented a speech before the Institute of Red Professors, which fills up a whole page of the *Pravda*, on the need of opening up a struggle against “Trotskyism” all along the line. On the political significance of this campaign, we will have to express ourselves especially in the near future. For the time being, it is sufficient to mention a few facts that leap particularly to the eye. The Stalinist top is compelled to draw the circle ever more closely around it. Ever less and less, can it base itself upon these who repeat the general incumbent formulae of fidelity. That is why it invents supplementary formulae, ever more enormous, which finally culminate in the dogma of Stalin's infallibility. Every attempt at Marxist research in any direction whatever, leads inevitably to conflicts with the ideology of Stalinism. An ever greater number of people who are not connected with “Trotskyism” by anything whatsoever, who are, on the contrary, even hostile to it, fall under the accusation of “Trotskyism.” On the other hand, it appears that the most important Marxian seats of learning in all the higher educational institutions are occupied by oppositionists who have capitulated. This fact demonstrates directly, but very convincingly, that a serious theoretical life exists only within the Left Opposition, so that the Stalinist bureaucracy is compelled to use renegades to occupy the most important seats of learning.

The fact that such a tremendous state and party apparatus is compelled, after eight years of uninterrupted and bitter struggles against the Left Opposition, to concentrate all its forces once again for the struggle against “Trotskyism,” shows the imperturbable vitality of our ideas. The Russian Left Opposition still has a great historical word to say.

—L. TROTSKY.

A TIMELY DEBATE NO WORKER CAN AFFORD TO MISS!

COMMUNISM vs. ANARCHISM IN SPAIN

For Communism: **MAX SHACHTMAN**
For Anarchism: **CARLO TRESCA**

of the Communist League of America (Opposition) Editor of *Il Martello* — well-known Italian-American Anarchist.

ROGER BALDWIN
Chairman

Friday, March 4, 1932 at 8 P. M.
PLACE TO BE ANNOUNCED LATER
Admission: —Thirty-five Cents
Tickets can be procured at the offices of *The Militant*, 84 East 10th St., and *Il Martello*, 82 East 10th Street, New York City.



Labor Fakery Before Congress

The A. F. of L. Bureaucrats Finally Recognize the «Dole»

The other day one hundred A. F. of L. "leaders" submitted a petition for Federal unemployment relief to President Hoover and to Congress. The one hundred marched one whole mile to the White House. It was not exactly a hunger march, this dandy crew of well-groomed portly per-capita absorbers. It must have been a rather grotesque looking affair, in the present unemployment situation.

But this is not the point. There is something else worth nothing in this whole affair. For the A. F. of L. high officials it represents a considerable change of front, since the convention held at Vancouver last fall. Above all, it is important to know the reason for this change of front.

First of all, it signifies further evidence of the slowly growing pressure within the unions, of discontent caused by the ravages of unemployment. The petitioners, so humble in this role, but insolently haughty before their union membership, fear the signs of the coming discontent. They fear its becoming directed against the rulers of a system which is causing unemployment and misery. They fear its becoming expressed in genuine class consciousness. Hence they hurry to head it off if possible.

We recall the traditionally reactionary A. F. of L. policy of servile cringing before the desires of the politically distinguished to Washington. It is this which has particularly distinguished its leadership as agents of capitalism. At the Vancouver convention the assembled high salaried business agents despite the changes in the phraseology of the orators, reinforced this policy in full. They frothed at the mouth against the "dole". They went on record against unemployment insurance and any form of federal unemployment relief.

Would it now seem, in view of this petition, that the traditional A. F. of L. policy is undergoing a change. We fear it would be entirely too optimistic to have such expectations; but these gentlemen are quite alarmed at the prospects of seriously rising discontent. And that much their petition reflects very distinctly.

The petitioners ask for appropriations for direct federal relief; for cessation of wage cuts; for the five day week, for the enactment of the Norris anti-injunction bill and, of course, they also asked for the inevitable 2.75 percent beer. How disadmirably Congress ignored the plea of the humble petitioners, was shown by its adoption at this moment of a number of measures of relief to capitalism. There are the examples of the establishment of the two billion dollar reconstructing finance corporation, of the Glass banking bill, etc. On the very same day of the filing of the petition the Senate leaders girded their loins to defeat even the moderate La Follette-Costigan bill providing an appropriation of 375 million dollars for federal unemployment relief. Undoubtedly more attention would have had to be paid to the A. F. of L. heads if they had undertaken to lead a substantial section of the millions of unemployed in a march upon the White House. But that, of course, they had no intention of doing. It is precisely to prevent demonstrations, which can easily fan a flame of real protest and seriously advance demands, that the petition came forward, and came forward in the manner it did. The government need not at all take serious heed of such requests. It well knows the intentions and designs of its obedient servants.

There may be workers, however, who take this change of front at face value, thinking that it indicates a more progressive attitude and hoping that real leadership for unemployment relief can be expected from the A. F. of L. high salaried officials. Such hopes, of course, are doomed to disappointment. It is true that even these reactionaries are subject to a change of front under compulsion and pressure. They may even under such conditions take steps forward and in a progressive direction. But by their position as defenders of capitalism and hopelessly reactionary make-up any such steps would always remain far behind the actual needs of the workers. Essentially they remain a brake upon the movement and looking for the first opportunity to betray. Nevertheless, the pressure upon them, by the deepening of the crisis and by extension of the wage cut drive, will increase. This pressure would be deliberately and consciously aided, organized and directed by Left wing militants. It should be made articulate and effective, not based upon expectation of results from the official

YOUNG SPARTACUS AFFAIR

The Spartacus Youth Club of New York (formerly the Marxian Youth Club) will hold an affair for the Young Spartacus at the Militant Hall, 84 East 10th Street, on Saturday evening, February 27th. There will be entertainment, dancing and refreshments.

All youth are invited to attend this affair as well as the regular club meetings held every Sunday afternoon at 3:00 P. M. at the above address.

funkeys but, on the contrary, as a means of further drawing the distinction between these capitalist agents and the rank and file workers, as well as a means of moving the masses ahead to build the movement.

This petition for Federal unemployment relief and what it implies should offer an added opportunity to penetrate the ranks of the A. F. of L., in building the movement for a struggle for unemployment relief. As yet however, no serious efforts have been made to extend the movement to embrace the A. F. of L. unions.

The Daily Worker, in its issue of February 11th, says editorially in commenting upon this petition: "The workers' answer should be a wider campaign for unemployment insurance, building up the fighting ranks of both employed and unemployed, fighting hunger and the rotten capitalist system which produces it. In the ranks of the A. F. of L., the movement for unemployment insurance should be made to sweep the fakery off their feet."

This is absolutely correct. But it can be made a reality in only provided the party leadership pursues a policy of the united front in every sense of the word. The opportunity for it has been available; it is becoming daily more pronounced, moreover, its acceptance and practice has become an imperative need.

The efforts of the party in the struggle for unemployment relief, while having something on the credit side of the balance sheet (for example by way of dramatization of the issue) still carry a mounting record on the deficit side. The very demonstrations organized by

The Jailed Marine Workers and the I.L.D.

I have received about a dozen letters from party members as well as I. L. D. members during the last week. All these letters deal with the same question—that of the I. L. D. and its relation to the defense of the prisoners involved in the case. I have not enough stamps nor writing material to answer each letter individually so this statement of facts will serve as a reply to all those concerned. If I am judging correctly, it is evident that a misunderstanding exists in many a comrade's mind as to my personal stand on the question of the I. L. D. I shall endeavor in this statement to settle that very question once and for all—

At the time of our arrest Nov. 16, 1931 we were entirely at the mercy of the police and they knew it only too well and acted accordingly. Hence, the inhuman and beastly 3rd degree and brutal beating. Bunker at the time, asked me whether I thought the I. L. D. would come forward to defend us. I replied that I was sure they would as the organization of the I. L. D. was supposedly non-political and in any event

non-partisan. On the following day, after having appeared in the Magistrate's Court and after having pleaded not guilty it became evident to me that the I. L. D. did not intend to take the case. Realizing that we were facing the rest of our life in prison if the frame up was successful, it became evident that we must obtain legal advice somehow. I, therefore, put through a telephone call from Tombs prison to Mr. Fishman, an attorney who had successfully defended me in another case. Mr. Fishman arrived the same afternoon and upon hearing the case told me that he would see us through, fee or no fee. He has kept his promise.

On the 19th of November, three days after the arrest, I received a letter from comrades Cannon and Treason, informing me that due to the fact that no one had seemingly come forward to defend us, they had in conjunction with other comrades retained an attorney who would call to see us. The following day, Mr. Sabatino called and has since then handled the case as chief counsel with Mr. Fishman as associate counsel. On or about the 15th of December, one month after the arrest, I received a letter from Mr. Brodsky informing me that he had been instructed by the I. L. D. to offer his legal services. I want comrades to bear in mind that this was the first offer we had from the I. L. D. and it came 32 days after our arrest. Bunker, Traje and myself discussed the letter and it was decided that I should write Brodsky asking him to call in order to enable us to discuss the question of the committee and endeavor to find ways and means whereby the I. L. D. and the committee could get together on the question. Nothing was heard from the I. L. D. until 9 days later, when Brodsky came. I asked him how the I. L. D. could explain its attitude in view of the fact that when approached by workers shortly after the arrest they had

(Continued on page 2)

Aid in Our Circulation Drive

Slowly we are developing a group of active, Militant builders. But it is yet entirely too small, and the results have therefore remained scant. To make the proverbial "power of the press" have a meaning for the Left Opposition, the first step must become an active building and extension of its circulation. And today, with several organs being published or about to appear, the extension should embrace the whole Left Opposition press. This is our immediate aim.

There are still a few months of the winter season left which offers the best opportunities among workers being more attentive, participating more in meetings, and being more easily within reach of our propaganda. We naturally depend upon our comrades to support us, to attend these gatherings, to make their contacts, to sell a copy of the Left Opposition press and to endeavor to get a new sub. When practically organized and carried on, this will also help us in replenishing our depleted treasury

OPEN FORUM

Lecture by ARNE SWABECK

The Left Opposition and the Unity Ruse of the Lovestone Right Wing

at the Labor Temple 14th Street and Second Avenue

Friday, February 19, 1932

at 8 P. M.

QUESTIONS and DISCUSSION

ADMISSION: 25 Cents

Unemployed Workers Admitted Free

Auspices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

the party, regardless of the militancy displayed, have constantly decreased in working class participation. The February 4th demonstration was smaller yet than the preceding ones. That down ward tendency is also the status of the movement as a whole. This has become an ineradicable record of the working class attitude toward the party leadership and its policies. And this in a situation of growing pressure from mass discontent.

Is it not clear that here a complete change of policy is necessary. Not merely a change on paper but a change in reality?

—A. S.

World Powers at Loggerheads

Japanese Repulsed in China as Laval Cabinet Falls in Paris

The events of the last week have brought about a very noticeable shift in the relationship of forces among the powers involved in the recent struggle. The unexpected and rather remarkable resistance put up by the Chinese at centering on the Far Eastern question, Chapel has vexed the Japanese aggressors considerably. And the rather cool reception given the French delegation at Geneva, has not served to encourage Tokio any either. The French imperialists have up to the present been the only ones to play the role of apologists for Nipponese militarism.

The bold stand taken by Tardieu has, if anything, only been of service in the consolidation of Wall Street influence in Europe. Isolated internationally by their strong-headed drive for a sharp solution, the French reactionaries have suffered an internal defeat, through a combination of circumstances, by the downfall of the Laval cabinet. The inevitably more moderate regime that will succeed Laval, will not fail to take into account the desires and demands of the Washington government in continuing, under a new guise, the traditional French struggle for European hegemony. After all, the money bags will remain the determining factor in imperialist politics.

Japan, weakened already by her Far Eastern adventure and losing ground continually in her diplomatic disputes with the West, finds herself entangled in a net of strangling contradictions. On the one hand, the Manchurian expedition and the attack on Shanghai have already proved to be extremely expensive, have sapped her resources like a suction pump. A protracted stay in China can only mean the collapse of her financial structure. Discontent at home is maturing rapidly. Despite the censorship, reports of anti-war demonstrations in Tokio and in other cities have found their way into the press. The economic crisis and the unemployment it brings can only aggravate this situation for the Mikado's ministers. On the other hand, the Chinese boycott of Japanese goods has al-

ready piled up heavy losses for her industries. And it is primarily the breaking of the boycott that Tokio is concerned with at present, after the first flush of victory and the ravenous ambitions accompanying it, have dimmed. And even then, it is questionable if the imperialism of the East could repair its losses by merely lifting the boycott, as the situation stands today. At any rate, it may be safely assumed that in the coming weeks, the diplomats at Tokio will be much more "reasonable" in their negotiations with the U. S., Great Britain and the others until new factors intervene.

The temporarily successful defense of Chapel has no doubt raised the morale of the Chinese troops. That the Kuo Min Tang politicians attempt to exploit this situation is only natural. But it is not their intention to make use of it by rallying the masses for a real struggle. For them, it simply constitutes capital in the bid for the support of American financiers. Washington is not at all reluctant to come to the aid of the Chinese bourgeoisie. The centralization of China and its transformation into a stable market for American goods, has always been one of Wall Street's dreams. Any opportunity to realize this dream will be taken advantage of by United States imperialism.

But the Kuo Min Tang has not yet succeeded in establishing a stable bourgeois power in China. All the exigencies of recent years have helped to strengthen the hatred of the masses of the people against the foreign robber powers, America included. They will undoubtedly look upon the Kuo Min Tang's flirtations with Wall Street, with suspicion. This fact cannot help but increase the opportunities of the Chinese Communists to build up their influence and to take the lead in the struggle, supported by the prestige and the backing of the

Soviet Union and the world proletariat. Rumors have been spread about relative to a supposed entente between the Soviet government and the Japanese with regard to the transportation of troops on the Chinese Eastern Railroad. Despite the disgustingly non-revolutionary stand of Litvinoff at Geneva, dealt with elsewhere in this issue, despite the fact that this position at the Disarmament Conference only constitutes another step in the Stalinist degeneration, it is, nevertheless, inconceivable, that there is any truth whatsoever in these rumors. Any such entente could mean only one thing in betrayal of the most elementary duty of a proletarian power—that of intransigent antagonism to the imperialists and their designs against the oppressed colonial masses.

The imperialist powers are busy preparing their households for the coming test of strength. Just how imminent this clash is, may be gathered from the parleys going on at Geneva in the ante-chambers, away from the din of oratorical bombast. These discussions have for their subject the very prosaic matter of restrictions in the use of air-craft bombing on civilians, the distances to be established between battle lines, etc. The utmost watchfulness is required of the international working class. We, too, must be prepared. The tension in Germany, in the face of the March elections, may well give vent to an explosion that will shake Europe. The outcome of the class struggle in Germany will serve as a signal for imperialist action. It is the task of the Communists to lay the ground for a successful counter-action of the proletariat. The first requisite for that is international solidarity. And it is on this point, that the Stalinist leadership in all the parties of the Comintern, and especially in the Soviet Union must be called to order.

—S. G.

Glotzer Meetings

The national tour for comrade Glotzer is now under way. For the information of our readers in the various cities his dates are quoted below.

Previously we announced that comrade Glotzer has just returned from a visit to Europe in which he also spent about four weeks of fruitful discussion with Lenin's closest co-worker, comrade Trotsky. It is the result of this discussion which will form the kernel of comrade Glotzer's lectures. His subject will be:

WHAT IS EUROPE HEADING FOR?

The following is the schedule for Glotzer's tour:

Boston, Mass. February 19
Montreal, Canada. February 21
Toronto, Canada. February 23—24
Buffalo, N. Y. February 25

Meeting under auspices of Proletarian Party Opposition at 416 Pearl St.

Chicago, Ill. February 27—28
West Frankfort, Ill. March 1
St. Louis, Mo. March 2
Kansas City, Mo. March 3
Minneapolis, Minn. March 5, 6, 7
Chicago, Ill. March 9—10
Cleveland, Ohio March 11
Youngstown, Ohio March 12
Pittsburgh, Pa. March 13

The meeting for Glotzer in Montreal will be held at Universite Ouvriere, 85 East Craig St., Sunday evening, Feb. 21, 1932.

The Presidential Elections in Germany

All political parties in Germany are retrenching themselves for the general presidential election to be held in March. At present the nominations are taking place and the most important parliamentary drive in the history of German politics is under way.

Hindenburg has accepted the candidacy of a "coalition" drive to defeat Fascism. He will have the support of the social democracy, the Centrist party, the People's Party, the Economic Party and the Democratic Party. In a word, the "democratic" forces are uniting on the basis of a defense and resistance against Fascism—and Communism. At

the head of this drive stand the socialists. The object is to retain Hindenburg as the "iron man" to save the republic, and also to keep Brüning at the head of parliament.

The Fascists are orientating themselves for the drive. To them the elections do not close the question. They are confident that they can defeat this coalition even on the election field. The Nazi party and their counter-part, the Nationalist party, are grooming their ranks for a united stand against the "coalition". The Fascists are now attempting to force through Hitler's citizenship with the aim of legalizing his participation in politics and acting as a candidate for his party.

It would be the greatest danger to the working class of Germany and the whole world, and particularly the international Communist movement, to believe that the Fascists will terminate their drive for power with the end of the elections. Quite the contrary. In the event of a defeat of Fascism at the election polls, they will begin instantly with a concerted drive for power through an armed coup.

At the moment of this writing, the detailed plans of the combined Fascist and Nationalist front are unknown. There is a certain uneasiness in the ranks of the democratic coalition because of this. They do not know how to resist the Fascist drive. They fear the results of an election defeat of the Fascists because they understand that in such an event, Fascism will resort to an armed struggle against the government.

In this situation the role of the Communist party is of highest importance. Information from Germany demonstrates that the C. P. G. is now concentrating on the elections. Thaelmann is the party candidate for president. The party is now too, preparing for an intensive parliamentary campaign as a fight on two fronts: the fight against Fascism and against the Centre-social democratic coalition, stressing at the same time that the most important fight must be made against the Centre-social democratic coalition, and not the Fascists.

But the danger in the present situation lies in that the party sees no further than the elections. It is correct that the party should carry on the struggle on the election field. But that cannot be the final aim of the struggle. For the Communists it is more important to see further than just the parliamentary (Continued on page 3)

From the Needle Strike Front

The struggle of the dressmakers in New York began a week ago under the auspices of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. The Right wing controlled International Ladies Garment Workers Union postponed the calling out of its shops for more than a week, with the sole object of isolating the fight of those dressmakers who are striking under the banner of the Left wing. While the response to the Left wing was not such as would be desirable, the ranks remained intact all the time since the strike.

(Continued on page 2)

GERMANY
The Key to the International Situation
by LEON TROTSKY
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has been published at the minimum of expense so as to provide literature of a high quality at a price workers can afford to pay. As to the quality—that we are willing to submit to our readers to judge. But we expect they will also, upon the inevitably favorable judgment, do their part to help build the Left Opposition press.

During the period of the drive, we offer for Militant subscriptions the following conditions:

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Six months subscription: \$1.00—a copy of The Strategy of the World Revolution (paper bound) by L. D. Trotsky.

Three months subscription: \$0.50—a copy of any one of our 10c pamphlets.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST REVIEW will appear in 48 pages, bi-monthly in the beginning. The price per copy will be 15c. Subscription will be \$1.50 for 12 issues and \$1.00 for 8 issues. Help us build the Left Opposition Press!

MINNEAPOLIS
COMRADARY
for
"UNSER KAMPF"
Saturday, FEBRUARY 27, 1932
9 P. M.
at the home of
J. E. L. K. I. N.
1127 Gerard Ave., N.

The Jailed Marine Workers & the I.L.D.

Soderberg Explains the Disruptive Role of the Stalinists in the Defense Negotiations

(Continued from page 1)

turned us down with the excuse that they did "not want to reopen friendly relations with Soderberg". He told me to "forget it." After some discussion it was decided that Brodsky call on Sabatino with a view of cooperating as an attorney and that the I. L. D. get in touch with the committee. To date, Brodsky has not called on Sabatino nor Fishman. From this date, November 15th to January 19th and two days before we were scheduled to go to trial, nothing more was heard from the I. L. D.

On January 19th, Stern, Organizer-Secretary of the New York district of the I. L. D. called and saw me here in prison. He said the I. L. D. had sent him to offer the services of that organization. I pointed out to him that we were going to trial in 48 hours so what could he do now? He stated they had been too busy with other cases. As far as he personally was concerned, he had just arrived from Pittsburgh where he had been at the time of our arrest and therefore did not even know we were arrested until his arrival in New York a couple of days ago. How sincere this individual was can be judged by the fact that at that very moment was resting in my pocket a letter written to some friend of mine dated New York City, Nov. 25th, with an official I. L. D. letterhead and telling my friends that "Soderberg has associated himself with some racketeers", was "an enemy of the workers" and finally that "this is not an I. L. D. case" and warning my friends to "keep hands off." I knew he was lying when he spoke to me but I did not want to do anything that would prevent the I. L. D. from joining with the committee in the defense. I told him that I was still ready and willing to accept the I. L. D. in conjunction with the committee. A few hours later an attorney arrived bringing with

him a statement drawn up by Carl Hacker, N. Y. District Organizer of the I. L. D., which in effect asked us to dissolve the committee and discharge the Attorneys Sabatino and Fishman. We pointed out to him that it would be against all ethics and principles to do so now but in order that no one should say that we turned any defense offer down, we would be willing to accept the I. L. D. attorney as associate counsel if that would be satisfactory to our attorneys. That evening I sent a letter to Stern informing him that I was willing to go to any extent to make this a real united front of the defense.

I stated, however, that I would not under any circumstances tolerate a dual defense movement. I endeavored in my letter to make all kinds of concessions in order to leave the door wide open for the I. L. D. to come in. The following day, Mr. Buitenkant, the I. L. D. attorney, arrived and we had a discussion. I asked him to explain the previous actions of the I. L. D. where they had spurned us and even referred to me as a stool pigeon. In reply, he stated that they had been mistaken, that their previous actions were erroneous but that they now were willing to rectify the errors.

I asked him to leave, so the defendants could discuss the matter. I was warned during this discussion by both Bunker and Trajer that the I. L. D. was not sincere in this offer. I refused to believe it at the time. I could not conceive of an organization playing with the very lives of three workers. I could not imagine the extent of their irresponsibility and treachery. How correct Bunker and Trajer were later events have proven. Later Buitenkant returned and shortly after, Sabatino and Fishman arrived. We informed Buitenkant that we could not and would not support our present attorneys nor discharge the committee that had worked faithfully for us. My stand was that I was still willing to ac-

cept I. L. D. attorneys as associate counsel with Sabatino as chief attorney, providing arrangements could be made with Sabatino and Buitenkant. It soon became evident, however, that this was impossible due to the obvious belligerent and domineering manner of Buitenkant towards Sabatino. He informed Sabatino that he did not understand the case, knew nothing how to defend it, etc. It should be borne in mind that Sabatino had gone through the case carefully several times but as far as Buitenkant was concerned, he had not even looked up the indictment and certainly had not asked us what it was all about. As Brodsky stated, "It is an ideal I. L. D. case." "We have the dynamite," "We have the workers framed," "And we have the stool pigeon!"

That is all the I. L. D. knows about the case to date, yet an attorney that has spent three months working on the case does not know "how to defend it." It was evident that we could come to no arrangement after this. The following day we went to trial and a mistrial was declared. Upon returning to my cell I found a telegram from the I. L. D. offering to take over the defense. Although I at this time was certain that the desires of the I. L. D. leadership was not so much to defend us as it was to disrupt the defense committee, I still wanted to keep the welcome sign up and wired the I. L. D. that my stand was still unchallenged. I. e., I was still unwilling to accept the I. L. D. attorney with our attorneys, but that there was a danger of a disagreement among the defendants and that there still was time to fight, in view of the mistrial.

This is a true picture of happenings since our arrest and up till January 25th. On that date, the official organ of the party comes out with a vicious attack upon the Marine Workers Defense Committee and accuses the committee of betraying the defendants. As one of those defendants I state openly and knowing the full meaning of my statement, that the betrayal is at the hands of the I. L. D. leadership. Not only have they betrayed the three defendants and viciously stabbed them in the back, but they have betrayed all that is fine, that is decent, that is sacred in labor's principle.

They have shown themselves to the rest of the working class as open collaborators with the prosecution, first at the time of the arrest when they left us at the mercy of the police and treacherously sneaked away and actually assisted the authorities with their thinly veiled provocative articles in their press, and secondly, when they, under excuses of wanting to correct these past errors, came in and came with one purpose only—that of smashing our defense. In their eyes we are but political pawns. Our lives mean nothing to them. They are not concerned. They have played a game in this case so despicable, so utterly anti-working class that it makes one wonder and ask, why? What are their purposes?

Of one thing I am sure, if we are acquitted at our trial it will not be because of the I. L. D., but rather in spite of the I. L. D. There is one gratifying feature about this case. For the first time in modern labor history has it been found possible for Anarchists, Syndicalists, I. W. W. and Communists of different factions and A. F. of L. trade unionists, to sit at the same table and discuss ways and means of freeing members of their class. This is an achievement but it is precisely this achievement that the party bureaucrats—with their blind, mad, factional rage—are trying to split. They tried, by lies, to stampede the workers at our arrest. They did not succeed. They cannot understand it. I ask comrades, workers everywhere: Support the Marine Workers Defense Committee which is the only body that has the full and undivided confidence of the defendants.

JACK SODERBERG,

Tombs Prison
February 4, 1932

N. Y. Open Forum

The subject of comrade Shachtman's lecture on Saturday, February 13, held before an audience of about fifty workers, was "Imperialist Aggression in China—the danger of War". The facts and arguments advanced by comrade Shachtman constituted a brilliant confirmation of the forecast made by comrade Trotsky in November, in his pamphlet *Germany—the Key to the International Situation*—"there is no threat of an immediate and acute danger to the existence of the Soviet Union from the Far East."

While the *Daily Worker* and the Stalinists saw in the Manchurian events principally a series of maneuvers against the Soviet Union, the Japanese imperialists were preparing the attack on Shanghai. With the realization of their immediate objective in Manchuria, they shifted their scene of operations southward, leaving the *Daily Worker* analysis hanging in mid-air. Nothing daunted, the *Daily* sees in the attack on Shanghai, the beginning of an assault against the Chinese Soviet Republic, that mythical creation of bankrupt Stalinism.

While the cannon roar in Shanghai and the civil population is ruthlessly slaughtered the suave diplomats meet in Geneva to discuss disarmament! To this orgy of hypocrisy and jockeying for favorable position comes that bright star of Soviet foreign policy—Litvinoff. Not to be outdone by Grandi, the Fascist spokesman, he proposes as the only solution to the problem of war—complete disarmament! But not to seem impractical, he is willing to accept less as a beginning.

So clear was the opportunistic policy of Stalinism at Geneva, so evidently incorrect was the Stalinist analysis of the Manchurian and Shanghai events, that there was no discussion in opposition to comrade Shachtman's presentation of the point of view of the Left Opposition.

ORGANIZATION NOTES

Our subscription drive is getting under way. That there are real opportunities for extension of circulation of the Left Opposition Press is indicated by letters we have received recently. We quote from one received from a comrade from Pittsburgh: "What I learned for a short while reading *The Militant* and the paper from Greece called *PALLI TON TAXEON* (Class Struggle) I never learned for six years reading the *Empress*, the Greek language paper of the official Communist Party of America. I received your Greek paper *COMMUNISTES* which was sent to me, and found it very interesting." The comrade subscribes to *The Militant* for *COMMUNISTES* and orders some literature.

From a Chicago comrade we received the following: "Please find enclosed money order for \$2. for renewal of subscription to *The Militant*. I am out of work since May last year. The little savings I had are gone and I live on charity at the present time. That has never happened to me before. The only thing they could not take away from me is the same old hatred which I feel for our wonderful order of society, the capitalist system. I hope the comrades are able to keep *The Militant* going as a weekly."

This should be a good incentive to *The Militant* builders. We have had among the most active ones of the recent months such comrades as Hedlund from Minneapolis, Sacharow from Chicago, Schechet from Boston and Goodman from Philadelphia. Comrade Goodman is now going to serve his term in Prison but we expect the Philadelphia branch to follow his fine example and to keep up this work. And we count surely on

more comrades joining the ranks of *The Militant* builders.

The New York branch has elected a special committee in charge of the drive. Each member is required to bring in at least one subscription. The record of accomplishments will be kept on the bulletin board. This branch expects to be in the lead. Comrade Tom Stamm is giving special attention to the subscription drive in his capacity of being in charge of *The Militant* circulation.

Our Second National Tour

This week, comrade Giotzer is starting out on his national tour. Public meetings have been arranged in the various cities which will serve to further bring the views of the Left Opposition on the burning issues of the class struggle before the American workers. It will serve to give added life and added strength to the branches as well as to make more firm their contacts with the Centre. A couple of big features of this tour are to be a planned address over the radio from St. Louis and a debate with A. C. Townley at Minneapolis.

The subject of Giotzer's meetings will be in the main center around the issue of the international movement, and particularly of Germany. Comrade Trotsky calls Germany at present the key to the international situation. It is decisively so. We propose to follow up regularly in *The Militant* columns with information of all developments in Germany and endeavor to make a searching analysis into the events and perspectives. We propose that in addition to Giotzer's meetings the branches should wherever possible bring the subject forward at open forums and public meetings arranged by them. They should also, when an opportunity is available, endeavor to have our comrades speak on this subject before labor organizations. We expect the situation in Germany to become a subject for serious discussion by our membership as there are many important lessons to be learned in such discussions. Above all should this opportunity be utilized to spread comrade Trotsky's pamphlet on Germany far and wide.

AFTER THE R.R. WAGE CUT

In our previous article on the Railroad Brotherhoods, we quoted a United Press report to the effect that on Jan. 14, Railroad capital and Railroad labor "sat down across a conference table determined to provide dividends for rail investors and work for unemployed rail men."

Accordingly, the recent Chicago railroad wage conference had a two-fold purpose. First, to provide more profit for the millionaire investors in railroad bonds and stocks, more money for the rich who do not need it and did not earn it, and this money was to be taken from the poor railroad workers who needed it badly for food, clothing and rent, the very necessities of life. Well, the first purpose of the wage conference was accomplished by taking \$215,000,000 from the railroad workers wages and giving it to the railroad capitalists. But what happened to the second question work for the unemployed rail workers? That was only a bluff in the first place. The Brotherhood misleaders, who have nothing in common with the workers anyway, never had any intention from the beginning, of getting any work for its unemployed members by accepting a voluntary wage cut for those who were unemployed. Ignorant, incompetent and overpaid as these Brotherhood officials are, they nevertheless know, and admit in their final agreement with the railroads, that wage cuts will not create more work but diminish it.

Complete Harmony prevails at the Wage-Cutting Meet

According to T. C. Cashen, one of the participants at the conference, there was no disagreement between the Chiefs on the question of taking the ten per cent cut for the men. The only difference of opinion which arose in the conference was over "the policy of procedure". The policy agreed upon was to take the cut for the men right there and then. The Chiefs did not want their cronies Dan Willard to wait until they put the wage cut through the mill of the Watson-Parker Law, because that might have delayed the cut for another thirty or sixty days. As a matter of fact the Brotherhood Chiefs were so anxious to serve and please the railroad Chiefs that they worked overtime on Saturday, January 30, in order to get their letter of acceptance in shape for presentation to the railroads on Sunday, Jan. 31st, so the cut could be put into effect on Monday, February 1st. And to show by their own words the brazen betrayal of the railroad workers at this fake wage conference at Chicago by the Brotherhood leaders, we will quote in full their letter to Willard accepting everything the railroads asked for. Read it carefully:

The Palmer House
Chicago, Illinois
January 31, 1932

"Mr. Daniel Willard
Chairman, Committee of Nine
Railroad Presidents
Chicago, Illinois

"After a painstaking review of the proposals and arguments which have been ably and forcibly presented in behalf of the railroads, we feel compelled to reiterate our previous opinion that as a matter of pure right and justice, the railway employees could not be called upon to agree to a ten per cent reduction of their meagre earnings. Nor do we wish to give any assent to the theory that wage deductions are to be regarded ordinarily as the appropriate means to promote prosperity. We cannot believe that the public welfare is advanced by reducing the purchasing power of our

responsibility to the workers whom we represent and our country, we have weighed the urgent needs of the railroad industry and the demands of the public welfare in this present unparalleled situation against the individual sacrifices requested of the railroad employees. In the hope that our action may improve the health of our industry, may improve the cooperative relations of management and employees, may stimulate a revival of business, and may advance the general welfare, we have decided to accept the proposal of the railroads to the employees whom we represent, that—

"Ten per cent shall be deducted from each pay check for a period of one year beginning February 1, 1932:

"Basic rates shall remain as at present;

"This arrangement shall terminate automatically Jan. 31, 1933.

"We attach the following conditions to this acceptance of your proposal:

"(1) That the formal notices served by the railroads whom you represent upon the organizations of employees whom we represent, seeking a fifteen per cent reduction in present rates of pay, shall be withdrawn and further proceedings thereunder discontinued.

"(2) That the railroads whom you represent will agree that without attaching any limitation upon the use of funds derived from this pay roll deduction, the participating railroads will make an earnest and sympathetic effort to maintain and increase railroad employment.

"We trust the foregoing proposition will meet with your favorable consideration.

Very truly yours,
"(Signed) D. B. Robertson
Chairman, Railway Labor
Executives Association."

We believe that the above letter constitutes the most open and shameful betrayal of the railroad workers in the annals of the Railway Labor Movement. The two feeble conditions incorporated in the letter and numbered, (1) and (2), are both pure fakes, and are merely put in there by the labor skates to cover up their treachery to the workers.

The request for a fifteen per cent cut referred to in condition (1) was never a serious proposal in the first place. If it had been, it would have been put into effect. In all probability it was a suggestion by the Brotherhood leaders to enable them to make the workers believe that their leaders saved them something. As a matter of fact, everyone knew, who studied the matter, that what the railroads really wanted was a ten per cent cut and they got it. Press reports released at the very beginning of the conference on January 14, stated so frankly.

In condition (2) where the Brotherhood Executives stipulate "an earnest and sympathetic effort to maintain and increase railroad employment", they got nothing. The railroads agreed to two things and those two they got, namely: A 10 per cent wage cut, and the offer on the part of the labor leaders of cooperation with the railroad management. Items (4) in the final agreement reads as follows:

"The parties unite in expressing unqualified approval of whole-hearted cooperation between management and employees and agree to do everything they can in support of this policy."

The only thing the railroad workers got out of the Chicago wage conference, was another costly lesson on the bankruptcy of its overpaid bureaucracy with its class cooperation policy and the useless character of the craft system of organization.

(To Be Continued)

—A. E.

The Sims Murder

The know-no boss-class in Kentucky terror of the hounds. Not content with brutal repressions and beatings, they have resorted to murder. Cold, planned, premeditated murder.

On Wednesday morning, February 18, William Sims, nineteen year old organizer of the National Miners Union and member of the Young Communist League was shot down by deputy thug, Orbin Miller in the employ of the Rockefeller controlled mine interests in Pineville, Kentucky. He died a few hours later. Lawson Green, a N. M. U. organizer, who was with him when the shooting took place was arrested. As Sims lay dying in a Knox County hospital the Indiana district attorney kept plying him with questions. All urgings from hospital nurses and friends of the young organizer, to have that torture cease, proved futile. When the district attorney finished his inquisition the bed was saturated through and through with the red blood of the young miner and Communist. The end came a short while after.

Murderer Orbin Miller who went through a formal arrest was later released by county Judge Baker of Barbourville. The reason given being that he (the deputy murderer) shot either in defense of himself or his accomplice. "So it didn't matter." But it does matter! It matters to the starving and struggling miners in Kentucky. It matters to all those impoverished southern workers, black and white, fighting for the right to organize. It matters to the entire militant working class.

Lawson's killer Orbin Miller was rejected. His testimony was rejected because he was a miner. His testimony was rejected as invalid because he dared tell the miners of Kentucky-Tennessee of their serf-like existence. His testimony was rejected because he dared tell them organize. In the County Court of Barbourville, Kentucky, Orbin Miller's testimony proved valid and just because he has a general reputation as a killer. Because he served a sentence in jail for robbing the Cumberland Gap post office. This degenerate's testimony was placed against the testimony of Green Lawson, miner and organizer and the court decided in favor of the degenerate, the killer.

From the Needle Strike Front

(Continued from page 1)

workers; openly or behind the backs of the workers these class collaborators and parasites will give up what still remains of the conditions that the dressmakers won through many bloody strikes. It is this danger of leaving the conduct of the strike in the hands of the Schlesinger machine and their Lovestone helpers that makes imperative for the Left wing to call for:

(1) UNITED PICKET LINES. (2) FOR IMMEDIATE FUSION OF THE TWO STRIKE COMMITTEES. (3) FOR A CONFERENCE TO CONSIDER THE SETTLEMENTS JOINTLY.

The banner of the Left wing can again be raised high among the thousands of organized and unorganized dressmakers in the struggle for unity, in the effort to bring about One Union, in the fight for better conditions for the needle workers. The great mass of dressmakers will march under the Left wing banner when they see it unfurled for unity.

BOOK REVIEW

Unemployed Councils in St. Petersburg in 1906 by Sergei Malyshev Workers Library Publishers.

This pamphlet is an interesting and popular account of the unemployed movement led by the St. Petersburg Bolsheviks in 1906. Although the situation in which this movement developed is radically different from that which surrounds the unemployed here of today, nevertheless one reads these pages with the hope of finding some general experiences which are instructive for the Communists at present. And to be sure, this is to be found in the tactic used by the Bolsheviks in involving the employed workers in the fight for the interests of the unemployed.

The unemployed council movement in St. Petersburg developed on the declining wave of the 1906 revolution, which had already attained its climax in the Moscow uprising of December. The fright which the Russian rulers had experienced as a result of the revolutionary actions of the proletariat plus the well organized movement of the unemployed enabled the Bolsheviks to wrest some concessions from the St. Petersburg city Duma for the unemployed. The unemployed situation itself had been artificially created by the bourgeoisie through a lockout of the workers in the last months of 1905 in retaliation against their revolutionary demands and actions. In the beginning the St. Petersburg Soviet had assumed the responsibility of caring for these tens of thousands of locked out workers, but after its suppression the Bolsheviks commenced the organization of the unemployed councils. Unlike the present unemployed councils which consist of all unemployed who wish to join them, the St. Petersburg unemployed councils were representative bodies. The unemployed workers elected their delegates who composed the unemployed councils. The first unemployed council consisted of thirty delegates.

The author relates how after its organization he and the president of the Unemployed Council went to Lenin to report what had been done to organize the council. "Vladimir Ilyitch heard what we had to say, and then said he had some doubts as to whether the Unemployed Council alone could fulfill its program by its own efforts."

Lenin told them: "Through this organization alone you cannot influence the bourgeoisie; you will not be strong enough, and the unemployed workers themselves will not be able to develop this work on a broad proletarian class basis. Therefore, you must immediately extend the Unemployed Council to include representatives of those employed in all the factories and mills in St. Petersburg. You must now begin to agitate in the factories and mills for this purpose, and immediately arrange for the election of these representatives. The Unemployed Council must consist not only of 30 representatives of the unemployed, but of 100 or 150 from all districts, from all factories and mills. This will provide the unemployed with a genuine proletarian leading body which will really be able to exert pressure successfully on the City Duma and on the bourgeoisie generally."

In accordance with Lenin's suggestions, the organizers proceeded with the further formation of the Unemployed Councils.

While the suggestions of Lenin are not applicable in their exact form for the unemployed movement in the United States, nevertheless, the essential idea, that is, that the unemployed themselves cannot compel the bourgeoisie to alleviate their condition to any appreciable extent, but must gain the support of the employed workers, remains particularly true today. In St. Petersburg where the workers had already experienced the organization of Soviets, it was proper to go to the factories to obtain the support of the employed workers. In the United States, unfortunately, this cannot yet be done, that is, not on a mass scale, for the workers are not ready for it. But it is possible to go to the trade unions. It is possible to fight within the trade unions for their participation in the unemployed movement. This of course requires a correct trade union policy and a correct unemployment program, neither of which the Stalinists possess. The proposal of the Left Opposition to organize the unemployed councils on the united front basis is in accord with Lenin's idea. This would transform them from their present feeble and insignificant state into organizations of influence, really capable of conducting a fight to help the unemployed, and develop the class consciousness of the proletariat.

The author traces the progress of the St. Petersburg Unemployed Council and the successes it was able to win until its liquidation when the reaction became very black. Of interest is the story of how the Bolsheviks were able to finance a whole series of strikes with funds obtained by the unemployed council from the City Duma. This was done among other ways by listing the strikers as unemployed. The author narrates a number of other interesting occurrences which makes this pamphlet very readable.

—G. R.

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IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

The Character of Fascism

An Analysis of the Composition of the Hitlerist Camp

In October 1930, the central committee of the C. P. G. decided overnight, that Fascism is reigning in Germany and that Bruening is its prophet. The 11th Plenum of the E. C. C. I. put its seal upon that, and all expectations, nourished by the "deviations" and inconsistencies in the resolutions, in the speeches of Remmele, etc., that the German central committee would revise this decision and take reality into account, have come to naught. Under the mask of a "theoretical elaboration", a large current of confusion is flowing through the party into the minds of its membership and the only one of the four credos of the Thaelmann article in December which is actually being preached, is: "We live under Fascism!" "Fascism and social-Fascism in the last analysis are two different shades of one and the same basis for the bourgeois dictatorship" (Mannusky's report to the 11th plenum).

It is therefore not at all strange that the resolutions of the 5th world congress have been raised from their graves and that Stalin's theoretical infantile maladies, like "social-democracy as a moderate wing of Fascism", "social democracy and Fascism as twins" and other abortions of the same sort are being preached as eternal truths. It is only being consistent for a Warner Hirsch* (Die Internationale, Vol. 15, No. 1) to counterpose democratic England and France to "Fascist" Germany!

The question of the evaluation of the situation, the question whether we really have Fascism already in Germany, is of the greatest strategic importance. If one takes an affirmative position on this question then one must come to an entirely different point of departure, to an entirely different (and distorted) evaluation of Hitler, as well as of the Fascist danger in the perceptible future. For in that case the question of a formulation becomes the question of a prognosis of the most likely development.

The theoreticians of the Comintern are operating with commonplaces like "Bruening and Hitler are both merely dictators of the bourgeoisie. Between an open Fascist dictatorship and the Bruening government there is in no case any class difference whatsoever." These are elementary truths for every Marxist.

The essence of Marxist analysis does not, however, consist in the recognition of the general, but of the particular, of the concrete. The essence of a valid political characterization does not consist of the ability of fastening it on to every, but to a definite, political situation.

Can the expression "Fascism" serve as a characterization for a specific political phenomenon, for a definite situation? It can. But in that case, what is "Fascism" actually? A review of European, and especially Italian Fascism, permits us to elaborate certain specific features of it, without any difficulty. Fascism is a unique and new phenomenon of the period of monopoly capitalism, a product of post-war capitalism, an offshoot of reformism.

As the collapse of economy spreads, as reformism begins to disappoint the masses looking for a way out, Fascism is saddled everywhere with the task of intercepting the radicalized masses who are about to turn revolutionary channels and of faking them useful once more for the purposes of finance capital. It is a matter, in this case, first of all, of radicalized petty bourgeois masses and consequently, we see everywhere, as a particular feature of Fascism—its broad petty bourgeois mass basis. Furthermore, we see as a consequence of this, the super-radical and quasi-revolutionary, typically petty bourgeois phraseology, the desecration of the idols of yesterday—democracy, pacifism—and the idealization of the most brutal strongman dictatorship. We see further an unrestricted terror of the Fascists against the working class and all its organizations before and after its seizure of power, through particular organs (Fascist Storm Divisions, etc.)—a terror of such a great quantitative proportion that it becomes transformed into a specific quality. Finally we see the nationalist ideology as a maneuver of diverting attention from social misery and as the basis of an aggressive foreign policy, which is possible only on the backs of a defeated working class, for whom the revolutionary way out is closed. It is especially significant to take into account, as Alfred Kurella has done, the strong war sentiments current among the Italian workers.

Its origin and the tasks assigned to it by the bourgeoisie, account for the position of Fascism with regard to the social democracy. Fascism, which cannot tolerate any other party, not even a petty bourgeois one, at its side, can least of all tolerate those for whom it must substitute, because they have compromised and outlived themselves. It is quite true that the social democratic leaders would like to rule together with Fascism, but Fascism would not share its power with them. Despite the offer for a coalition made by the Baldisi of the Socialist Party of Italy, the S. P. I. was proscribed even before the C. P. I. Despite all the services rendered to Pilsudski by the Socialist Party of Poland, its leaders nevertheless landed in the fortress of Brest-Litovsk. Just as it is certain that

several D'Aragnas will go over to Fascism, it is certain that the reformist organizations in themselves will be totally crushed.

"Fascism, nourished by the social democracy, will and must eventually crush its skull, in order to reach power. The Austrian social democracy does all it can to facilitate this surgical operation for it, (Trotsky)."

That is why the formula of "social Fascism" is not only harmful in agitation, but also false as a political prognosis.

When we consider, after this brief analysis of Fascism, the present day Bruening government, the differences are unmistakable. Its social basis consists unfortunately, as yet of the reformist workers chained to it by their treacherous leaders and not of the petty-bourgeois masses of Fascism even though it does indeed maneuver with the latter from time to time. The ideology of the Bruening who base themselves upon a parliamentary majority, is conservative and not quasi-revolutionary. The terror of the state apparatus is as yet in its embryo. It restricts itself to the toleration of the Nazi terror. The foreign policy of Bruening is not that of Hitler. That is what differentiates Bruening from Fascism. What brings him closer to it we know full well; it is the regime of emergency decrees, the factual even if not formal, suspension of democracy, the active support of the Nazis, etc. If we want to evaluate the Bruening government as a whole, we must characterize it not as Fascism but much more precisely as the government of the transition to Fascism, of the active preparation (Groener!) of Fascism.

The difference between Hitler and Bruening consists not in the aim but in the social basis (what Thaelmann, Mannusky and Co. say about their common social basis is pure twaddle). It consists in the methods. And that is something that must not be overlooked.

The Government Reprisals in Greece

AGRI, GREECE—January (Our correspondent).—On December 31, 1931 State troopers arrested comrade Demetrios Mylonas, President of the Panrefugees Organization of Agri, and led him to the Police Headquarters. There the lackeys passed him through the third degree and locked him in a dark cell. At midnight, the Chief of Police Anastopoulos arrived at headquarters and immediately began to examine our comrade. During the hearing our comrade declared that he is a Communist and as President of the "Panrefugees", he carried the book and a protest leaflet, which they discovered in his pocket.

It is, however, conscious deception to characterize this order of things as the "lesser evil", as the social democracy is doing. Because the "lesser evil" Bruening is being tolerated by the S. P. G. and not fought by it, it becomes by itself an ever "greater evil" and is enabled thereby to prepare the "greatest evil" so impudently. It is clear that to differentiate between Bruening and Hitler does not as yet signify a policy of toleration. The Marxist manner of posing the question is given by Trotsky in his latest pamphlet:

"We Marxists consider Bruening and Hitler, together with Braun, as component parts of one and the same system. The question which one of them is the lesser evil, has no sense, because the system against which we are fighting, needs all these elements. But for the moment, these elements are in conflict with one another and the party of the proletariat must take advantage of this conflict in the interest of the revolution!" —E. BAUER, Berlin

(To Be Continued)

*This gentleman, still convalescing from the Merker malady, is seeking to squeeze his way into the front ranks of the bureaucratic jackals again, by howling himself hoarse against Trotsky ("Trotsky, an agent of Hitler-Fascism"). In his day, he himself, after leaving the C. P. G., did not disdain the role of a genuine "agent of Ulstein".

Immediately, this bestial policeman attacked our comrade with a black jack shouting that he is a member of the Unemployment Committee which met this Monday. Confronted with the Bolshevik courage of our comrade, the beast continued his attack with rabid madness for a whole hour until our comrade began to bleed. At the end he did stop with the threat that he is going to kill him in case he continues to be an active Communist.

The following day they called comrade Mylonas for another hearing.

But how Anastopoulos was able to learn of the meetings of the Unemployment committees which are illegal remains a mystery. In this organizational committee Stalinists also participated and there it is possible that this treachery is the work of stoolpigeons which exist in the Stalinist ranks.

The condition of comrade Baboucoupos continues to be the same and the wounds in his shoulders are not healed and therefore he can't move from his bed. The Municipal Hospital shows a criminal neglect and the same attitude is shown by the I. L. D. Our comrades have to care for him. In the meantime the condition of our comrades within the prisons walls remains the same and we urge the formation of a committee of workers and intellectuals to bring to light the criminal activities of the Warden who are aiming to exterminate our fighters by every device of terror.

We are informed that our comrades of the Averof prisons are going to declare a hunger strike because the Ministry of Justice did not reply to their demands.

The "Students Syntrifia" circulated leaflets and appeals to every intelligent person, worker or intellectual to participate in the rally which is scheduled to be held at the "Trionon".

The Stalinists in Bulgaria

Use Violence against Oppositionists in the Prisons

We are bringing below the document of comrade D. Gatcheff, incarcerated in the Philippopol Prison in Bulgaria, mentioned in the February 6th issue of *The Militant*. It speaks highly of the revolutionary quality of our Bulgarian comrades, whose splendid morale should serve as an example and as an inspiration to all Communists, and to the Left Oppositionists in particular.

To the District Attorney of the Philippopol Court, Petition of the Prisoner Dimitri M. Gatcheff, sentenced to life long imprisonment, a member of the International Left Opposition under the leadership of the brave comrade Trotsky and Rakovsky, against G. Ogianoff, T. Nikoloff, Boris Dimitroff, etc. Mr. District Attorney:

I should never have desired or tolerated your interference into our factional disputes. You are a representative of the power of the bourgeois class against which we are fighting and for which we want to substitute the power of the working class. We are a faction in the labor movement hostile to your class justice and to your class itself of which you are one of the representatives. But in the moment in which my opponents of the other faction turn to you and demand justice from you, I am forced to bring the truth, in the first place, before the working class and then also to the attention of your tribunal. At any rate, the responsibility for this interference on the part of our class enemy into our internal disputes, rests upon my opponents.

For a long time there have been existing several factions within the labor movement; the Right the Centrist and the Left. Of late, the approach of decisive struggles between the classes has brought about an aggravation of the factional disputes.

The Left faction in Bulgaria, as it exists at present, came to the fore towards the end of 1928. The opponents

of our faction, incapable of conducting an ideological struggle and of withstanding our tactics, resort to personal attacks, provocation and threats, employing all the means unworthy of a revolutionist. They have more than once published all sorts of stupidities about us, for which they have never brought any proof. We have answered all these provocations in a firm and disciplined manner, by pursuing our course, the course of the Marxist Left Opposition.

They have threatened our friends that they would throw them out from the third floor windows of the Central Prison. They have spat into their plates to deprive them of the meagre nourishment granted by the class enemy. They have attempted to get two of our friends killed at the hands of paid assassins. (At the Haskovo Prison) they have crushed the skull of one of our friends. They have made attacks upon the lives of our friends in the prisons of Silveu, Vidin, etc. They have stolen letters directed to us. That has become a system with them. They murder our friends in Russia, in the fatherland of the workers and peasants. They imprison, they sentence to deportation Bolshevik-Leninists like Trotsky, Rakovsky, Muravov and others. They have shot upon our friends in China and elsewhere. I must emphasize that all these deeds have not been committed by the Communist party but by one of the factions and that is—the Centrist faction, which is only a bureaucratic and paid apparatus, with Stalin as its head. They act without the knowledge or the desire of the Communist party and in this manner they stab a knife into its heart and into the heart of the working class.

Ever since my arrival here, these filthy affairs have also begun with regard to myself. I have more than once challenged them to make public their "accusations" and to counterpose the two points of view. They have always avoided this and have been continuing their attacks.

On the 11th of this month, after some similar quarrels and provocations, I met G. Ogianoff. I told him that they would remain cowards and rogues as long as they would not adopt an open declaration. Upon this, T. Nikoloff and G. Ogianoff almost simultaneously fell upon me with the cry, "Traitor!". Nikoloff beat me with a stick over my head, Ogianoff struck me in the right eye with his fist. This was the cause of the entire scuffle. The result was: One of our comrades was wounded in the head, myself in my ear, and one other also on the head. On their side: Two wounded and several suffering lighter injuries. That is the whole truth, the rest is pure invention.

In No. 16 of the Russian Bulletin, comrade Trotsky, condemning the attack against members of the Left Opposition in Canton, states: "We will never employ terroristic methods in the factional struggles within the labor movement. It is the task of the Left Opposition to take special care with regard to this. Firmness, will power and discipline are indispensable!" Yes, we are fighting against the system of provocation, terrorism and cold blooded murder within our ranks. Can we also make use of this? No and never! We can never employ provocations, terrorism and murder against our comrades. But once we are attacked, we must defend ourselves for we are not dogs. Our factional opponents are at present playing in the role of the thief who cries: "Stop thief!"

They are organizing more attacks. They are employing more provocation and they tell stories of threats and provocations coming from us. We declare that we shall answer all their threats and provocations as we have in the past, with firmness and discipline.

We shall not employ the same weapons as they do, and accuse them of being connected with the management of the prison, but we shall tell the working class that they are being tolerated by this management—and that when they raise their hands against us they are acting unconsciously as a tool of the bourgeoisie.

Stalin himself is unconsciously a tool of the Ramsins when he shoots Opposition fighters, when he exiles them, throws them into prison. And the Ramsins are the conscious instruments of French and international imperialism. History also has its logic and that is the logic of the class struggle.

I protest not only against the situation, which my opponents remain "free" (i. e. they are in the regular prison), which permits them to hunt up witnesses and to continue the slanders against us—I protest against the fact that we, who have been wounded and beaten without any guilt on our part, are condemned to solitary confinement and subjected to an insufferable regime. It is possible that for the necessary enjoyment of sun and air only 30 to 40 minutes are to be granted to us in the day?

I shall furnish you with sufficient evidence that the responsibility does not rest upon my shoulders without attempting to throw it on anyone else. The working class alone will judge who is really guilty and it is to it that I address myself.

D. GATCHEFF

-- Sharp Changes in the Foreign Policy of the French Imperialists --

(Continued from last issue)

For the reasons enumerated in the first part of this article, the Lausanne conference, which is to occupy itself with the question of reparations, that is to say, in the last analysis, with the Versailles Treaty, will be confronted with such troublesome and unstable conditions. If it is to be a matter of taking up the Young plan, the French will refuse to participate in it and will maneuver to postpone it. Germany intends to play its own game there, taking advantage of the attitude of the U. S. England considers it futile to lose its time there. If it should be impossible to include the question of the debts to the U. S. As to Italy, she wants to make of it a tribute from which to appeal to the mercy of the U. S., who are in control of all its railroad stocks, by putting forth the threat of a "united front".

It is indisputable that the development of the crisis and the movement of the proletariat and the impoverished peasant classes of Eastern Europe require some sort of a way out for the bourgeoisie. Germany, Poland, Rumania, Hungary live on top of a volcano. Each bourgeoisie is conducting a fierce struggle against the working class, ruining its own home market, and consequently, also the foreign market of the others, reducing the working classes as a whole to actual servitude. But even this policy is insufficient to resist the monstrous onslaught of America, coupled with the strictures of the economic crisis. That is why the struggle against the proletariat cannot go on without the intervention of a certain amount of agreement among the rival imperialism, that is to say, without some of the imperialisms achieving certain temporary advantages over the others. France intends to maintain her own advantages. For this price, she is ready to tolerate the Fascist counter-revolution in Germany, in order later on to drive its point against the U. S. S. R. The East European states are also being encouraged by France to prepare for an armed struggle against the U. S. S. R. But Germany is still seeking to liberate herself from the fetters of Versailles, from the "tribute". For that is the only means of easing her difficulties, but also at the same time the one by which to shatter the hegemony of France in Europe.

The development of this situation which has been maturing for several months has brought about a displacement in the directing apparatus of the French bourgeoisie. Briand was the man of the period of ascent of French imperialism, on the basis of the Versailles Treaty, after the defeat of the Poincare foreign policy. Faced with new difficulties, he has little by little withdrawn from the scene. Heavy blows are in store for France from the outside. The recent ministerial crisis has reflected this forecast. Some demagogic reserves still exist; they constitute first of all: the radical party, which has just asserted, that in so far as foreign policy is concerned, its program jibes with that of Laval.

The necessity of an internal struggle against the proletariat, the growth of unemployment, the awakening of the labor movement, combined with the need to mask the aggressive policy of France and perhaps also the defeats which it has undergone, beneath the veil of pacifism, also constitute important facts. The radicals and socialists will play this role and will doubtless, consciously prepare to play it much more openly in view of the approaching elections.

Thus, once more, and this time with a character of extreme urgency, the clashes between the imperialists show the way to the only genuine solution: the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the installation of the dictatorship of the proletariat which alone will solve the problem of the socialist United States of Europe. The C. I. is at present engaged in a struggle along the lines of the "nationalist and social" liberation in the different countries. It provides further

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The Presidential Elections in Germany

(Continued from page 1)

ary struggle. For us it must be clear that the elections can at best act as a certain barometer of the tendencies to the political situation.

However, to plan the campaign of the party without bearing in mind the situation as it will appear after the elections, the trend of the struggle in the event of a defeat or victory of Fascism, is to lose oneself in a purely parliamentary struggle. Such a situation would result in continued defeats of the party and victory for the black forces of reaction.

What should the party do now? It should prepare for the struggle that will follow the elections. The Opposition has pressed for a change of line on the part of the C. P. G. We have attempted to make the party realize that the situation in Germany is a revolutionary one, that it ought at present prepare its forces for an eventual armed struggle for power. The elections should serve as an indicator of the relation of forces and

If the party is to successfully defeat help in the preparation for the conflict. Fascism and all the forces of reaction, it is necessary that it first change its analysis of the political situation, and reorientate itself accordingly. Concretely, this implies an acceptance on the part of the C. P. G. of the extreme danger of Fascism in Germany. The most important task confronting the party is the organization of the united front of all workers in the struggle against Fascism. But for this it is necessary that Thael-

mann and Company first drop the theory that "the main danger is the social democracy".

If the party does not at once change its orientation, the leadership of the C. P. G. together with the T. C. C. L., will be held responsible for the defeat of the German working class. It is they who are responsible for the failure of such a change today and for weakening the position of the workers which signifies, in effect, strengthening the position of Fascism.

The elections will decide nothing definitely. At best they may postpone for a short time the decisive struggle. Between Fascism and Communism only the armed struggle for power will decide the future. Supposing that the Centre-social democratic bloc should win the elections. It will at best give the working class more time to prepare itself for the final struggle. A victory of Fascism will push to the foreground the extreme acuteness of the situation, and force it to a head. In either case the election result will not change the perspective of struggle.

The party must foresee all the implications beforehand. The elections must serve it as a means of organizing its forces. The C. P. G. must begin to actually promote a genuine united front of the workers and their organizations. The perspective must be that of struggle to defeat the Fascist front as the step toward the proletarian seizure of power.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

for an "alliance" of the countries in which this revolution will be victorious with the U. S. S. R. This perspective is false. The United States of Europe on the basis of Socialism will require a complete fusion with the U. S. S. R. As against the anarchy of capitalist Europe, it is not sufficient to counterpose the "harmonious" economic development in the U. S. S. R., for it is not a matter of a simple hypothetical comparison that remains abstract in the eyes of the proletarian masses. As against the pseudo-efficiency of the imperialists, as against the "European unions", as against the conferences of Lausanne and the European "united front", it is necessary to counterpose the agitation around the slogan of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for the realization of a Soviet United States of Europe. The internal ruin of bourgeois Europe is characterized by its extremely chopped up, parcelled off economic picture. This tattered character is an obstacle to the economic development of society as a whole. But the bourgeoisie seeks only profit and the advantages of competition. Only the proletariat, only the broad exploited masses can realize the socialization of the principal means of production, after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the conquest of political power, as well as the socialization exchange production and planned economy for a broadened market, through the elimination of the manifold national barriers winding around Europe. This is the perspective which we counterpose to the bourgeois utopias.

—LA VERITE.

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EDITORIAL NOTES

LEARN FROM THE WORKERS

The sound impulse of the militant workers to maintain solidarity with persecuted members of their class under all conditions has again been demonstrated by the latest actions of Local 2090 of the carpenters' union in regard to the marine workers' defense. At the same time it has been shown again how far upstart bureaucrats, holding office by appointment and freed from accountability to the ranks, can depart from the principles they claim to espouse, and even to monopolize.

Local 2090 contains quite a few progressive and militant unionists, including a number of sympathizers of the official Communist Party. The I. L. D. has had a strong support there and the carpenters have responded every time to its appeals for class war prisoners. They took the idea of non-partisan labor defense seriously, apparently, that the officials of the I. L. D. who had talked to them so much about it. Consequently when an appeal was made to them for the marine workers they responded just as loyally as they had done in other cases. The principle had taken root in the union, and the few members, inspired by the Party and I. L. D. bureaucrats, who tried to sabotage the action succeeded only in damaging their own prestige.

It might be thought that this warning would have been sufficient to put a stop to such trifling, at least in this union. But the Stalinist generals and field marshals have hard heads, very little shame and absolutely no respect for the intelligence of the workers. They thought there must be some mistake, and they undertook to correct it. Hacker, the district organizer of the I. L. D., took an evening off from his arduous labors for the principle of non-partisan support of class war prisoners to go to the union and explain that it did not apply in this case. Having learned by the previous experience that the carpenters could not be turned against the prisoners, he switched the attack to their defense committee and proposed that the union should withdraw its support from that body.

The ruse did not work. Without showing any prejudice one way or the other, the carpenters decided to hear both sides before coming to their final decision. They invited the defense committee to send a speaker to the next meeting. After hearing him they voted to continue their support of the marine defense committee until the end, without slackening any of their help to the cases defended by the I. L. D.

In this action the workers gave two lessons to the bureaucrats. On the one hand they showed that what they are really concerned about is workingmen in jail and not the auspices of their defense. On the other hand, rejecting the sabotaging tricks of the Hackers, they maintained their solidarity with the prisoners defended by the I. L. D., in spite of the Hackers. In both cases we believe they were right. Their actions show a line of principle, and that is what is needed to find the right answers to questions of the class struggle.

UNIFIED FRONT IN PRACTICE

We have heard a lot of twaddle about the united front from the Left Opposition who have described our struggle for principle as "sectarianism". But for all that, the first concrete example of the united front which has not involved a sacrifice of principle—the marine workers' defense committee—was initiated by the "sectarians" of the Opposition. So far all of its activities have been of a positive character and we have no reason to regret our participation in it. What the future will bring we cannot know, but this much is already clear: the formation of the committee carried into life an almost forgotten principle, it rendered a timely service to persecuted workers and therefore to the class they represent. Thereby it is justified.

The event may have a certain effect on future developments in the Left wing labor movement. Hopes—as well as fears and speculations, depending on the source—are spoken of all around in this regard. But in our opinion the hopes as well as the fears are considerably exaggerated. We think now as we thought before that the problem of the united front, taking all the circumstances—and primarily the splits and relation of forces in the Communist ranks—into consideration, is a long way from solution. The work of the marine workers defense committee is at best only a contribution, by way of example, toward that solution.

Most empty and groundless of all is the talk about our participation in this joint struggle signifying a "change of policy" on the part of the Communist League. Those who draw this conclusion show that they know no more now than they knew before about the question of the united front. The defense committee is in no sense a political combination. It is not a union for joint struggle on a wide front of the class struggle. It is a simple agreement to cooperate on a single concrete issue, the most obvious one and the one having the widest appeal to the honest workers in all camps, and in a case which would brook no delay. You cannot stall around and negotiate very long when workers are facing trial;

you must either help to defend them or desert them. We chose the former course without any illusions as to the possible results and without altering our fundamental conceptions on the subject of the united front in general.

Another point needs to be considered in appraising this conditional, limited and—from our point of view—unavoidable united front action. That is its experimental character. Our part in the endeavor was conceived as a class duty at the moment. We never guaranteed the results of the effort. So far they are good, far better in fact than was to be expected. But we are willing to leave predictions as to the final outcome to others. We will draw our conclusions at the end of the experience.

Nevertheless the experiment up to date has all tended to confirm in practice the conceptions we held in advance regarding the difficulties of carrying through a united front action without the participation of the official Party. The logic of the situation works against its success, and it is only the exceptional circumstances and the limited character of the issue, which we naturally took into consideration beforehand, that prevented a disruption of the present action.

The rude provocations of the Stalinists could only have the effect of nourishing and strengthening the anti-Communist elements, which are present in this case as they will always be. The Stalinists, by their whole course, prepared the ground for the transformation of the defense committee into a concentration point against Communism. This did not happen, and it is not likely to happen. There were and remain certain safeguards against it. By the nature of the case and the origin of the movement the Communist are in a position to fight more effectively against such a distortion. The principle of unity—against the capitalists and not against the Communist Party—has been firmly established in the policy and work of the committee and will not be easy to change. And finally, this direction is strengthened by the attitude of the prisoners who have a decisive word and have spoken it clearly for this policy.

All of this goes to show that we are dealing here with an exceptional situation from which it would be most unwise to draw hasty and general conclusions for the future. We must rather concentrate on the problem of the moment. The treacherous maneuvers of the Stalinists have been branded as they deserved to be. The task now is to hold the defense movement to the basis of principle upon which it has worked up to now, which alone could maintain its class unity and justify its existence.

MORGENSTERN AND GOODMAN

The imprisonment of revolutionary workers is nothing new, even in America

where only the first skirmishes of the great class struggle have so far taken place, and Morgenstern and Goodman are only two more added to many. Yet the departure of these militants represents a unique development and has an exceptional significance. It fell to them to be the first to fall victims to direct class vengeance against the revolutionary wing of the Party. The case against them was purely political; the indictment was based exclusively on the contents of our unemployment leaflet. Hitherto this persecution has been refracted through the distorting lens of the controlling centrism, which is a form of alien class influence upon the movement. In the persons of Morgenstern and Goodman, American capitalism has struck directly at the Left Opposition. Thereby it has conferred a singular honor upon them and upon the cause they symbolize and represent.

Beyond all doubting there will be many more to follow in the stormy times that must intervene between the present period of preparation and beginning and the day of the final victory. Our doctrines which are destined to become the fighting ideas of millions will receive their verification in the heat of mighty conflicts in which no resource of violence and oppression will be neglected by the class enemy. In these fires the cadres of the revolutionary vanguard will be steered and tested. There will be many victims. The example of Morgenstern and Goodman will have its value for those who are to follow. We can all be confident of this because those who carry our flag into the Pennsylvania jail are not strangers to us. We know them as fighters. These young and unassuming, and yet stalwart, revolutionists take with them our affection and our faith.

Despite their youth, Morgenstern and Goodman have already earned their standing in the Communist movement; there are six or seven years of activity behind them. They belong to the founders and organizers of the Left Opposition in America, and before that they fought on the side of the proletarian tendency in the party. In the ranks of the Opposition they have been distinguished by their qualities of stability and endurance, by their stubborn adherence to principle and their capacity to go against the stream. They combined a courageous open fight for our ideas against heavy odds with the modesty that befits the young revolutionist who doesn't know it all. In them there is not a trace of the ugly presumptuousness of those academic upstarts who conceive of revolutionary education as a set of scholastic exercises. The jail will not hurt Morgenstern and Goodman, it will only make them stronger.

As is known, the Stalinists, who dispose of the party press and the defense organization of the I. L. D. and abuse the good faith of the workers who support them, refused any assistance to our two Philadelphia comrades. They deserted them in the court of the class enemy and gave not a published word of notice to their conviction and sentence. We will not forget that. In the final accounting for their rudeness, their dis-

The Right Wing of Spanish Communism

The Truth Concerning the Actual Policy and Influence of the Maurin Group

The Spanish Communist movement is divided into three distinct groups: Right, Left and the Center representing the "official" wing of Communism. In these divisions, the Spanish movement is not at all unlike the movement in every other important country. Where it differs is in the relative strength of each of the three wings. In distinction from most other countries, the Left Opposition in Spain can easily stand comparison with the official party from more standpoints than one. In addition, the Right wing group in Spain—at least at the time I visited the country; I learn that the ratios have since changed considerably in favor of the party—is as large in one district as the official party is nationally, if not larger. And what is more, enjoys practically a monopoly on the Communist movement so far as Catalonia is concerned.

The Spanish Right is organized into the Catalan-Balearic Communist Federation and its electoral apparatus, the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc which, in all important respects, supercedes the Federation. The Federation was the representative of official Communism in Catalonia until a short time ago when the split took place between the Catalonians and the Madrid Executive Committee of the party over the insanely sectarian trade union policy which the latter sought to impose upon the party members against the will of a majority of them. The trade union dispute which was of such vital importance at the height of the revolutionary upsurge—involving as it did the whole future of the National Confederation of Labor which was being resurrected—was rendered increasingly acute by the extraordinary bureaucratic regime prevailing in the party. The attempt of an irresponsible and unrepresentative clique, terming itself the "Executive Committee" to foist itself upon the membership, willfully, met with obdurate resistance, particularly from the Catalan Communists.

The result was that, as has happened everywhere else, the bull-headed arro-

gosity, their violence and their slander we will also present our bill for their treachery to Morgenstern and Goodman.

In their actions in this case there is revealed, as by a promiscuous flash, what these people will be capable of in the future when events will put the great class questions categorically, when no one will be able to dissimulate, to hide or to evade. The day of reckoning will come. Let us hope that it will come before their course unfolds its ultimate logic in a catastrophe for the movement. The names of Morgenstern and Goodman will be a banner for us in the fight to hasten on that day.

—J. P. C.

The Litvinoff Stand on Disarmament

The "Disarmament Conference of the great imperialist powers is taking place at a time of the moral collapse of bourgeois pacifism. In the face of the bloody Sino-Japanese conflict, the bankruptcy of the Kellogg Pact, the League of Nations and the various other designs of the imperialists to fool the masses with illusory perspectives of international peace, the imperialists in Geneva feel the shaking of the very foundations of their "peace" institutions. The masses in capitalist countries who are suffering, starving and in a state of fear of an approaching world conflict of unheard of dimensions, have lost their confidence in their present rulers. They seek a new world, for an inspiring thought that would show them the way out of their torturous conditions. Who could be expected to bring them that inspiration if not a representation of the Soviet Union, who could present the exploited and deceived masses that vitally needed message in their hour of desperation, if not the builders of a free working land?

The opportunity to fulfill this historic mission was conferred upon M. Litvinoff by the Soviet Government. Litvinoff did fulfill his mission, but in a tragic manner. His proposals for peace at the Geneva Conference were disappointing and if they had any value at all, it was that of soothing the shattered nerves of the imperialist diplomats and morally strengthening the tottering structure of the so-called League of Nations, the Kellogg Pact and other schemes of deceiving the masses. Litvinoff's proposals may also have the effect of reinforcing the hopes of the soft-boned, chicken-hearted liberals and social-democrats who are sharing in this pacifist fraud with the imperialists. The workers of the capitalist countries, the millions of unemployed, could not read anything out of Litvinoff's proposals.

What did Litvinoff propose? A remedy against war? He proposed disarmament to the capitalist governments, total disarmament, if acceptable, partial, if more practical. How well it fitted in with the program of the Conference and its objectives! The Conference is out to accomplish just this modest task of reaching a common agreement on reducing armaments. They all talk about it. They all offer plans to achieve it. Litvinoff's proposals were just appropriate for the occasion. Besides, he is moderate and conciliatory. He is ready to compromise on a plan of partial disarmament so as not to appear "impractical" to the imperialists. In a word he was obliging

and willing to cooperate. If there was any distinction between his proposals and those of the French or Italian delegates, that distinction was only technical, but not in essence. As put by the New York Times correspondent: "Litvinoff completes the circle of these suggestions. As was fitting for the delegates of the New Russia he went to the extreme limit." Litvinoff repeatedly emphasized, "The only way to prevent war is general and total disarmament." This half truth is the crux of the whole problem. As a Marxist, Litvinoff must know that this half truth lies at the foundation of bourgeois pacifism and that it is an utterly false theory. He must know that according to Marx, wars are inevitable under capitalism. He did not, however, mention a word about the abolition of the capitalist system a condition sine qua non of the abolition of wars. He did not as much as suggest the necessity for the international proletariat to achieve the socialist revolution if not in their own interests, at any rate in the interests of the Soviet Union. On the contrary, he said, "The sole aim of the Soviet government is to build up socialism in the Soviet Union." In other words, the Soviet government wished to be assured by the capitalist governments that their capitalist nature would not assert itself in regard to the Soviet Union.

The same New York Times correspondent remarks, that, "In international quarters, the Soviet delegation was credited with being marked with moderation and as likely to increase the possibility of success for the Conference." Surely, the correspondent has in mind the moral success of the imperialist leaders of the Conference. Thus Litvinoff's mission instead of being an inspiration to the international proletariat has turned into its opposite by rendering moral success to international imperialism. Such is the logic of Stalinist dialectics. Litvinoff went to the "extreme limit" of this logic.

For the sake of comparison with the true Bolshevik-Leninist attitude taken by another representative of the Soviet government, we shall quote from Chicherin's note to President Wilson in reply to his message to the U. S. Congress of January 18, 1918, on the question of the League of Nations and the conditions for World Peace. Dated October 24, 1918:

"But the League of Nations must not only settle the present war. It must make all wars impossible. It cannot be unknown to you, Mr. President, that

the capitalists of your country contemplate continuing in the future the same policy of conquests, and of exaction of high profits from China and Siberia, and that fearing the competition on the part of the Japanese capitalists they are making military preparations in order to overcome the resistance which may be offered them by Japan. You undoubtedly know of similar plans of the ruling capitalist circles with regard to other territories and other nations. Knowing this, you will have to agree with us that it is not possible to leave the factories, mines, banks in the hands of private individuals, who always use the great means of production created by the masses of the people to export the products and capital to foreign countries, to extract from them excessive profits, provoking imperialist wars by their struggle over the booty. We propose, therefore, Mr. President, that the expropriation of the capitalists of all countries be adopted as another of the basic principles of the League of Nations, etc. . . ."

Why did not Litvinoff take this correct stand? He could not because that would not be in accordance with Stalin's theory of "Socialism in one country," which is a reversal of Leninist internationalism. This morbid theory is the original source of the opportunism and moral stagnation to which the official Communist movement is doomed by the Stalin leadership. It is this spurious theory that has limited the role of the Communist parties to that of mere frontier-guardians of the Soviet Union, with little value and significance in the international proletarian revolution.

Lenin's internationalism is considered by the Stalin leadership "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism" and its place is taken by national opportunism. Marxian teachings on the laws and development of capitalism are substituted by petty-bourgeois pacifism and putrid opportunism. The signing of the Kellogg Pact by the Stalin Government was a violent breach of Lenin's internationalism. Litvinoff's proposals at the Geneva Conference are of the same character.

Lenin conducted a bitter struggle before and after the world war against pacifism. The Stalin leadership at the Geneva Disarmament Conference has given aid and comfort to the imperialists and their pacifist agents. Let the Communist workers take note!

ALBERT ORLAND.

ance and blundersomeness of Stalinism literally drove hundreds upon hundreds of the best Communist workers into the camp of the confusionists and opportunists. Skillful leader, popular figure in the party and among the workers, revolutionary of long standing and prestige, Joaquin Maurin, with his associates Arlandis, Arguer, Sese, Miravittles, and others, was able to win the leadership over the whole Communist organization of Catalonia "and the Balearic Islands". To such an extent that the official party today, while it grows with sometimes phenomenal speed in other parts of the land, has practically no strength whatsoever in Catalonia, where the Maurins have some four to six thousand (the figure has increased since I left) in the Bloc.

The structural relations between the Federation and the Bloc are reminiscent to an American Communist of the fabulous plan of Pepper & Co. to build a mass party in the United States by the simple expedient of organizing the "Federated Farmer-Labor Party" on a "mass scale" and then suddenly converting it into the Communist Party. In Catalonia, too, the Federation controls the Bloc, and is led by precisely the same people dressed in different uniforms as occasion requires. But there is one feature of it which is worse than what the glittering Pepper conceived. While the still-born F. F. L. P. was at least formally conceived as a bloc composed of various organizations otherwise independent of each other, and admitting no individual membership, the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc is in no real sense of the word. The Communist Federation directs it; like the Federation, the Bloc is based upon individual and not group membership; in a word, it is an enlarged caricature of the Federation itself, and nothing more.

Yet there is something more. The Maurinist justification for the two organizations is that the Federation should be "pure" and take in only educated revolutionists, Communists; it must be somewhat "narrow". But "as Lenin taught", the Communist party, i. e., the Federation, must surround itself with broad mass organizations into which even non-Communist elements may be taken. Such an organization, the Bloc is supposed to be. It is much larger than the Federation; it takes into its ranks all sorts of elements, including "Catalan Left" supporters and people to the right of even this bourgeois group.

The whole point, however, is that the "Bloc" increasingly dominates the "Federation", instead of vice versa—that is, assuming for the moment that the whole idea is not a vulgar derision of Lenin's teachings. In the elections, it is not the Communist organization which is presented, but the candidates and platform of the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc. In this case, substance marches side by side with form. The expelled minority which Maurin finally criticized, sharply assailed the whole policy of the Right wing leaders in the elections. Wherever the Bloc was active—and most of its militants are also Federationists—the face of Communism was heavily veiled with the more attractive colors of opportunism. Instead of advancing and popularizing the revolutionary slogans, the Bloc organizers devoted their attention to playing upon the petty bourgeois prejudices of the nationalistic elements. It is no exaggeration to say that the largest proportion of the Bloc's growth has been among the petty bourgeois elements and among the employees and office workers, particularly in Barcelona, where the factory workers in the Right wing organization are very few. On the countryside, the members of the Bloc are mostly peasants, tenants and even small proprietors. These elements, flocking to the banner of the Bloc, do not remain passive there. They exert a growing petty bourgeois pressure to which the leaders yield with a grace learned from the art books of opportunism.

The source of strength of the Maurins lies precisely there; in its petty bourgeois surrender to the backwardness of the workers and peasants of Catalonia. The party of Macia, the "Esquerra Catalana", the various other factions of the Catalanian bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, have all moved to the Right since the proclamation of the republic. This is particularly true of Macia, the former idol of the petty bourgeoisie. The marked shift to the Right of what was formerly the Left wing of the Catalonians, has created a vacuum in the field. Politics abhors a vacuum as much as nature does. It seeks to "fill the vacuum." In Catalonia, the space left vacant in politics by the Macians is being occupied by the Maurinist group, the increasingly popular candidate for the post of extreme Left wing of the Catalonians.

Not having an influence over the decisive sections of the industrial workers, particularly those organized in the C. N. T. (National Confederation of Labor, the strongest trade union center in Spain, controlled by anarcho-syndicalists, and now by the "pure" anarchists), the Maurins have been making the most desperate efforts to gain a real foothold there. In this field too, the vulgar opportunism of this Right wing group bobs to the surface. In order to lend himself the appearance of a strength he does not possess, Maurin talks constantly of the all-saving head of a united front in which no other organization, not even the official Communist party, figures at all. The syndicalists and the anarchists do not even bother to reply to Maurin's fantastic proposals and schemes. For, with all the insistence upon his "Leninist correctness", Maurin has developed

an idea for Spain which has few if any rivals in recent revolutionary history. He approaches the C. N. T. with the plan that it should take power! Neither more or less. The patent ridiculous of the very idea being propounded to precisely those elements—anarchists and syndicalists—subsequently made it necessary for Maurin to retreat a bit on the slogan.

Maurin spent some time trying to convince me that his group had never raised the slogan of "All power to the C. N. T.!" They had proposed, he claimed, the slogan of "All Power to the Proletariat!" Unfortunately for Maurin, I read that very evening a copy of the popular agitation organ printed in the Catalan tongue and edited by Miravittles, in which the slogan of "All Power to the C. N. T.!" was repeated and elaborated upon. Later on, a copy of Maurin's official organ, *La Batalla*, reprints an interview which he granted the Buenos Aires *La Nacion*, in which he says literally:

"The Trotskyist faction is insignificant. It is made up of a few dozen more or less unknown intellectuals. Its specific weight is practically nil. Towards the Spanish Revolution, they take a completely Right (!) position. They advocate that the working class cannot yet aspire to taking the power when it has no constituted Soviet organization. They propose as a solution that the Socialist party should assume the power. Their reformist social democratic past weighs down upon them enormously. The Workers' and Peasants' Bloc contends that the working class should take the power. And through the medium of hypothetical Soviets but with the aid of the existing organizations. Without being syndicalists, we believe that the syndicates (trade unions) can be powerful instruments in the taking of power by the proletariat. We propagate the taking of the power by the C. N. T. We will lend all our aid to a syndicalist government."

What a "syndicalist government" would look like, what it is, what its ingredients are, what it resembles—remain secrets sealed with seven unbreakable seals which not even the syndicalists can—or have they even cared to—open. It is hard to believe that Maurin does not "know better"; it is the plan of the Right wing opportunists, however, to win the syndicalist workers by this slogan; what is gained, in actuality, is the muddying of the waters and the spread of confusion among the workers. In this respect the Catalanian Right wing is no different from its sisters-under-the-skin in other countries. Maurin is clever enough, by the way, not to affiliate with the Brandlerist "International". It would gain him absolutely nothing, for he knows what this "International" is worth, and it might shut the door for him to re-entry into the official party on his own terms, i. e., as party leader. He told me that Brandler had sent a letter of inquiry, and that B. D. Wolfe, of the Lovestone group, had also written to attempt to establish relations. But the wily Maurin wants to have nothing to do with the rest of the Right wing, although he is blood relative to them. Yet he is like Brandler and Lovestone in that he is prepared to criticize the effects of Stalinism in any country in the world—except in the U. S. S. R., where, apparently, the ordinary laws of the physical and mental sciences no longer operate.

It should not be thought that Maurin is in any mood to capitulate on Stalin's terms. He is too flushed with the progress of the Bloc to do that. Already, a delegation of the Comintern containing such stars as Bela Kun and Humbert-Droz has visited Spain for the main purpose of winning over the Federation. But so compromised and discredited is the official party among the workers there, that the Maurin machine was able to nullify practically all the arduous labors of the delegation. Out of the thousands "available", the C. I. got only about three score comrades, led by Arlandis and Sese, who demanded of Maurin that he actually unite with the official party instead of merely writing appeals on the subject. Maurin, who is always ready with an elaborate speech on the absence of democratic procedure and of the right to speak freely in the official party, promptly expelled the whole group of Arlandis and Sese. Hence, by the by, a little burlesque was enacted, with the fiercest passion that bureaucracy had gripped the vitals of the Federation, that Maurin was a dictator, that the rank and file could no longer discuss the problems of the revolutionary movement, that expulsions were a bureaucratic answer to criticisms, etc., etc. Their cries had little effect, for only a short weeks before their own expulsion, they themselves, together with Maurin "the dictator", had engineered the expulsion of members of the Federation who sympathized with the Left Opposition and insisted upon discussing the disputed issues—comrades Molins, de Cabo and others. It all depends upon whose ox is yoked!

The Comintern failed to break Maurin's power in Catalonia primarily because the alternative it had to offer caused the Communist workers to shrink away. In this case as in all others, almost everything depends upon the party. An incompetent party, which refuses to learn and therefore cannot teach and lead, will never produce big results. The Stalinization of the Spanish Communist Party is being paid for today by having thousands of militant workers and peasants led deeper into the swamp of compromise and confusion by the clique of Joaquin Maurin.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.



Germany Before the Elections

The latest dispatches from Berlin report the long expected announcement of Hitler's candidacy in the coming presidential elections to be held on March 19. The New York Times of February 24, 1932, in its editorial comment on this subject, chides the German reactionary brusquely for his "tactical" mistake. "By lining up with the venerable president of the Reich," the Times goes on to say, "he would have added to his dimensions as a responsible statesman without surrendering anything of his prestige as a crusader." It is quite plain that Wall Street is rather vexed with the developments in German internal policy. Reconciled for some time now with Fascist ascendancy it nevertheless dreads the thought of social convulsions conjured up by the picture of a break with "legality" by the Nazi leader, to whose popularity with international reaction it has, of late, contributed not a little. In a combustible political atmosphere like the present, what with the rumbling of the cannon still in full swing in the Far East, every abrupt turn in the situation of any of the outstanding European countries is a cause for the greatest anxiety on the part of American capitalism already dizzily spinning in the whirlpool of the world crisis.

But, in Germany itself, it is not only the National Socialists who are oriented for sharp and open class warfare. The entire bourgeoisie is prepared for it, knows that it must come, and lends the most direct aid to the Fascists in their aims. Only a short two weeks ago, Groener, Hindenburg's Minister of the Reichswehr lifted the ban against National Socialists in the army, an act equivalent to an open offer of military collaboration with the Hitler hordes. A German newspaper, the *Spandauer Volksblatt*, brings an even more interesting report:

"For weeks, intensive military exercises are being held on the parade grounds of Doberitz (near Berlin). The participants in these exercises are National Socialists. As many as 3000 men have been counted at each field day in the course of the last few weeks. . . . The exercises take place on the property of the Reichswehr. In front of the entrances, soldiers stand on guard. These are entrances bearing signs to the effect that civilians can pass only with the permission of the commander. . . ."

In addition to all this, there is, of course, the Nazi terror in the proletarian quarters, which goes on unabated, without any interference on the part of the police. On the other hand, all attempts of the working class to take measures against this terror, are put down without much ado, no matter from what section or tendency they arise. In one of his proclamations to the army, the same Groener declares:

"I will never tolerate the preparation of an auxiliary militia, as it has been spoken of in certain Reichs Banner (reformist) circles. . . . Such organizations lead in the last instance, to workers' and Soldiers' Councils and similar revolutionary formations". It must be remembered, in passing, that the Reichs Banner is not even as exclusively working class organization by the composition of its membership. But the fact alone that the Reichs Banner does include a great many social democratic workers, makes it insufferable to this minister of the "democratic German Republic", for which the Scheidemanns and the Eberts saw fit to destroy the flower of the German proletariat in 1919.

While the Fascists are feverishly preparing for their attack behind the scenes, the attention of the entire German nation is occupied by the forthcoming elections. The Fascists have selected Hitler, the Centre and the middle parties, Hindenburg; and the Communists, Thaelmann for their respective presidential candidates. The social democrats are chiefly concerned with ways and means of making the former Hohenzollern Field Marshall acceptable enough for the workers in their ranks, as the defender of democracy! This despicable aim of the social democrats, which falls in line with their entire tradition of working class betrayal, is one that stands open to successful attack on the part of the German Communism. The social democratic workers are just about nauseated with the shilly-shallying of their leadership, who by their tactic of piece-meal capitulation to the Bruening-

Hitler policies have lost nearly everything that still held the workers in their ranks attached to the social democratic party. A very great part of the social democratic electorate will undoubtedly vote for Thaelmann in the elections, regardless of the decisions of their leadership. And this fact is of great importance for the Communists, provided they can link up the extra-parliamentary struggle for the social democratic workers with it.

Unfortunately, the German Communist Party, bound hand and foot by the utterly false tactics of the Stalinist leadership, with its disastrous theories of "social Fascism" and the "united front from below", has not been able to progress very far in the struggle for the reformist workers in the factories. Despite the enormous increase in the Communist vote during the elections held in the course of the last two years, with the S. P. G. losing ground continually, the situation in the factories still remains well within the hands of the social democracy. 83.6 out of every 100 Works Council seats still go to the reformists, while only 3.4 per cent go to the Communists. Without an advance in the factories, all the gains in the parliamentary election will have no meaning. But in order to push forward in the factories, the German party must give up its false, un-Leninist conception of the united front, cast aside the obstructionist theory of "social Fascism" and reorientate itself along the

The Glass-Steagall Bill -- A Measure to Aid the Bankers

American capitalism twisting and squirming under the lash of economic law, is making strenuous efforts the present time to bring about a revival. Plan after plan is being thrown at the country, only to go down in defeat, leaving barely a ripple on the declining crisis curves. But a few short days after the creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the administration at Washington announced the new, bi-partisan, anti-depression measure, the now much heralded Glass-Steagall Bill.

The capitalist class of this country, failing to see any indication of a coming revival, even now, two and a half years after the stock market crash, are attempting to, through a series of well timed and big scale maneuvers to restore this "confidence" that has supplanted all their economic theory. It is only in an actual analysis of the proposed steps that their valuelessness as measures for revival can be exposed. Particularly is this true of the present Glass-Steagall bill.

"Big Free Gold Gain", "Credit Expansion", "Increased Currency", we read in the newspaper headlines. What are the actual facts? Is there a stringency of credit at the present time? What might this "big free gold" lead to? These are the questions to be answered.

Any economist will admit that were there a demand for credit at the present time and the banks were unable to satisfy this demand, any steps taken to relieve the credit strain would be steps for revival. But is this condition prevalent today? By a mere glance at the low interest rates of the past year one would be forced to give only one answer. Industry desiring funds for investment have no difficulty finding lenders. There is no credit crisis—except on the side of the borrowers.

Now, to examine the actual measure. Under the existing laws, member banks of the Federal Reserve system are permitted to rediscount (borrow on) certain commercial short term loans from the Federal Reserve Bank. This so-called self liquidating paper consists of loans secured by actual commercial and industrial goods to be realized upon soon. Thus should industry demand more credit, the various member banks can apply to the Federal Reserve system with these eligible notes as security for loans in the form of increased currency, which money is then loaned to industry. The cry is now raised of the exhaustion of the total of eligible paper. Item number one of the new measure would make eligible for rediscount less secure paper than at present. This is hailed as the powerful tonic to aid "our" sickened industry. Will it do this?

Any analysis of the facts shows the futility of the measure in this regard

OPEN FORUM

Lecture by
JAMES P. CANNON
"THE COMMUNISTS AND
DISARMAMENT"
The Meaning of the Geneva Conference
at the
Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue
Friday, February 26, 1932
at 8 P. M.
QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION
ADMISSION: 25 Cents
Unemployed Workers Admitted Free
Auspices: New York Branch Communist
League of America (Opposition)

Lines of a broad proletarian struggle against genuine Fascism, as outlined by comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition. Instead of persisting in its ostrich policy which amounts to a surrender to the class enemy without a struggle.

The presidential elections, considered not as a decisive struggle, but as an opportunity to rally the workers and to force the breach between them and their reformist misleaders, offers another great opportunity to the Communist Party of Germany to make up for lost ground.

—SAM GORDON.

New York Dress Strike Grows Workers' Militancy Attains Unity on Picket Line

Since the International Ladies Garment Workers Union issued its strike call in the New York dress shops on Tuesday Feb. 16, this battle has gained in momentum with a claimed 20,000 workers out and approximately 60 percent of the shops closed at the time of going to press. On a whole it is one encouraging sign of working class resistance to the slashing capitalist offensive.

With the needle trades workers this is a tradition. While they have suffered untold misery from the sweatshop conditions under which they have been working for years, they have always been found in the very front ranks of the class struggle. This splendid tradition, however, has continually been most outrageously abused by the treacherous sell-outs, victimization and expulsions which is the record of the union officialdom. It practically paralyzed the union in 1927. Yet with the aid of the class enemy the corrupt officials were able to continue themselves in power and suppress the rank and file revolt. But the price paid was the one of re-establishment of the misery of the sweatshop. A heavy price for a union to pay.

The garment workers union has succeeded in recuperation in the sense that the ranks have again been strengthened.

But the same leadership remains in control. Only the intense pressure of the membership brought the issues of abolition of the sweatshop to a head now and resulted in the strike. The officials did everything in their power to ward off struggle. Surely this is sufficient reason to bear close watching of these officials. Sell-outs are their practice and only the rank and file itself can properly guard its own interest.

There is a considerable difference in this strike compared to the one two years ago. That was too obviously a made up affair of collaboration with the bosses. The latter were actively helping in shutting down the power and ejecting the workers from the shops. The difference now is in the fact that the workers are more definitely asserting themselves and pressing for their demands.

The central issues in the strike are the demands for abolition of the sweatshop conditions, for a minimum piece work price of not less than \$1.10 per hour, and for the forty hour, five day week. The jobbers and manufacturers object, of course, particularly to the minimum wage demand and want to maintain the privilege of the right to reorganization in the shops—that is the hiring and firing at will.

The strike has become a powerful one immensely adding to the ranks of those following the call of the Left wing union entering into the conflict one week earlier. Despite the lack of a unity policy in the strike the workers have succeeded in establishing unity on the picket lines. This has served to reduce actual scabbing to a minimum. Naturally the manufacturers have begun to feel disturbed which has become particularly expressed in the statements made by the jobbers and inside manufacturers associations of negotiations depending upon the inroads of the strike into the unorganized shops. That considerable such inroads are made can be gleaned from the fact that while the I. L. G. W. has within its ranks only about 15 percent of the dress shops, nevertheless the strike has become about 60 per cent effective.

With the striking ranks attaining unity on the picket line the monstrous policy of strike leadership becomes so much more outstanding. The I. L. G. W. officials are still pursuing their old game of working hand in glove with one set of bosses helping them against another, of working with the jobbers and inside manufacturers against the unorganized contractors. That is playing the bosses game and benefits them only. It contains the very germ of sell-out and

defeat. But in the very rank and file unity and determination lies the hope that it can be circumvented. A victory of the dressmakers strike will become a powerful incentive to stimulate general working class resistance to the capitalist wage cutting offensive.

In this situation the responsibility of the official party leadership in control of the policy of the Left wing receives accentuated importance. Continuation of blunders can only strengthen the hands of the Right wing officials and thereby benefit the class enemy. The present course of the official party policy accomplishes precisely that. It still proceeds from a proclaimed intention of smashing the "company union" and smashing the "fake strike". How ridiculous that must sound to the thousands of workers on strike one can well imagine. They mean their strike in deadly earnest. They cannot have any too great illusions of intentions of the Right wing leadership. But what they require is assistance. Their fight is one against sell-outs as well as against the class enemy. They should be able to look for such assistance from the Left wing.

Unity has a very distinct meaning to workers in struggle. The remarkable achievements on the picket line should be a serious warning to the party officials that the essence of this word cannot be played with. This strike is only one stage in the series of conflicts which the future holds; but it does offer an opportunity for a revolutionary policy of working class unification. It holds the possibility of wielding this weapon so much dreaded by the employers as well as by their agents in labor's ranks.

Negotiations for settlements are already in progress. The industrial union reports several shops settled. The I. L. G. W. leaders can be expected to spare no efforts to accommodate the bosses. In this they can count upon a coat of whitewash from the Lovestone group which is already laying its basis by accusations of scabbery by the Left wing. That, of course, will prove primarily how far this group has traveled in deserting the Left wing and all it stands for. But above all it again emphasizes the responsibility of the revolutionary party. A correct policy of trade union unity, a preliminary actual and genuine struggle for a united front in this strike, a united front which will bring the two unions into common struggle for the immediate common objective, would now spell a serious step forward in organizing the general working class resistance to the capitalist offensive.

Canadian Workers Fight Against Reaction

In Canada the infamous "Section 98" of the criminal code is being enforced with a vengeance. Its most outstanding case was the trial and conviction of eight Communist Party leaders. But that was only a prelude to a yet greater objective.

The Canadian bourgeoisie, the same as their worthy brothers in every other capitalist country, are endeavoring to issue out of its crisis primarily on the backs of the workers. And, of course, the criminal code prosecutions are primarily the beginning to a general and more intense attack upon the working class in an effort to reduce the standard of living. It is significant of the role of capitalist agents within labor's ranks that precisely in this situation Mr. Moore of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress steps forward with the statement that in his opinion "these men had a fair trial".

During the year 1931 there have been within the borders of Canada over 700 working class arrests. Over 110 years of imprisonment was handed out by the courts in 155 convictions. Working class meetings were broken up and in many cases entirely prohibited. Revolutionary literature was banned. The *Daily Worker* and the *Freiheit* are prohibited entry into Canada. Workers upon whom any possible suspicion of revolutionary inclinations can be placed are stopped and questioned in the streets. This has already been the experience of several of our Left Opposition comrades. Some time ago the book "The Proletarian Revolution" by Trotsky was banned. Just now our new pamphlet "Germany the Key to the International Situation" has suffered the same fate.

It is encouraging, however, that the official Communist party of Canada, by these serious experiences at least have learned one valuable lesson. It is actually making some efforts toward building a genuine united front movement for the repeal of "Section 98". The response of working class organization have been so broad and wide that it gives gratifying testimony to the power and validity of this policy. The Left Opposition is participating fully in this movement. At a recent uni-

ted front repeal conference held in Hamilton, Ont., our comrade Green was seated as a representative of the Communist League of America with Silver representing the Toronto conference district. Selected on a delegation to present demands upon Premier Henry in regard to the repeal are our comrades Spector and Silver.

Glotzer Meetings

Responses from the various cities to our second national tour have been excellent. In Buffalo, N. Y. the local branch of the Proletarian Party Opposition made arrangements for a public lecture for comrade Glotzer under its own auspices.

Arrangements are now also being completed for a radio address to be delivered by comrade Glotzer from the St. Louis station KMOX, on Wednesday afternoon March 2nd. Further announcements of this we expect to make in our next issue. In Minneapolis our branch is preparing for a debate with A. C. Townley, the organizer of the Non-Partisan League.

The fact that comrade Glotzer has just returned from a visit with comrade Trotsky, able to give first hand information of the discussions with the revolutionary leader in exile, able also to give first hand information of his impressions of the movement in the European countries, is proving of real interest and a stimulus to the projected public meetings. At the time of going to press the swing through Canada has been completed and comrade Glotzer is heading west. The schedule for the balance of this tour is as follows:

West Frankfort, Ill. . . . March 1
Lecture to be at Labor Lyceum (Number Two Orient Hall) 7 P. M.
St. Louis, Mo. March 2
Lecture to be at Central Library Hall, 14th and Olive Streets, 7:30 P. M.
Kansas City, Mo. March 3
Minneapolis, Minn. . . . March 5, 6, 7
Chicago, Ill. March 9-10
Cleveland, Ohio March 11
Youngstown, Pa. March 12
Pittsburgh, Pa. March 13

Our Press Needs Your Help!

Building the revolutionary press is even under objectively favorable conditions an arduous task. It requires unceasing activities by those willing to devote themselves to its accomplishment. Without doubt the conditions today are objectively favorable. We have received many tokens of the growth of sympathy for the Left Opposition, but we can, of course, not overlook the fact that many workers are not able to translate their sympathy into material support. Yet we must find the means to overcome such handicaps.

In the stream of turbulent events of the present period the Left Opposition press stands out solid as a rock. But we cannot at all say that its foundation has been secured in the sense of providing the means for its continued existence. Yet that can and must be accomplished. It is because of this that we today par-

ticularly call upon all comrades and supporters to assist us in finding the best way out of this present difficulty. Extension of our press, building its circulation is the way out.

Can we have this assistance in the form of concentrated activities during our three months' circulation drive. Every new subscription, every additional sale extends our press and helps provide the revenue for continuation. It drives an additional nail into the coffin of capitalism.

We call upon all our supporters to participate, to endeavor to secure subscriptions for *The Militant*, *The International Communist League* (to appear April 1st), the *Young Spartacus*, *Unser Kampf* and *Kommunisten*.

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John L. Lewis Continues His Betrayals

A Review of the Thirty-second Convention of the United Mine Workers of America

The 32nd Consecutive Constitutional Convention of the United Mine Workers held a twelve day session in the historic Tomlinson hall of Indianapolis, Indiana, beginning January 26th and ending February 5th. The huge auditorium was draped in the tri colors of the Wall Street republic. It was a fitting arena for the arch reactionary fakers of the union. It reflected bowing to the captains of American industries, their apologizing for the radicalization that is taking place among the mine workers of this country. The atmosphere of the gathering, was a sorrowful one. The conventions of yore that had pictured hectic sessions, fighting, energetic, militant, rank and file miners, was almost a memory aside of an extremely small minority that courageously fought throughout the entire convention exposing the traitorous role of the Lewis machine in shackling the mine workers.

The keynote of the administration was sounded in the beginning of the convention when Phillip Murray, International Vice President, made the joint report of the three standing officials. A lengthy report covering a pamphlet of 83 pages, the keynote was "stabilization of the coal mining industry by Federal Government regulation in order to assure the coal operators a fair return on their investments and to abolish the cut throat competition especially in the central competitive fields." The woes and sufferings of the miners was secondary and almost forgotten.

The officers report mentions unemployment, but they are so reactionary that they even fear unemployment insurance, as a step forward in alleviating unemployment. However, the pressure of even a packed convention forced the issue on them and they were compelled to accept unemployment insurance in the records of their report and to include it in the general program of the union. The remainder of the officers' report is merely a repetition of a typical A. F. of L. union. Class collaboration, quotations from famous letters from the great Mr. Hoover, more mechanization, greater efficiency, etc., etc.

The most sorrowful expression of the convention was the gigantic retreat the miners union has taken in the last ten years. The miners union under the administration of Lewis has diminished in strength, influence and confidence so badly that there is even a growing tendency among the capitalist and their agents to begin to ignore Lewis. This is well confirmed by the fact that Secretary of Labor Doak and President Hoover refused to give Lewis a conference, with the coal operators of the Central Competitive field, due to the fact that a wild cat strike had taken place in southern Illinois where the United Mine Workers and the operators had a contract.

The decline and defeat of the United Mine Workers of America can well be summarized by the following facts and figures:

Year	Membership
1901	198,024
1911	256,255
1921	442,057
1931	152,148
less last ten years	289,900

Let us see how this great retreat under Lewis has affected the Bituminous coal producing fields. In the year 1921 the U. M. W. of A. had 385,724 dues paying members in the bituminous districts of the United States and Canada. For the six months ending June 1, 1931 there is merely 52,723 average tax paying membership in the 28 bituminous districts of the continent. In other words there remain less than 14% of the former tax paying membership. A retreat of 86% of its former strength! The United Mine Workers Journal tells us that in some of the unorganized fields wages are as low as \$1.50 per day and 14c per ton, for nine to ten hours work.

The retreat of the organization can be further shown by the West Virginia situation. In 1921 the union had an average tax paying membership of 45,862 divided in 595 local unions. In 1931 up until June 1, we have 40 dues paying members from seven feeble local unions. The role of Van A. Bittner the chief representative of the United Mine Workers of America in West Va., and the right hand man of John L. Lewis on the International Executive Board, has long been proven notorious. William Z. Foster, in his book, "Misleaders of Labor" points out to the workers that "Van A. Bittner is the coal operators' best assurance that the coal miners of that state will not be organized." The figures of the most recent betrayals by Bittner prove this adequately. Later on we will deal with the West Virginia situation more thoroughly. This particular section of the coal mining industry is today the most important and the pivot of all union movements.

In spite of these figures which are derived from the official records of International Secretary-Treasurer William Green and Thomas Kennedy, Lewis is continuing to pay tax on 400,000 members in the American Federation of Labor in order that he can use the voting power for his own personal ambitions.

The Credentials Committee report was a piece of out-right robbery. The part the Credentials Committee plays is to be sure that enough delegates are packed that will give Lewis an overwhelming majority. The job is done very crudely, but it is put over convention after con-

vention. Out of the 1155 delegates that attended the convention the bulk of them only represented themselves. The bona fide delegates from the Anthracite regions, Illinois, Indiana and a few other remnants of districts, were pitted against "blue sky" delegates that possibly had never worked in the coal mine or had never belonged to the organization. The figures of the International Secretary-Treasurer compared with the report of the Credentials Committee, proves this very conclusively. We have the following facts:

District	Delegates	Paying Members
2 Pa.	39	955
5 Pa.	86	1142
8 Ohio	89	862
8 Ind.	5	168
16 Md.	10	2
17 W. Va.	22	37
19 Ky. & Tenn.	47	489
21 Okla. Ark. & Texas	25	63
23 Western Ky.	52	377
25 Missouri	19	187
30 Kentucky	14	34
31 West Va.	125	2168
Total	533	6484

353 of the above delegates do not have a single tax paying member in the local unions they represent!

Illinois had 285 delegates representing a total membership, 31,368 dues paying District No. 1—Pennsylvania had 131 delegates with 45,043 paying members. District No. 31—West Va. had 125 delegates with 2168 tax paying members. District N. 9—Pa. had 61 delegates with 32,403 tax paying members. District No. 5—Pa. had 86 delegates with 1,183 tax paying members.

Quite a contrast. Yet some of the simon pure, "loyal unionist" suffer under the illusions that Lewis and his machine may bow to majority decision and voluntarily abdicate when the majority so desires. The above facts indicate all too clearly; if further proof be needed, that only by a strongly organized determined Left wing can the union be cleaned of such rubbish. That implies tenacious struggle and united efforts of all who are ready to fight for a clean union.

The National Miners' Union in a statement to the convention charges that the delegates that came to this convention from the unorganized fields were "hand picked, baited with whiskey, no elections of delegates being held, packing the convention for the Lewis machine." That is obviously true.

The first day's session of the convention was marked by a sharp division of forces, led mainly by the Illinois "insurgents". Some 222 opposition votes were "counted" by the Lewis tellers. This is far from correct. Whole rows of opposition delegates were left out from the count. This, however, was the largest opposition vote cast against the Lewis machine. It remained fairly well intact throughout the entire convention, voting against practically every proposal that the administration brought forward. Within the Illinois opposition was formed a Left wing group. A few allies from the outlying fields were joined. However, the terror and persecution of the Lewis administration was so brutal that greater numbers were prevented from joining forces. Notably, among those who led a militant Left wing fight throughout the convention, were delegates Gerry Allard, August R. Hoffman, Lawrence Lamb, Borell, of Illinois, Delegates Schuster, Mische, of Pennsylvania and a few other elements with a "socialistic tinge". Outside of the above mentioned elements, the convention was dominated by two rival reactionary factions. The Illinois faction, embracing scores of honest, rank and file delegates, fought all through the convention for home rule. The Left wingers supported them on every progressive issue.

The injunction secured by the former district President of the Illinois miners Harry Fishwick, and still enforced against the arbitrary revocation order of the International Union, was the subject of heated discussion for the first six days. A wide range was given in the discussion where Illinois delegates clashed with the supporters of the International Union. First fights broke out in the convention on one occasion when the Sergeants-at-arms attempted to drag out of the convention, John Hindmarsh, of Springfield, Ill., self claimed socialist and for years a figure in the miners' movement. The disgraceful attempt of the International officers ordering the ejecting of Hindmarsh so stirred the convention that the Anthracite and Illinois delegates joined forces in defeating the attempts of kicking Hindmarsh out of the convention. The fighting determination of the insurgent delegates was so great that fear struck the hearts of the reactionaries. This had a great effect in stopping any further attacks on delegates who dared to dissent with the almighty ruler. Aside from heated verbal clashes, coupled with the great one man burlesque of John L. Lewis, no physical damage was recorded.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions revealed that 97 resolutions of different character were submitted to the convention by various local unions throughout the country mainly from Illinois. The Committee expressing the political line of the administration rejected scores of progressive resolutions. Resolutions on the six hour day and the five day week, bank to bank, Unemploy-

ment Insurance, Against Criminal Syndicalism, For Old Age pensions are about the only concessions the reactionaries made. The pressure was forced to all extremes by the Left wing group, the originators of these progressive measures.

Resolutions on the recognition of the Soviet Union came from Westville, Illinois; Rocks Springs, Wyoming; and a militant one from local union No. 303 of Orient, Ill. The resolution from local union No. 303 called upon unconditional recognition as well as to extend liberal trades relations with Soviet Republic, extend credits, etc. The resolution further pointed out that recognition of the Soviet Government would assist generally in relieving existing unemployment difficulties as well as to assist the Russian working class to realize their great efforts at laying the foundations for Socialism. Gerry Allard, mover of resolution, delivered a powerful attack against the Lewis regime in refusing to recognize the Soviet Government. Delegate Mische, District 1 of the Anthracite, supported the resolution and opposed the Committee's report. Secretary-Treasurer Kennedy, in voicing the opinion of the administration charged the "Soviet government of assisting the capitalist class in this country to destroy the United Mine Workers of America and the official labor movement." Allard challenged Kennedy to submit the evidence that the Soviet government had done so. Kennedy spluttered to the best he knew how, but no evidence was forthcoming. In spite of a predicted defeat, the resolution gained attention, received applause and a substantial vote but the eye and nose vote was cast against the Committee's report.

On Unemployment Insurance the committee made a report camouflaging the issue, by stating the International Executive Board will "investigate". A rank and file delegate asked the committee what they were going to "investigate"? How an unemployed worker dies of hunger? The Committee's report, as was to be expected, was concurred in by the packed bunch of professional hand clappers that infested the conclave.

A resolution from Royaltown, Illinois, asked that John L. Lewis resign as president of the International Union. The officialdom assailed the resolution and charged that it was "a piece of coal operators' work or Communist propaganda." August R. Hoffman, young militant mine leader of Illinois attacked Lewis for his betrayals for many years and asked that Lewis resign. However, he pointed out that he understood in the beginning that it never would be complied with. The chair later reprimanded

Hoffman and threatened to bar him from the convention if he made another break. Delegate Hindmarsh asked that Lewis resign as International President or as President of a large bank in Indianapolis. This stirred the convention. Lewis never denied that he was the president of a bank, rather admitted that he was. From Union president to Republican National Committee man, to Bank president—that proves that America is a land of great promise for the youth of the working class! the great, bushy browed, pot bellied John L. Lewis roared time after time as youthful delegates poured a hot barrage of attack against him and his hirelings. With his oratorical tricks and experienced lieutenants, he succeeded in every instance to impress the newspapermen in the press box who cleverly fixed the reports for the "public".

The outstanding features of the convention was the fact that the dominating, active element from the Anthracite and Illinois delegations were young coal miners. The statement in the convention was made, that never before had so large a number of youthful delegates attended the United Mine Workers convention. Lewis, time after time, along with the official family, attempted to excuse the young miners who attacked the administration as "young", "inexperienced", "they will change their minds in due time." This healthy representation was a ray of great hopes. The forces within the mining industry, as well as in the entire capitalist order, threw the class lines sharply before the miners, especially those active young men who dared to voice protest in a terrorized, packed convention.

The United Mine Workers of America has completed another great betrayal, under the rule of Lewis. Lewis, the mouthpiece of the capitalist class performs the role of agent provocateur, deportation agent, assists to railroad militant workers to prison, stifles union progress in the mining industry that are slowly but surely molding their efforts together must fulfill their tasks speedily. The rank and file of the United Mine Workers of America, the National Miners Union and the West Virginia Miners Union, must unite their efforts under a clear, uncorrupted, democratic leadership and pave the way to the rehabilitation and rejuvenation of the miners' struggles, carrying the fight on a higher revolutionary program of unionism. With the many odds against such a movement, unification of the Left wing element is a crying need. Division on account of personal or factional preference is the weapon that the bosses and their agents will further use to starve the working class into submission. The fight against the misleadership of the United Mine Workers of America goes on. It will continue in spite of all the enemies of the coal miners.

—A DELEGATE.
Indianapolis, Ind. Feb. 10, 1932

Lovestonites in the Workmen's Circle

A Protest Conference of Workmen's Circle Branches was held on Sunday, February 7th, 1932 at Stuyvesant Casino, 142 Second Avenue, New York City.

This conference was called by an initiative Committee, organized by the following branches of the Workmen's Circle: 16, 34, 368, 386, 417, 637 and 656.

The purpose of the conference as explained in the call, was: "To discuss the scab-disease problem in the W. C. and the passive attitude of the present leadership of the W. C. towards scab members. The same statement also infers; that the problem of change of leadership is involved in this struggle and that such must be proletarianized."

150 delegates, representing 75 branches, participated in the conference. The majority of the delegates came from New York City and New Jersey State. A few came from Philadelphia Pa., Boston and Springfield, Mass.

If we take into consideration the unfavorable conditions which the Initiative Committee had to contend with, and especially without a press, the Conference was a success. It has proven again the fallacy of the "Third Period", ultra-Left policy of splitting the Workmen's Circle (which was also supported by the Lovestonites) and leaving the workers in that organization at the mercy of the S. P. leadership.

The response to the call has shown the correctness of the Leninist position against splits which he has so profoundly expounded in his pamphlet, "Left Sickness". The workers, even those who were sympathetic towards the Left wing movement, refused to split away, because of their healthy instinct against splits in the labor ranks. Then again the objective conditions of the last few years, as unemployment, the successes in the Soviet Union, have changed the mind of a great many workers in those organizations. These workers are now vitally opposed to the course of the present leadership in the trade unions; their anti-Soviet attitude, their toleration of scabs and employers in the W. C. leadership was needed to give expression to that sentiment. The call for the conference gave this opportunity.

The Lovestonites Play Their Role

The party, in the deplorable condition it finds itself because of nine years of Right wing and "artist leadership", is not apt to give leadership to any movement now. Here a wonderful opportunity is given the Lovestonites to perform their "historic" role. They drag this movement into the swamp of opportunism.

Because of lack of space, it is impossible to go into details of the organization of and procedure at the Conference. Those of the readers of *The Militant* who can read Jewish will find a very elaborate article on that subject in the second issue of *Unser Kampf*. Here we will explain the position of the Lovestonites in the W. C., in brief.

The Lovestonites, still believing that they are the "Majority Group" of the party, at the time of the split of the W. C. engineered by the party, supported and participated in the splitting of the W. C. Shortly afterwards they realized that those that followed the call of the party will not support Lovestone. In a hurry, they made a fast turn. Back with lightning speed to the W. C.—became their motto. Since then, the Lovestonites everywhere travelled with lightning speed to the Right. So also in the W. C. But here, in the W. C., they were not received with open arms as in the I. L. G. W. U. or Paerson. The Right wing leadership couldn't find a reason why they should recognize them. But despite all the noise the Lovestonites make and the foolish attitude of the Freiheit towards them, by boosting them through attacking them every day in the Freiheit, they have not only not gained organizationally, but have lost influence, membership and even in circulation of their paper. They are making a desperate attempt to get a foothold somewhere, ready to pay any price for it. In the Workmen's Circle, they try to utilize the present dissatisfaction in order to force a deal on the so-called opposition (which is only a Right wing clique fighting for power).

Is it any wonder that under such leadership the Conference showed its political impotence. The Initiative Committee showed an utter lack of understanding of the problems confronting the membership of the W. C. They haven't even understood the real character of the scab problem in the W. C. They have tried to make it a "pure and simple" scab issue, not realizing that it is a symptom of a diseased body and that some limbs, especially the scab and employers group, to whom the present leadership looks for support, will have to be amputated. Consequently, the whole movement had all the characteristics of the opportunist swamp, as no perspective, no plan, not a single concrete proposal. The few concrete proposals in the resolution by the conference were taken from other resolutions.

The crassest example of opportunist

Is Mooney to Stay in Jail?

Reactionaries Make Capital of the Stalinists' Blunders

Disgusted by the betrayals of the Communist League is mentioned by name in Mooney's appeal as one of the organizations he wants to participate in a genuine united front, our delegation was ejected under threats of violence. In Minneapolis, St. Louis and Staunton and Belleville, Ill., where the I. L. D. organized no conference and where the Opposition was instrumental in setting them afoot, the I. L. D. pursued a policy of: either we control the conference or we smash it. In one way or another they wrecked all of these conferences.

This method of freeing Mooney has ruinous consequences for the Communist movement. Mooney's cause will not die if the party does not take it up. The issue will become a plaything for all sorts of political fakers. Particularly dangerous are the bourgeois demagogues who use the issue to make political capital, for the pursuit of personal ambitions. From time to time the press records their pious hypocrisy. The latest to come to our attention is the report in the N. Y. Times of February 13 of resolutions demanding that "Governor Rolph pardon Thomas J. Mooney immediately", introduced into the House of Representatives by those despicable demagogues from New York State, La Guardia and Sirovich.

In the lull in the fight created by the inactivity of the Communists, the Molders' Defense Committee, the I. W. W. and others are busy propagating the illusion that a boycott of California goods can force Mooney's release. When the itinerant peddler of confusion, Marcus Graham, of the I. W. W. can persuade a group of militant miners like the Staunton Miners' Educational Body to unanimously adopt a resolution for a boycott of California products as a means of getting Mooney out of jail it is only because these fighting miners have been made easy prey by their confusion and disgust with the Joe Tassies and Bill Geherts.

Finally it must be remembered that the last act in the Walker-Rolph publicity stunt has not yet been reached. Gov. Rolph, who has reserved judgment on Walker's plea, is sitting back waiting to see what pressure the working class will bring to bear on him for Mooney's release. His reply is due soon. If no working class pressure is forthcoming, he will find that Mooney's release is not to be considered.

Working class pressure can force him to find the necessary legal pretext to pardon Mooney. The time is short in which to build a fighting working class movement. But it is not too late if we begin at once. This the I. L. D. should do. What is needed is a genuine united front, from which the Communists have nothing to lose and everything to gain. For this united front every party member, every member of a party organization should raise his voice.

—T. STAMM.

A Letter From Our Class War Prisoners

We were committed to prison Wednesday 17th. It took us the whole day to get in. We see each other in the little prison yard every day for two hours; together with the other white prisoners. Have also been given work together. I am told that no days off are allowed on sentences under one year. We receive the common treatment accorded all common prisoners, no special privileges. Political prisoners are rather a novelty here. There are however a few sympathizers.

We will get a paper every Sunday only. I will inquire about a *Daily Worker* sub. The very meagre prison library can supply only trash and some classics. There is no book by any Russian writer! The rule is, I think, that books may be sent only from the publisher and then must remain here. Will see more about it. It works, as things do under capitalism, very hard on the poor. It is an expensive matter.

Have no concern on our part personally. We are well and in good spirits—we see each other every day you know. Not at all downhearted. We miss our freedom and contacts with the movement personally, but we know it is for a comparatively short while only. We are proud to be here as political prisoners: not for a moment would we change places for that of the hosts of bought souls and cravens, outside; and the saboteurs of working class unity. One thing we want is news of the outside, particularly of the movement. The comrades can do that. We are considerably hampered in sending out mail but can receive all letters sent us. Tell us, comrades, about the dressmakers' strike (the local daily papers carry no news of it); about the Marine Defense work; the I. L. D. and the whole movement and also as you may be able of your work. Also will one of the comrades mail me a picture (post card, I suppose) of Rose and Karl.

Please give our fraternal greetings of solidarity to the comrades of the Marine Defense.

Our best of comradesly greetings. Courage and cheer for a good stiff fight from:

Your Comrades,
GOODMAN AND MORGENTHAU

—J. B.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

The Character of Fascism

An Analysis of the Composition of the Hitlerist Camp

(Continued from last issue)

Today, the task stands before us, before the Communists, to gather the entire working class around the slogan of the struggle against the threatening Fascist overthrow. There is no doubt, that this struggle will also bring about a conflict with the "lesser evil". There is no doubt that the struggle against wage robbery, which is a struggle in the trade unions and in the factories and which constitutes an inseparable element of the formation of the united front, will also bring about a struggle against the regime of emergency decrees.

The Struggle Against Social Democracy, and the United Front

No one (and least of all ourselves) desires the suspension of the struggle against the S. P. G., the suspension of criticism—a "reconciliation". But it is necessary to realize that the struggle against the S. P. G. must be conducted in the form of a united front tactic, under the slogan "against the seizure of power by Hitler". Lenin demonstrated very clearly the essence of this tactic when he recommended that the English Communists "support" Henderson under certain conditions (*Infantile Leftism*, page 76, German edition). By making it clear for them that they would support Henderson "as the hangman's rope supports the hanged."

Manuilsky and Thaelmann make very light of the matter, by substituting here also, for the question of a concrete analysis, for the question of the varying struggle on the different fronts, a non-Marxist commonplace like: "The main enemy is the dictatorship of capital—that is, every bourgeois government and its supporters". According to this schema, it will always remain a mystery, why the Bolsheviks fought with Kerensky against Kornilov and did not carry on the struggle against Kerensky in a stereotyped fashion.

It speaks of a high degree of insensitiveness to the development of events, not to want to see the Fascist danger, not to want to see the practical consequences which genuine Fascism will bring.

People who regard Bruening as Fascist, that is, the overture as the opera, can very easily become altogether blind and deaf.

Thaelmann Fails to Correct False Views
The party, far from revising its false theory, has "deepened" it by the article in the January issue of *Die Internationale*, composed by the group of authors that works under the pseudonym of Thaelmann.

"It may be assumed that the execution of the dictatorship of the bourgeois is—no matter through what methods, and particularly when it is a question of Fascist methods—will in the first instance, and in the long run, be in the hands of the Centre in a very strong measure" (*Die Internationale* Vol. 33, No. 1).

The content of the present situation is characterized crudely but not incorrectly by Thaelmann: "Today, the Centre is the carrier of the policy of an interchangeable exploitation of the social democracy and the National Socialists for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." With this, he has finally reached the estimation formulated by Trotsky in the following manner in 1929:

"This will also determine the policy that the bourgeoisie will adopt in the near future: to force the social democracy, with the aid of Fascism, to reconstruct the constitution, so that the bourgeoisie will be able to combine the advantages of Fascism with those of democracy, those of Fascism in essence, those of democracy in form. In this

manner, they hope to save themselves the high expense of democratic reforms, and if possible, also the new expense inherent in a Fascist overthrow."

Unfortunately, however, Thaelmann, who characterizes this situation as Fascism and who neglects entirely the economic relationships and the political perspectives that lie in this situation, has not yet reached the conclusions of Trotsky!

"Will the bourgeoisie be able to take this path? To its actual conclusion and for a prolonged period of time—most certainly not. In other words, the bourgeoisie cannot build up a regime that will allow it to base itself in a peaceful manner, on the workers as well as on the ruined petty bourgeoisie, without bearing the expense for the social reforms or for the convulsions of a civil war. The contributions are too great, they will be broken in one direction or the other." (Trotsky, *The Austrian Crisis*).

Dangers of Calling Present Condition Fascism

The fundamental error, of characterizing this condition as Fascism, is avenged by the prognosis. We have already heard above, of Thaelmann's "prolonged Centre-Fascism". What is even more grotesque, is the sentence he attaches to the quotation brought above: "At times, the preponderance rests with the social democracy and that will probably be true, from the class point of view, also in the future, up to the proletarian revolution in Germany."

A truly annihilating prognosis, this prognosis put forward by Thaelmann: Germany has already reached its Fascist form and it will remain so. Year after year, the genial Bruening will continue to rule, nourished by the starvation of the patient proletariat, interchangeably supported by his zealous and inexhaustible retainers, the National Socialist Party of Germany and "social Fascism", in which case the seizure of power by Hitler is just as unlikely as the disintegration of the S. P. G., until such a time, when, probably after the completion of the second five year plan—the "people's revolution" finally arrives.

It is clear that this prognosis is somewhat dulled by the struggle with the Nazis. It is clear, that the party and its Brandlerist page boys underestimate and mock at the significance of the slogan of the General Strike (which we, for our part, have never separated from the question of immediate partial strikes).

It is clear that the entire ideological confusion with regard to Fascism can lead to capitulation at the moment of the establishment of the Fascist dictatorship, because these people will say—just as the despicable Kolaroff, the Bulgarian Thaelmanns, did on June 9, 1929—"Why get excited particularly now, when one Fascist is merely replacing another Fascist"? The Comintern, which has most unhappily capitulated to Fascism three times already (Bulgaria, Poland, Finland) is coming to another cross-road. The very reserved criticism of the defeatist attitude made by Thaelmann serves no purpose at all as long as his own theories, false to the roots, are not cast aside.

We must pose the question here: why this fatal error in the problem of Fascism? Simply by referring to the thinking ability of the Thaelmanns and Manuilsky, this question is not solved for the Marxist.

Basis For False Analyses and Tactics
Manuilsky has, however, perhaps unintentionally, informed us why it is impossible, in the last analysis, for the

Stalinist Comintern leadership to differentiate between Hitler, Bruening and Weis.

"The entire aggravation of the class struggle proves that the differences in the methods of class rule between so-called bourgeois democracy and Fascism are constantly being wiped out, and are actually, in practice, wiped out already. Can anyone attempt to prove that, for example, the policy of the German social democracy with regard to the country of socialist construction—the U. S. S. R.—is any more "progressive" than the policy of Italian Fascism!" (Report of Manuilsky to the XI Plenum of the E. C. C. I.—our emphasis, E. B.)

That means: the final touchstone in the policy of the Stalinist Comintern leadership, whose basic task is no longer the world revolution but the construction of socialism in one country, are the foreign trade relations of the Soviet Union: and so it happens that a considerable lack of sensitiveness arises in these people, their eyes glued on Mussolini, with regard to the Hitler question. But even in this case, these people, generalizing mechanically, are falling into error. In the instance, the often misused argument of the difference between Germany and Italy is very much in place. Mussolini means—oil exports. But Hitler means—war of intervention. The nationalist attitude towards Marxism, which in Germany has led through the program of the national and social liberation, (to use Manuilsky's own jargon) to the "descent to the level of the middle classes, in the Menshevik, and not in the Bolshevik manner", here too proves to be fatal.

—E. BAUER.
(Berlin)

Lessons of the Recent Events in Spain

An Official Document of the Spanish Left Opposition on the Results of the Struggle

The following is a circular letter sent out to the local organizations by the Executive Committee of the Spanish Communist Opposition, which evaluates the revolutionary events that broke out in Spain in the middle of January. —Ed.

Dear comrades:

The Spanish Left Opposition, engaged in collecting facts and documents which will permit it to make a more detailed analysis of the recent events, considers it necessary for the moment to indicate cursorily and as briefly as possible, a few considerations brought forward by the developments of the movement.

We shall first approach the negative features of it.

(1) The movement lacked in continuity. Beginning in the heights of Llobregat and Cardener, it received the backing of Barcelona and other places in Catalonia, when it was already crushed in the former towns. This spelled death for the movement. One of the most important lessons to be deduced from this, is the following: a strike of such amplitude must arise simultaneously or be initiated by the large industrial centers (Barcelona in the first place) and in no case in the periphery of the country.

(2) The movement was immature. It lacked an immediate impulsion capable of pushing the masses forward. It should

have been declared, for example, one or two days after the successes of Arnedo had aroused to action, the entire proletariat.

(3) The National Confederation of Labor did not assign concrete tasks to the movement. This disoriented it and was the principal cause of the failure, as was made evident by the strike in Barcelona.

(4) It was a manifest mistake to declare the strike on a Saturday. On such a day, failure is assured in advance.

(5) If in Barcelona, the strike had started Friday morning, when the movement unfolded in Cardener and Llobregat had not yet been put down, and limited to 24 hours, the proletariat of Barcelona would undoubtedly have displayed a unanimous manifestation of solidarity. The situation did not permit it to go further and the results obtained would have been undeniably far greater.

(6) The official party again covered itself with ridicule, calling for a strike anew, on the 25th, when the C. N. T. (National Confederation of Labor) had already decided to go back to work. With this, they once more compromised the prestige of Communism before the masses of the workers and merely proved that the only aim of its leaders is to remain in the good graces of the Comintern bureaucracy, not even shrinking back from waging all the immense possibilities that the Spanish situation offers to the development of Communism.

(7) Finally, there was demonstrated the abominable influence exercised in the C. N. T. by the elements that go under the classification of the "group of thirty" (Pestania, etc.) who, by opposing the declaration of the strike in Catalonia at the Regional Conference on Thursday, called forth a counter-attack by the local Federation of Barcelona, led by the F. I. A. (anarchist) elements, who decided to join the movement when the circumstances had already become unfavorable. Nevertheless, the movement also had its positive features.

(1) For the first time, in the course of the revolutionary period, the proletariat had entered a vast movement of a distinct class character. And this is of enormous importance.

(2) The working masses showed clearly that they had almost freed themselves from democratic illusions, still strong in the September strikes, which makes the conviction ever more deeply rooted that only the proletarian insurrection can solve the revolutionary crisis that the country is facing.

(3) In spite of the incapable leadership and organization of the Anarchists, the workers of Cardener and Llobregat fought with admirable solidarity and discipline and withdrew in perfect strategic order and with a minimum of losses, when they were convinced that movement was defeated.

(4) The most important fact to be recorded in the uprising of Cardener and Llobregat is its distinct political character. The workers had seized the city halls and had hoisted the banner of the proletarian revolution on top of the buildings themselves. That is to say, they had seized political power for themselves. In some places, the anarchist elements had proclaimed openly that their aim was the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a big step forward that the Communists can point to with pride.

The general conclusions to be drawn from this hasty review, are the following:

Kai-Shek in the crushing of the Chinese proletariat in 1925-27 by the infamous "bloc of the four classes", while Trotsky was being shouted down as an ultra-Leftist for demanding the creation of Soviets, dares accuse the closest comrade of Lenin, of being "against a Soviet China". Cheap slanders cost these people nothing. For concrete analysis, they can very easily substitute a quotation from Stalin; for Communist arguments, they can easily substitute a few of the "great masters' pet epithets. Just why Trotsky's slogan of a Constituent Assembly—issued as an immediate demand for the purpose of once more rallying the

(Continued on page 3)

(1) Everything permits us to ascertain that the working class will unwaveringly support a revolutionary movement whose aims are clear and precise. We must intensify our Communist propaganda with all our means, making it clear for the working class that only the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat will enable them to achieve emancipation.

(2) This fight will not remain a lost fight. But the working class would occupy stronger positions if it were to take advantage of the movement for the creation of Soviets and revolutionary Juntas. Even though temporarily dispersed by the authorities, this first experience will not remain in vain and the irrepressible organs of struggle will arise again in the new and inevitable conflicts that the immediate future will produce. To this fight, the Communist party and the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc should have dedicated itself: this struggle the Communist Left Opposition would have conducted itself were it not for the fact that in numbers it is as yet a small force in Catalonia.

(3) We have repeatedly contended that there are sincere revolutionary elements in the F. A. I. (Iberian Anarchist Fed.) whose driving force remained sterile because of the inconsistency of their doctrines. But in the last events there has been initiated, although confused and timid, an evolution toward our point of view. It is necessary to give this evolution an impulse, intensifying the propaganda of our principles and making an attempt at practical approach to the F. A. I. for immediate action, which however does not mean that we give up our freedom of criticism.

(4) The reactionary bourgeois forces are organizing themselves. The recent events have provoked a panic among the bourgeoisie who had seen in this chaotic, disconnected, disoriented movement the possibility of victory. In order to oppose the danger that menaces it, it will hasten the organization of counter-revolutionary forces to annihilate the flower of the proletariat by installing a Fascist dictatorship. In order to avoid it, an immediate united front of the working class becomes imperative without distinction of tendencies for the organization of an armed defense. It is a matter of life and death.

(5) The elements constituting the "group of 30" and the leaders of the U. G. T. (the Reformist Center), notwithstanding the fact that there are distinct differences between them, constitute today a check against the development of the revolutionary movement. To eliminate them from the leadership of the workers organizations is an indispensable condition for victory.

(6) Never before has it become so evident as now that a powerful Communist party a truly revolutionary party of the masses capable of fusing and leading the revolutionary attack of the proletariat is what is needed. But this party is not to be an organization like the present official party, dominated by the most unbridled adventurism and the most scandalous irresponsibility before the masses, nor like the B. O. C. the workers' and peasants' bloc) an organization of "sympathizers" and not an instrument of struggle, but genuine Bolshevik party that can only issue out of a general congress of unification and deserve the confidence of the masses.

These are, in the main, the principle considerations that we gather from the latest events. Due to its small numerical force in Catalonia, the Left was not able to play a decisive role nor exercise a great influence in this movement, but its members participated in every possible way, and some of them have fallen at the hand of the enemy. Now taking advantage of the lessons that the movement offers it, will continue with intransigent tenacity its work of renovating the Communist movement, dedicating all its forces to give to the Spanish proletariat the arm that it absolutely needs, the powerful Communist weapon that will lead it to victory.

The Left Communist
Opposition of Catalonia

Barcelona, Jan. 26, 1932.

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And how does "Trotskyism"—"disparate and disarm the revolutionary forces"? Simple. By pointing out the Thermidorian danger involved in the theory of socialism in one country—while Stalin and Molotov find a place for Groman and Ossachi and Ramsin in the economic councils of the Soviet State. By pointing concretely to the danger facing the Soviet Union in the event of a Fascist overthrow in Germany—while the Stalinist press chokes itself on unintelligible and confused abstractions, and doesn't mention the German situation by as much as one word. By analyzing the factors making for revolutionary solution to the critical situation in the Far East—while the Stalinists lul the masses with the legend of a still to be achieved Soviet China.

But, enough of this. Does Don think he is fooling anybody but himself, when he takes quotations from *The Militant* out of their context, when he picks out half-sentences and isolated phrases? Is it not a sign of the weakness of his own political position that he finds himself incapable of coping with the complete idea of an opponent? Why should he avoid explaining the lines accompanying the quotation he makes from our thesis,

Finally, this despicable scribbler, whose masters gave actual aid to Chiang

Proletarian Party Opposition

Some Fundamental Problems of Its Future Course Discussed

The opposition Communists who were expelled from the Proletarian Party are now facing the important issue of the next step to be taken. This group proposes to approach through a national conference preceded by a discussion. That method is, of course, quite as it should be. If, in addition, the group centers its discussion on the questions which for its particular position become the most essential, it should be able to further accelerate its development in a progressive direction.

So far this is already indicated in various views expressed by some of these comrades. There have for example, been recorded, views in favor of the organization of a new party. In our opinion, the building of a new party could not at all be considered a problem facing this group. Moreover, it would be entirely incorrect to set such an objective. For Communists, in respect to this question, the problem is not the building of a new party, but the one of building a single party which will embrace all Communists and which will be capable of taking up its serious tasks. A second question which already occupied a prominent position from the inception of this group was the one of its further attitude to the Proletarian Party. In this respect it is true the group has a certain duty to perform; primarily to win the rest of the membership for progressive development. As a third question arose the problem of approach to the working masses which are now manifesting signs of awakening because of the effects of the crisis. It assumed an added importance by virtue of the endeavors of this group to get away from the Proletarian Party sectarianism and its insistence upon a struggle for immediate demands.

For a Communist organization this is always a problem and particularly so today. It is to be taken for granted, so to speak. On March 11, 1889, in the period of formation of the Second International, Engels wrote in a letter to Sorge: "The workers will follow those that know what they want and how to get it." That, of course, for a Communist group, presupposes first of all that it defines its principle position and strategic objectives. And so it becomes necessary to conclude that the main issue just now confronting the Proletarian Party Opposition is the one of defining its principle position, that is, its orientation toward the existing currents in the Communist movement.

Some Serious Progress Already Made

The emergence of the Proletarian Party Opposition we have already characterized as a genuinely progressive step. It arose out of a struggle against the sectarian sterility of the P. P. It demanded revolutionary activity first by insisting upon an attitude toward and a formulation of immediate demands. Concretely, in the unemployment situation, it proposed a struggle for measures of relief. It demanded a Left wing policy for trade union work not to exclude co-operation with the C. P. in certain practical tasks. Particularly in regard to the Communist International—and that is important—did this opposition group denote its progressive direction as distinct from the P. P. It recognized the necessity of functioning in revolutionary activities with the world Communist movement, simultaneously with criticism of and a fight against the opportunism of its leadership.

In this respect, the background and origin of this opposition group assumes considerable significance. The P. P., from which it came, proclaimed itself Communist. As such it should have recognized that there can be only one Communist party. It gave complete endorsement to the C. I. and found no fault with the Stalin leadership, but refused to give the slightest recognition to, or have anything but condemnation for the American section. Its endorsement of the C. I. policies and leadership should have made obligatory upon it to unite with the official C. P. on the conditions laid down by the C. I. But despite its endorsement, it remained a second party outside the Comintern. It sought to replace the official C. P. In reality this became the sharpest reflection of its sectarian sterility and its narrow nationalist position. (The remnants of the Proletarian Party may still endeavor to seek comfort for this position in the national socialism of Stalin; in the theory of socialism in one country, but this, instead of helping in the least, merely emphasizes its contradiction.)

Can this group of Communist opposition comrades now conceive of emulating the P. P., from which it broke away, by proposing to also become a second party—by building a new party? If so, it can only become doomed to the same contradictions it endeavored to extricate itself from. It can only remain sec-

tionary, separated and isolated from the revolutionary working class section. Evidently some of the members of this group have hopes of making the Workers' League, organized by them, a basis for a new party. But what is a pure and simple unemployment organization. Its proposed program envisages a struggle for unemployment relief to be secured exclusively by levy on capital and large incomes, with the elimination of the present charity character, administration of the funds to include representatives of the labor movement and co-operating in its attainment with working class organizations on the basis of the united front. This as a foundation of a party make-up for a new party could at best only be a reformist one, despite the fact that many good militants may be found within its ranks. The Workers' League should be properly conceived as a part of a general united front unemployment movement and as a bridge to the masses.

Will This Group Continue In A Progressive Direction?

But let us again return to the vital issue of orientation. That there are three distinct currents within the Communist movement today these comrades know and acknowledge. The currents have their organized form in factions. Can their group remain ideologically independent or neutral of these currents and still remain Communist? Obviously this is quite impossible. For the Stalinists, the problem appears to be very simple—just denounce and calumniate the others without any argumentation or endeavor to prove one or the other wrong. But these comrades are not mere Stalin puppets. At least this is the very method to which they have taken exception. Hence, there can be only one conclusion. They must define their attitude. They must orientate toward one or the other current. Finally they must become organically a part of the current whose position they adopt.

Some of these comrades may want to follow the method of the little P. P. bureaucrats of merely brushing this issue aside, of not adopting any position, or of maintaining a double position, at any rate for the time being. We hear some of them say: These are international issues, or even: These are only Russian issues, we will come to them later, first we must build right here. But the all decisive question is—to build what?

If the issue of the currents in the Communist movement is only a Russian one of what enormous importance would it still be with the U. S. S. R. occupying the position of the only proletarian dictatorship? We grant it is essentially an international issue but as such it affects the very root and foundation of the movement no matter in which country the specific problems arise. It is fully and completely interwoven in every major question of principle, policy, strategic objective and tactic of the movement here. It becomes part of every revolutionary problem here. It determines the building of the revolutionary cadres.

There can be no doubt that the first and most essential question for the Proletarian Party Opposition to decide is the one of its orientation toward the existing currents within Communism. Ideologically the group is not so far a homogeneous one and could hardly be when we recall its compromised background. There is no advance guarantee that it can determine its orientation unitedly and without splitting into various tendencies. But it has a revolutionary duty to put this issue at the very top of its pre-conference discussion agenda.

—ARNE SWABECK

The Anti-Trotsky Campaign

(Continued from page 3)

Chinese masses after their crushing defeat by the Kuo Min Tang (with the direct aid of Stalin-Borodin-Martynov)—is a "counter-revolutionary thesis", our Don does not bother to explain at all. Nor does he as much as utter a word of explanation as to why the Chinese proletariat, up in arms against the imperialists in 1928, is not to be found leading the struggle against the Japanese plunderers. It is much more comfortable and a great deal less embarrassing to resort to the legend of a "Chinese Soviet Republic" and to exaggerate the strength of the "Chinese Red Army".

These silly and excitedly incoherent attacks against "Trotskyism" are part of a renewed and wide-spread campaign by the Stalinist faction against an evil they have a thousand times over again declared dead and buried. It is Stalin's treacherous answer to our question regarding his attitude towards the White Guard murder plots against the organizer of the Red Army. It is Stalin's manner of encountering the mounting current of sympathy for the ideas of the Left Opposition everywhere, and especially in the Soviet Union. But he will not succeed. All the tens of thousands and even millions of posters "Against Trotskyism—the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie" will not stem the tide of rising revolutionary conviction in the Soviet factories. Great social developments, tremendous opportunities for Communist action are unfolding before the international proletariat. "Trotskyism"—Leninist Bolshevism will live and come into its own once more, despite the desperate and helpless efforts of the Stalinist revisionists. The new wave of the world revolution will sweep away the Stalinists and all the dunghills of Dons and Browders with them.

—S. G.

Pioneer Publishers Notes—

WHITHER ENGLAND

Many of the younger elements in the Communist and general labor movement have not had an opportunity to read one of Trotsky's earlier works—"Whither England", as it was recalled from circulation by the International Publishers when they discovered (by order), that Trotsky was a "renegade". We are now able to get about 300 copies of this book from England. We will be able to get it out with a paper cover for fifty or seventy-five cents. If you are interested, write us.

PAMPHLET ON GERMANY

If you have not yet bought your copy of the pamphlet "Germany, the Key to the International Situation, Shall Fascism Really Be Victorious?", be sure to get it before it is out of print, as it is selling very fast. In this pamphlet, Trotsky deals with the political situation in France, England, the Far East the U. S. S. R., Germany, and the possibility of a Fascist coup d'Etat there. In his usual keen and poignant manner, Trotsky analyzes the international political situation in this pamphlet, draws his conclusions and makes concrete proposals of policy to be followed.

BOUND VOLUME OF PAMPHLETS

In the very near future, we are planning to bind 100 copies of all the pamphlets issued thus far in one volume. Watch for further announcements of prices and other news. If you are interested, let us know at once, as we will only be able to supply 100 orders. Some of our pamphlets are already out of print, but they will be included in this volume. We have set aside 100 of each for this purpose.

HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The History of the Russian Revolution by L. D. Trotsky, published by Simon and Schuster, is now available through us. Members of the Communist League of America can secure it at \$3.50. Certificate holders of the Pioneer Publishers can have it for \$3.00. Send your orders and checks at once. Add 10c for postage.

A NEW BOOK ON CHINA

By March 15th we expect to have Trotsky's manuscript on China ready for the press. It will be a 385 page book dealing with all phases of the Chinese Revolution and the role of the Communists. The book will sell for \$1.00 paper cover and \$2.00 cloth cover. Certificate holders will be entitled to a discount of 1-3 just as on all our publications.

A Letter from a Militant

Dear Comrade:

I hope this will reach you all right. I received your letter and receipt for The Militant subscription. I had to borrow the dollar in order to make it. I have not had a job for wages except about one month. Since you saw me last, I stayed around Fargo a number of months but it was hopeless trying to get work at any kind of wages, even the farmers are not hiring help any more.

I am certainly sorry that I am so helpless to do anything for the cause in the way of an occasional donation. I cannot even afford to get Trotsky's pamphlets. Up to now have kept the Daily Worker, but now must give it up too as I have no income at all. Anyway, it seems to be continually deteriorating in quality. I am taking the Western Worker on trial. I take the keenest interest in all that is going on in the movement everywhere and especially our own Opposition. I believe the Opposition has made gratifying progress in the last year—really I wonder how you manage to do so much in this period. For a time I wrote up conditions around Fargo, for the Daily Worker got bundles and smuggled them to the packing house workers. I wish I could describe the atmosphere of repression of fear, of the helplessness that grips the workers of Armour's plant there in West Fargo.

What I miss more than I can tell you is my organizational activities that I took part in, in Chicago. It seems like the best part of my life is missing. The way things look now I am not at all prepared to agree with those comrades who hold that this crisis is just another periodic capitalist depression. I believe it is entirely possible for the present depression to develop into social revolution and in that judgment I do not forget for one moment the backwardness of our workers in general. But as The Militant never tires of putting it, "Where is our Party to lead us if such a situation arises?"

—W. S.

Wauburn, Minn.

Paris Commune Celebration

A celebration of the Paris Commune is to be held by the New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) on Saturday evening, March 19th at Irving Plaza, Irving Pl. and 15th St. It will be a mass meeting and entertainment.

An elaborate social program has been arranged which includes a chorus of about sixty singers from a Hungarian workers' singing society, and a series of revolutionary dances given by a group of our own comrades. It will also include dancing and refreshments.

Hold the date, Saturday evening, March 19th, open. Watch the Militant for further announcements.

«Pravda» on the Second 5 Year Plan

A National Socialist Utopia or the Leninist Conception of Socialist Economy?

The convulsions of the world crisis are tearing wide gaps in the edifice of international capitalism. A seismograph recording the economic and political eruptions of bourgeois society at the present moment would show jagged, spasmodic lines for every country like the fever line of a dying man whose blood runs hot and cold in turn. Everywhere the masters of a great tomorrow are awakening, becoming more rebellious, moving at various speeds towards the insurrection which is to destroy an outlived social structure. Revolutionary problems of the greatest magnitude confront the class conscious vanguard everywhere, Spain, Germany, China—here are only three of the countries which are reaching the boiling point. In all three—to mention no others—the Communist movement bends beneath the tremendously urgent historical tasks it is called upon to solve because no other movement is capable of even dealing with them, much less solving them.

More than ever is the Communist movement in sore need of guidance, of wise advice, of the lessons and experience of the past. They are justified in looking for this guidance and advice to the country in which the theory and practice of the proletarian revolution were successfully tested in action, that is, to the Soviet Union and its Communist party.

The Disregard for the International And here lies the great tragedy. The leaders of the Soviet Union party not only fail to give them this advice but they do not even concern themselves with the burning problems of the rest of the international working class. In 1923, the Central Committee of the Russian party, keenly preoccupied with the impending revolutionary clashes in Germany, called together a special conference on the question, together with representatives of the largest local organizations. It adopted theses on the problems of the German revolution, mobilized the whole party, and through its representatives in the Executive Committee of the Comintern, organized an international conference. In 1932, with the tension of the class struggle far more compelling than it was nine years ago, the Russian party acts in a totally different manner. The cannon-roar in Shanghai may be the first thunderclaps of a world catastrophe of imperialism, Fascism and Communism may be coming to death-grips in Germany, the lava of the social revolution may soon inundate the Spanish bourgeoisie—but all this appears to be happening on a different planet so far as the present leaders of the Russian Communist Party are concerned.

That is the only conclusion one can come to after the accomplishments recorded by the just concluded 17th party conference in Moscow. Outside of agitation references to the contrast between the advances of industrialization and collectivization in the Soviet Union and the increasing misery of the workers under the world capitalist crisis, we do not know of a single problem of the international revolutionary movement that was given an hour of serious consideration at the congress. Not a single movement has yet emerged from this assembly of what was once Lenin's Bolshevik party, dealing with the tasks of the Communists in the capitalist countries.

To compare the proceedings of the present congress with one held under Lenin's leadership is to see at a glance how ruthlessly the party chiefs of today have chopped down one prop after another from under the bridge which, despite the assiduous efforts of the Stalinists, still traditionally connects the nationalistically degenerated apparatus of 1932 with the party of revolutionary internationalism which Lenin trained up for two decades. No more murderous indictment of a leadership speaking in the name of Marxism can be conceived of today than this: the waves of the international revolution beat upon the closed doors of the 17th congress of the Russian party without the bureaucratic congress managers allowing a single one of the hand-picked delegates to as much as get his feet wet.

The conscientious Communist worker to whom internationalism is something more real than a badge to be worn on holidays, will not only feel humiliated and mortified at his state of affairs in the ranks of the leaders he is instructed to obey blindly as "infallible chiefs", but will reflect upon the basic causes that make it possible, or rather, that make it logical and inevitable.

The Second Five Year Plan

If the congress had nothing—absolutely nothing—to say about the problems of the international revolution, it had more than enough to say about the problems of the Soviet party. And on this point we witness the canonization in a veritable nationalistic orgy of the theory of "socialism in one country" which, we are now taught, is to spring

forth full-panoplied, like Minerva from the brow of Jove, at the end of the second Five Year Plan adopted at the congress. Whereas, according to the apostolic revelations of the time, the first Five Year Plan, which was to be completed in three, would merely end with the Soviet Union having "caught up with and outstripped" the most advanced capitalist countries, Pravda now informs us (Daily Worker, 2-23-1932) that, according to the report of the incomparable Molotov:

"The basic political task of the second Five Year Plan is the final liquidation of capitalist elements and of classes in general, the complete extermination of causes which tend to create class distinctions and exploitation, and the conquest of the remnants of capitalism in the economy and in the consciousness of the people; the transformation of the whole toiling population of the country into conscious and active building of a classless socialist society."

What is to happen in the rest of the world while this stupendous project is being accomplished in the brief span of five years (or will it be four or three?), its authors do not inform us, nor are they concerned. For whoever seriously believes that Russia will become a classless, socialist society, in which "the final liquidation of capitalist elements and of classes in general" has been achieved, —that it will do this before the workers in a culturally (techno-industrially) more advanced country have taken power and come to Russia's aid, has definitely turned his back upon the prospect and idea of the international proletarian revolution. Such an oleomargarine "Marxist" has an infinitely more optimistic view of the possibilities for capitalist world stabilization than is entertained by the average bourgeois statesman of mature intelligence. Despite all his fine holiday pretenses, he believes in his heart that the "foreign Communist parties would die without our wasted subsidies". He is convinced deep down that these parties and their leaders, whom he regards with scarcely concealed disdain and contempt, will never seize power in this generation, at least; and if that is the case, what is to be gained by this interminable din and agitation about a "world revolution", especially when it antagonizes the foreign bourgeoisie who must, above everything else, be prevented from intervening with troops to disrupt the bureaucratic Eden of a national socialism? Legion is the name of those decadent Stalinist bureaucrats whose conduct is animated by these ideas.

But despicable as their attitude is towards the international problems, the bureaucrats have an equally reactionary and far more Utopian standpoint towards the problems of Soviet economy. Here an objective consideration of its complex structure is replaced by administrative commands to race at top speed for new records which are not always as unblemished as they appear. In many, perhaps in the majority of the cases, the "records" are achieved at the expense either of a dangerous tensile strain on the physique and nerves of the workers or else of a marked inferiority in the quality of the product turned out. Frequently it is both. For a short period and under the pressure of a partial aim, such strains are conceivable. But to imagine that the workers can or will bear up under the concert pitch to which they have been tuned for the whole historical period that separates us from socialism in Russia, is to reveal a mad ignorance which threatens the existence of the workers' republic more than do a thousand deliberate saboteurs.

What Socialism Means

This should be an obvious truth, unless one is a blind official whose idea of what constitutes socialism is different from everything we have learned from the teachers of our movement. To those for whom Marx, Engels and Lenin are not "outlived", socialism is not a social system in which everybody has been leveled down to a common low plane of a so-called "equality", but a society in which the classes have really been abolished, in which the distinction between "town" and "country" has been eliminated, in which agriculture no longer exists as an economic entity but has become an industry, in which such a rise has been accomplished in production that there can no longer be any comparison between the living conditions of the workers (i. e. of the whole population) under the new society and under the most highly developed capitalist state, and above all, in which the state power and coercion are beginning to die out and to be replaced by the administration of things.

But this assumes such a tremendous rise in the productivity of labor and the

national wealth based upon a highly developed machine technique—all of which must, moreover, keep pace with the concomitant absolute and relative growth of population—as has only begun in the Soviet Union and which cannot be brought to a successful conclusion on the basis of the efforts of Russia's economy alone. Pravda informs us that "the proletariat of the U. S. S. R. is in possession of absolutely all the possibilities, all the power, all the means and all the resources for the victorious fulfillment of this gigantic plan of construction of a socialist society in that period," that is, in another five years. But, bearing in mind the classic definition of socialism, such a contention is not only root false, but is based upon a reactionary outlook. In the strictest sense of the word, particularly for the following reason:

Socialism and World Economy

Socialism is a form of socio-economic relations that must rest upon a far higher plane than that occupied by the most developed capitalist unit. It is an advance from capitalism and in no respect a retreat to pre-capitalist relations. Now, not a single one of the important capitalist powers has developed its productive forces on a strictly national scale. The growth of capitalism in its classic cradle, England, was based essentially upon its world connections, that is, its ever closer interweaving with world commerce, world economy. The low point of capitalist strength in the United States—which has more internal resources than almost any other country—was nevertheless the period of its "isolation" from the rest of the world. Like every other country, it became the economic and political colossus it is today by its increasingly inextricable association with world economy. Indeed, the crisis rendering world capitalism today superfluous, essentially, because the bonds that tie it all into the waters of international economy in which the most backward country is as much a necessary component part as the weaker, were cut at vital points by the contradictions inherent in commodity production itself.

Socialism, or even the transitional economy which prevails in Russia on the road to socialism, cannot be based upon an increasing withdrawal from world economy, but must be predicated upon an extended participation in it. That is why the second Five Year Plan, with its consecrated nationalist ideal is conceived in a reactionary Utopian spirit, not by accident, but as an inexorable result of the—by your leave—"theory" of socialism in one country. For it is based upon the fantastic idea of a complete withdrawal from what Lenin characterized as that "international market to which we are subordinated, with which we are connected and from which we cannot escape". (To refer to but one example: a striking rise in the crops, exceeding domestic needs would soon show in a glaring light how subordinated the U. S. S. R. is to the world market.)

It is, of course, impossible to deal in a short article with all the problems raised by the second Five Year Plan, most of which have already been analyzed in anticipation in the works of comrade Trotsky. It will suffice for the moment to point out that the plan and the whole environment surrounding its elaboration, once more reveal, perhaps more harshly than ever before, the catastrophic practical results of the nationalist theory of Stalin and the abyss he has placed between himself and the revolutionary internationalist essence of Bolshevism. It is easy to imagine in advance—it would even be easy to write them for the paid scribblers!—the answers that will be made to our arguments, the accusations of "pessimism" and "counter-revolution" that will be flung at us because the Left Opposition which fought for years for plan in economy, for industrialization and collectivization, which was expelled while trying to convince the bureaucracy of the progress that Russia could make in socialist construction with a correct policy—nevertheless refuses to be a party to duping the working class with fatal illusions or drugging them with theoretical opium. These accusations about "pessimism" we can answer in advance, with finality, by the words of Lenin which are as applicable in every essential today as they were when written in 1922:

"We have not even finished the foundation for a socialist economy, this can again be taken from us by the hostile forces of dying capitalism. This must be clearly recognized and openly admitted, for nothing is more dangerous than illusions (and attacks of dizziness on high places). And in this recognition of the bitter truth there is nothing 'terrible', nothing that gives any just cause for even the slightest despair, because we have always defended that elementary Marxist truth, we have constantly repeated: that for the victory of socialism the joint efforts of the workers of several advanced countries are necessary". (Works, Vol. XX, part 2, page 487.)

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

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The Dress Strike Settlement Some Lessons the Left Wing Must Draw from It

The New York dressmakers' strike came to an end with the workers returning to practically the same conditions as before—that is, to the sweatshop. This was not because of the lack of a fighting spirit on their part. On the contrary. At a time of general working class acceptance of wage cuts without resistance, these dressmakers set a glorious example by walking out and bringing a considerable number of workers along from the unorganized shops. Their ranks were solid. But their officials of the dominant union, the International Ladies Garment Workers, were primarily concerned about not inconveniencing the jobbers and manufacturers. They themselves proved to the hilt our often repeated warning, not only to watch their declarations but also to watch their fingers signing new agreements. Yet it must be said: Above all, this strike demonstrated the disastrous weakness of a situation where workers are divided in struggle.

Inevitably this situation is reflected in the settlements made by both unions. The I. L. G. W., for example, agreed with the jobbers and inside manufacturers upon certain measures of when and how to fix prices of piece work, but without any guarantee of the demanded minimum price amounting to \$1.10 per hour. The employers' demand for a 10 per cent reorganization right was rejected, but still leaving provisions at their command for reduction of the working force at the end of the season. A certain form of union recognition is granted, but it amounts in this case to facilitate the ironing out of conflicts between the various strata of bosses. The jobbers association has agreed to confine their work to members of the contractors' association. The union obtains the right to protest any working in the shops over and above the five day week, but even that is left for final decision of the impartial chairman. As a whole, no practical change from conditions before the past agreement expired, but leaving plenty of loopholes for further connivance between the employers and their union agents.

Did the Left wing forces in the industrial union fare better in regard to actual strike gains? In this situation that could hardly be expected. As a matter of fact it had to rest content with agreement obtained one by one in individual shops, generally speaking also on practically the same conditions as prevailed prior to the strike.

The Serious Weakness of Two Separate Strikes

Such is the balance sheet of another settled conflict in which the workers, again forming the battling ranks, became the mere object of maneuvers. Their grievances were identical. All were working in the same industry. Yet there were two strikes, called separately, conducted separately and settled separately despite the unity obtained on the picket lines. This could not be conducive to wringing great concessions from the bosses. That the industrial union—that is the Left wing—side of the fight was conducted in the name of a united front committee altered nothing but brought more confusion to the serious objectives of actual workers' unity.

The actual situation in the New York dress shops is now, as before, one in which working conditions and piece work prices are practically the same in unorganized shops, in shops controlled by the I. L. G. and in shops under industrial union control. That, of course, is no great inducement for workers to organize. After all, to the rank and file the most telling argument for organization is one of conditions obtained by the union. That is true even for the dressmakers who have such a splendid fighting tradition. In the same measure it must also be emphatically stated that, while it cannot be expected that the Left wing industrial union, as a minority organization, can force far ahead in gaining conditions, if it cannot at least advance a policy which stands out clearly as superior to that of the Right wing officialdom it forfeits its possibility of winning the masses. Mere propaganda for the Left wing position in its abstract sense is not sufficient. When it degenerates to pure and simple demagoguery, as is now the case of the official party leadership of the industrial union, it becomes actually harmful, because the result is that the workers lose respect for the Left wing and lose confidence in its ability. Moreover, the gentlemen in charge of the I. L. G. W. are far more skilled in the art of demagoguery and have proven alert in maintaining their hold upon the workers on that basis. In this strike the Left wing union, under immediate party direction, did not at all show superiority of policy or in leadership of struggle. Here was a plain problem. Workers of two organizations struggling against a common enemy, against conditions commonly abhorred and commonly hated. What was the burning need, if not that of common struggle and common working out of the immediate objectives in such a way to help frustrate sell-outs. This was a plain duty confronting the revolutionary

party and the industrial union leadership. What did the official party leadership propose? It established a shibboleth which it called the united front committee. It called upon the dressmakers to support this committee, informing them that they did not need to belong to either of the two unions. What argument is that for unionization? Is a substitute for either, or both of these two unions, what is needed? Obviously that could not be the need and ultimately it would negate the very right of the industrial union to exist.

The revolutionists among the needle trades workers must first of all tell them categorically that union organization is the vitally necessary instrument of struggle for their everyday needs. Next they must make clear what kind of union is required, certainly stressing the superiority of the industrial form. They must in actual practice help demonstrate the tactics of a militant policy as a substitution for the treacherous connivance with the employers. But the most powerful weapon of the revolutionary party remains the one of unification of the workers against the common enemy and against the treacherous influence of the yellow leaders. That, of course, would in its first step mean a united front of the two organizations and final trade union unity.

In some cases there is no other way out but by separate unions. That was so at the time of the formation of the industrial union. At the present time, however, the question of trade union unity looms as a serious one, and particularly in the needle trades. That at least should be a lesson from the strike.

Consequently the Left wing should urge the workers in the I. L. G. W. to remain there and to fight for unity. We do not propose this slogan of unity on the basis of whatever conditions the reactionary officials may desire to lay down. Not at all. It is a fighting

Lovestonites Disrupt Rank and File Movement in the A. C. W. Union

The Lovestone Group in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union has for a long time been in search of a suitable ally among the discredited and discarded officials with whom to initiate an "opposition" movement in the A. C. W. administration. The recent developments in the New York A. C. W. organization finally gave birth to a group which is compelled to rise against Hillman and is in need of some protective covering to be able to rally the workers in a sham fight against the Hillman machine.

Hillman has recently effected an economy reorganization of the New York Joint Board as a result of which a number of officials fell out of their positions. Thus the long sought for ally has been found. Between these officials and the Lovestone group known under the name of Progressive Circle, has been created a united front against the Hillman policies in the Amalgamated. A mass meeting of tailors was called to launch a rank and file movement under their leadership. The tailors responded in big numbers. The situation in the industry is deplorable. The intolerable conditions in the shops and the wide spread unemployment are driving the workers to revolt. Any group with a program for improving their conditions and determination for struggle will easily get a following among them. But that was not furnished by this combination.

The Right wing combination from the beginning secured the leadership of the movement having arranged the details of the meeting. The speakers and the resolutions, left no doubt about the character of the movement they were out to create.

The Rank and File Committee (an organization under Party control) who came to the meeting had little difficulty in exposing the character and aims of the combination, that called it. The meeting ended in a commotion without accomplishments. The Lovestone group in a statement published in the Jewish papers, *Forward* and *Day*, accuses the Rank and File Committee of breaking up the meeting.

Who Will Organize the Revolt

The truth is that the Right wing combination adjourned the meeting to suit themselves. The continuance of the meeting would mean its complete discredit and loss of its control. They did not wish to concede to the demand of the Rank and File Committee members for a committee to be elected from the floor because such a committee would displace them from control. Neither were they willing to discuss anything. Their resolution was to be adopted, and their leadership recognized. So the "opposition" movement in the A. C. W. has burst like a bubble. It is to be expected that the organizers of it will now adopt

OPEN FORUM

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ARNE SWABECK
"LESSONS OF THE
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at the
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Friday, March 11, 1932
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slogan and implies a simultaneous fight for certain definite conditions. We do not propose unity merely in its abstract sense but for the attainment of specific working class objectives.

Despite the present situation of the sweatshop still obtaining in the garment industry future growth of the I. L. G. W. is not precluded. But with that also growth of the problems of this union for satisfaction of the demands of the workers. Certainly this implies possibilities of formation and growth of a Left wing within the union. With equally as much certainty we can also point to the prospects which are available for growth of the industrial union provided it proceeds correctly. To that can be added the general prospects of a developing workers' resistance to the enemy onslaughts which is destined to assume real proportions for the future. From this must be concluded that on a whole the need and the possibilities for trade union unity of these organizations who are rivals today will increase. This contains a warning which must be heeded.

—A. S.

a course that is more in accord with their traditions and aims, that is, to negotiate for positions and powers behind closed doors.

It is characteristic for the Right wing group to find an excuse for their bureaucratic control in the intentions of the Rank and File Committee members to capture the movement. The Rank and File Committee, in spite of its erroneous policies, has the reputation of an honest and sincere group of workers, while the despised Right wing officials have on their record a whole series of crimes which it has committed against the tailors at Hillman's behest, which even the Lovestone cover would not hide. The tailors will not readily follow them, even though they remain inattentive to the Rank and File Committee.

Who will organize the revolt of the tailors in the A. C. W.? This question is constantly heard from the lips of Left wingers. What can be the answer to it? What does the party do to meet the need of organization of a Left wing in the A. C. W.? What is the reason for the failure of the Rank and File Committee in developing a Left wing movement in the A. C. W. In spite of the favorable situation? There seems to be only one explanation. The numerous blunders of the Left wing in the past and the wrong policies pursued by the Needle Trades Industrial Union in the other needle trade branches have had their repercussions in the men's clothing situation. A year or two ago the Lovestonites could not succeed in gathering a handful of workers at their meetings. Their own following in the Amalgamated consists of less than a half a dozen people. Today they are more successful in getting a response among the workers in spite of their association with the discredited elements. The Lovestonites are exploiting to their benefit the false policies of the Party leadership in the trade union movement. It is significant that in their resolutions presented at the meeting emphasis is laid on the necessity of "categorically rejecting all proposals for a split in the Amalgamated." The resolution also urges the "rejection from the ranks of the movements of all persons who are committed to a policy of splitting the Amalgamated or have loyal duties to a dual organization."

The Rank and File Committee, however, has never made clear its policies or adopted a clear cut program for the men's clothing Left wing. Confusion prevails in their own ranks. A great number of them still cherish the idea of splitting the A. C. W. Many among them consider themselves a part of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. The Rank and File Committee in general is marking time, lacking confidence in its own forces in spite of the increasing favorable opportunities for a Left wing movement.

(Continued on page 4)

Fake Peace Gestures in Far East

Imperialists Jockeying for Position in Coming World Clashes

The day's news hails the acceptance by Japanese imperialism of the armistice proposals made by the League of Nations. That this "peaceful" gesture is merely a continuation of the aggressive policy of the Tokyo statesmen along new lines, cannot be mistaken. And it is especially the Wall Street spokesmen at Washington who know this fact and bring their actions in accord with it. A Japanese acceptance of the truce can only take place under conditions favorable to the invaders. Tokyo does not conceal these intentions. It is simply putting into play a diplomatic maneuver which it is confident the French reactionaries and a "strong pro-Japanese Tory group in the British cabinet"—actually the backbone of the present conservative government—will support.

It is only natural that the Hoover regime is disgruntled with this state of affairs. One thing is certain: the conclusion of the truce, if it should get as far as that, will hardly mean the end of the Far Eastern episode, but will much rather bring it more closely within the framework of a broad struggle among the world imperialists themselves. The United States, through the mouth of Stimson, in his letter to Senator Borah, has already expressed its determination not to recognize any new transactions, involving China, that will break the boundaries set by previous treaties (The Nine Power Treaty, etc.). The Japanese militarists will not pay any attention to them.

They have already too much at stake. They started out on their Manchurian adventure because they saw an opportunity in the present unstable economic positions of the other powers, to get some badly needed markets for their own hard-pressed industries. In view of the belated arrival on the scene of Japanese capitalism, that was only to be expected. In the meantime, the boycott of its goods in China and the rapidly growing war expenses are further devouring the resources of Nippon's industries. Already the various organs of the Tokyo government—the Privy Council, the cabinet—are very busy to make further levies on the population for the conduct of military operations, especially since the latter have hardly met with the desired success. But it is impossible to conceive of anything like a "peaceful" retreat on their part.

The American gentlemen-brigands, whose aim it has been, ever since the inception of the present crisis, to find a solution for it by a vast extension of its foreign market, specifically in a centralized bourgeois China, look with great concern upon Japanese machinations. More immediately, American industry has already sustained losses in its recently increased exports to China (brought about by the creation of a demand for American products, subsequent to the devastations of last year's flood) through the siege at Shanghai, which hardly improves the attitude of Washington. The concentration of the United States fleet in the Pacific, and the maneuvers attending it, are especially significant when viewed from this angle, although not in a direct sense.

In China itself, the valiant fight put up by the Nineteenth Route Army in its defense of Shanghai has not brought forth the nation-wide response that many ex-

pected. In the absence of a resolute and conscious class to lead it, the Kuo Min Tang bourgeoisie has for the moment succeeded only in making a football for the imperialists, of the Chinese nation. The most progressive class in the Chinese masses, the proletariat, suffered a frightful defeat at the hands of its own bourgeoisie during the Chiang Kai-Shek-Borodin-Stalin alliance in 1925-1927. The slaughter of the flower of the Chinese working class by Chiang Kai-Shek and the frightful depression following it could only be counter-acted by a slow and patient regathering of its scattered forces, by a wide-spread struggle for the most elementary rights, as was proposed by comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition at the time. The failure of the Stalinists in control to realize this Marxist tactic and their persistence in sowing illusions about the Red peasant movement in the rural districts, which was only a faint and belated echo of the immense revolutionary upsurge of the earlier years, is again largely responsible for the impotence of the Chinese working masses in the present situation. Its revolutionary rebirth will most probably come with a new wave of proletarian struggle in the other countries, and not in the last place, within the Japanese empire itself. At present, it is first beginning to recover from its tragic defeat, under very difficult conditions.

The events in the Far East and the sharpening conflicts among the capitalist nations cannot be considered in themselves. They are part and parcel of the entire economic and social development of the epoch we live in. The world crisis has brought the course of this development into bold relief. The anarchy of capitalist production, based on the profit system alone, can only be maintained by a widening of the market for each capitalist nation. But a widening of the market, in so far as the capitalists are concerned, can only mean the acquisition, in an economic sense at least, of foreign territories. The fact that all territories outside of the capitalist world have already been distributed among such new "acquisitions" can only be achieved by sharp struggles among the such new "acquisitions" can only be achieved by sharp struggles among the various imperialists. The conflict between Japan and the United States at the present moment is the most recent illustration of this development. War under our present system can only benefit the imperialists. The workers have no interest in it. While American imperialism is waging a struggle for markets on the one hand, it is making an assault upon the standards of living of its own working class on the other. These two methods represent the two levers of the capitalist solution of the economic crisis. The solution of the working class can only be that of persistent and intransigent struggle against its own bourgeoisie, against its war aims and against its wage-cutting drive.

The capitalist antagonisms, between Japan and the United States, between the United States, France and England, cannot help but lead in their further course, to social convulsions, to revolutionary situations. In the meantime, it is the task of the class conscious workers to prepare themselves, to understand what is going on about them, and to act accordingly.

Alongside with the danger of a war among the imperialists, and not at all in contradiction with it, is the danger of a war against the Soviet Union, against the workers' fatherland. For, aside from being the outpost of the world revolution, which is most odious to the entire capitalist world, the Soviet Union also represents a potential market for capitalist exploitation, while the first danger is most prominent in the Far East, the second centers around Germany. The prerequisite for a capitalist attack on Workers' Russia is the crushing of its most reliable ally, the German working class. And that is why the class conscious worker must pay particular attention to the Fascist menace in that country, the success of which can only mean the destruction of the German proletariat and an immediate attack upon the U. S. S. R.

Sharp solutions of the crisis in the Far East and of the class struggle in Germany are inevitable and close. The first task of the Communists in preparing for the revolutionary situation that will result is to entrench themselves and the influence of Communism among the broad masses of the workers. This can only be done by means of a Leninist united front policy. By patiently explaining to the workers, by sincerely striving for unity in action on the issues of the day, by forcing their reformist leaders into the struggle so that their true and treacherous character will become apparent to the workers—this is the way to prepare the ground for effective action in the revolutionary situation to come, this is the Communist road to the masses.

Secondly, it is necessary to educate the American workers to class consciousness by the concrete example of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. This can best be done by linking up the magnificent successes of socialist planning in the U. S. S. R. With the struggle against the misery brought about by capitalist anarchy, by linking up the absolute need for international solidarity in the work going on in the Soviet Union with the fight against unemployment in this country. The Left Opposition for this purpose long ago proposed the slogan of long term credits to Soviet Russia, with which to buy machinery needed for the fulfillment of the five year plan, and which in turn means Soviet contracts for American factories and a considerable measure of relief to thousands of American unemployed workers.

Thirdly, it is necessary to exert all forces to imbue the working class with militant internationalism. To constantly stress that only the international fighting solidarity of the proletariat can once and for all free it from the yoke of capitalism. Concretely, to explain to them every day what it is that binds their interests up with those of the Soviet Union, of the oppressed peoples of the Far East, with the success or failure of revolution in Germany.

The differences that exist on these questions between the Left Opposition and the Stalinists are differences of historic importance, questions of life and death for the revolutionary movement. To fight against the reactionary theory of socialism in one country which cripples that international solidarity without which the workers in America as well as those in Russia are doomed to defeat; to fight against the Centrist policies and tactics of Stalinist Centristism ("united front from below", "social Fascism", etc.) which abandon the working masses to the reformist fakery; to unfold the banner of Marxism-Leninism as the guiding light of the revolutionary vanguard, today; when it is being dragged in the mud—the Left Opposition is ready to undergo all the hardships in the world. The persecutions and slanders of the party bureaucracy cannot for a moment hinder us in our historic struggle, in the struggle for a Leninist party, without which there can be no proletarian victory. Confident of the future, the Left Opposition will patiently continue its course, which is the course of regenerating the Communist movement. It is the hardest and most important task of the moment.

—S. G.

Glotzer Tour Meets Success

The best meeting yet held for the Left Opposition in Chicago is the report of comrade Glotzer's lecture, Sunday Feb. 28, on the prospects of the revolutionary movement in Europe. About 150 workers attended the meeting participating in an excellent discussion after the lecture. This attendance really defied all the efforts of the local party leaders to prevent its success.

Instructions had previously been issued to all party units that no member was to attend Glotzer's meeting on pain of disciplinary action for any violation of this rule. A special party observer was selected to attend, and to attend alone in order to check up on possible recalcitrants. However, the observer failed to put in an appearance while the workers showed up in good numbers eager to head what the Left Opposition representative had to say.

From Boston the tour went to Montreal, Canada. In that city we have no regular organization. Nevertheless it became possible to gather a small meeting of about 30 Communists which resulted in more convinced supporters for our platform. Toronto was the next stop. The handicap to be surmounted in that city are already known to our readers. The reactionary drive against all working class and revolutionary activities now pursued by the capitalist government is particularly aiming to suppress all semblance of freedom of speech and of assembly. Under these conditions a meeting could be arranged only under the greatest difficulties. Nevertheless there was an attendance of about 60 workers, including a good many official party members and close party sympathizers.

In Buffalo comrade Glotzer spoke under the auspices of the local branch of the Proletarian Party Opposition group. While not the most effective advertisement was made, nevertheless fifty workers attended, including some official Party members. Discussion with these P. P. Opposition group comrades have already served to clarify their understanding of our position. As a result the Buffalo branch is proposing to its national group to orientate itself in the direction of unity with the Communist League of America.

Lenin and Trotsky in 1905

On Some Stalinist Distortions of History

The Russian Revolution of October 1917 can only be written adequately when the role of Lenin and Trotsky are properly placed. Written history at the time of this event elevated the role of Lenin and Trotsky to its proper height in relation to the 1917 prelude of the world revolution. The attempts of Stalinism to revamp this part of history, and to delete Trotsky's role from the pages and replace instead—Stalin, is of no avail. The source of material within our party and throughout the world proletarian camp is so voluminous for this research that Stalin's attempt to erase Trotsky's role only complicates matters for Centrists.

But the 1905 Revolution leaves us no such source of material, as to the position of Lenin and Trotsky. Therefore, the haters of Marxism and Internationalism fall back to this period and slur the position of Trotsky. Fortunately though, we have the material and writings of Lenin and Trotsky of this period, and since the party leadership only lies about Trotsky's position it is necessary to constantly bring this material forward, so that the revolutionist and Marxist can decide the facts for himself, as to the position of Lenin and Trotsky.

ON THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION

Stalinism not only endeavors to misrepresent Trotsky's position in 1905 but also attempts to falsify the role of Lenin, for the purpose of covering up the blunders of the present epigones in the 1917 period. After Stalin "corrected" history, one of the lesser lights followed up in the *Daily Worker* with an article on "The Historical Experiences of Bolshevism and the International Proletariat". One of the many blunders of the article reads as follows: "The Lessons of the year of 1905 enabled Lenin to draw up that strategic general plan which led the proletariat to victory first in February and afterwards in October 1917." This thought conveys the idea that long before the arrival of Lenin in Russia and long before his famous April thesis, which amounts to the rearming of the party, Stalin and his like, who were in Russia, were carrying out a correct Bolshevik line. In other words, Lenin's arrival and Lenin's April thesis did not correct anything, "the proletariat" were led "to victory first in February" (!). In trying to bury Lenin's April thesis to cover their blunders the February period the Stalinists create the source of additional blunders.

In the introduction to Lenin's pamphlet of articles on the "Revolution of 1905" the epigones rebash history again. In one place this introduction says, "On the other hand, Trotsky, who had never had a definite conception of the nature of the bourgeois revolution of 1905, for this reason reached a point, in his theory of 'permanent revolution' when he denied the possibility of the revolutionary alliance between proletariat and peasantry and proclaimed a 'workers' government' to be the immediate aim of the revolutionary uprising. And to this he 'logically' attached the conception that 'without direct and governmental aid from the European proletariat the working class of Russia could not maintain itself in power' (Our Revolution, page 278 Russian)."

TROTSKY AND THE PEASANTRY

Can you say these "Communists" misquote Trotsky's position in 1905 because they do not know of his position? No. They quote the above from his book, *Our Revolution* and in that book is sufficient evidence for any class-conscious worker to prove the correct position of Trotsky in 1905. These epigones are quoting Trotsky as the social democrats quoted Marx and Engels.

Trotsky in 1905 said the workers of Russia needed aid from Europe, otherwise they could not maintain themselves—and according to Stalinism this was wrong in 1905. But Lenin, not in 1905 but even in 1918, said the following: "This is a lesson because the absolute truth is that without a revolution in Germany we will perish." (Vol. 15, page 132, Russian edition). And, Lenin again, "Our backwardness has thrust us forward and we will perish if we will not be able to hold out until we meet with the mighty support of the insurrectionary workers of the other countries" (Vol. 15, page 187). What Lenin laid down on this subject in 1918 was equally, if not more so, true in 1905.

Did Trotsky "deny the possibility of the 'revolutionary alliance between the proletariat and peasantry' in the 1905 period, as is claimed? Trotsky, in 1905 said, "It is self-understood that the proletariat, as in its time the bourgeoisie, fulfills its mission, supported upon the peasantry and petit-bourgeoisie. The proletariat leads the village, draws it into the movement, interests it in the success of its plans. The proletariat, however, absolutely remains the leader. This is not the dictatorship of the peasantry and proletariat, but the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasantry." (1905, page 231). Many more equally important passages can be quoted to prove that Trotsky's understanding of the peasant problem in 1905 was equal to any and far superior to the epigones of today who lived at that time. Many such quotations can be had in *Our Revolution*, translated by Olgin, or in Trotsky's pamphlet on the *Permanent Revolution* in which he quotes from his works of 1905.

The rank and file Communist members repeat these slanders against Trotsky because they do not know the truth and repeat what they are told. But for the

bureaucrats, it is not a matter of ignorance—it is a matter of plain lies, of revisionism; just as the social democrats skillfully quoted Marx and Engels on the state, giving the rank and file a wrong picture. Let me quote just once more from 1905, page 267-68: "Our revolution, which is a bourgeois revolution according to the immediate tasks it grew out of, knows, as a consequence of the extreme class differences of the industrial population of no bourgeois class which could place itself at the head of the popular masses by combining its social weight and political experience with revolutionary energy. The suppressed worker and peasant masses, left to their own resources, must take it upon themselves to create, in the hard school of implacable conflict and cruel defeat, the necessary political and organizational preconditions for their triumph. No other road is open to them."

Does this look as if Trotsky did not understand the relation of the proletariat and peasantry in 1905? Does this look as if Trotsky did not understand the nature of the bourgeois revolution of 1905? Let the revisionists talk. They have their day as the leaders of the second international had theirs. We, the Marxists, are sure of victory. Material facts and Marxian truths are greater than all the lies of the epigones.

LENIN ON COLONIAL REVOLUTION

In the *Daily Worker* article, quoted above, they say, "The task of organizing the united front of all the exploited and oppressed under the leadership of the proletariat was raised by Lenin to the level of the world problem of the revolutionary alliance of proletariat of the advanced countries with the enslaved peoples of the colonies and semi-colonial countries." This is a jumble and is not the position of Lenin. As Trotsky says, "Lenin thus raised the national liberation movement, the colonial insurrection and wars of the oppressed nations to the level of the bourgeois democratic revolutions, particularly in the period prior to the Russian revolution of 1905. But Lenin did not at all rank the national liberation wars above the bourgeois rev-

olution as this is now done by Bukharin who has turned an angle of 180 degree." (Criticism of the Draft Program). And to this day the revisionist rank this movement above the bourgeois democratic revolution.

All of this revamping of history in relation to the 1905 revolution is necessary on the revisionist part, first to smash the Marxian position of Trotsky and second, to enable them to build a case for the use of the slogan of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, as it appears in the Sixth World Congress Program. In order to do this, they must not only throw overboard all the facts of Trotsky's position but with it the position of Lenin on this subject. This hypothetical slogan raised in 1905 was discarded events concretized the perspective through the 1917 revolution. It was discarded by Lenin, but not by the epigones although he criticized them on this very point in April 1917.

THE "DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP"

The introduction to Lenin's valuable book on 1905 also says, "Because of this circumstance, the 1905 revolution may be called the dress rehearsal not only of October 1917, but of the 'World October.' Because of the colonial conditions of China and India, etc. In other words, 1905 is the dress rehearsal for the backward countries in revolutions and 1917 is the dress rehearsal for the industrially developed countries.

In answer to this, we can show that 1917 has been the dress rehearsal not only for the revolutions of industrial Europe, but also for the Chinese revolution of 1925-27. But to this day the Stalinists and Right wingers have not recognized this historic fact. There can be no other than a dictatorship of the proletariat or a dictatorship of the capitalist in content. The form will vary but the form of the proletarian dictatorship in backward countries will not be a "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasants." On the contrary, the more backward the country, the weaker the country is economically, the more open will our dictatorship with the peasant alliance have to be in order to hold power with a minority of the proletariat and here we have the revolution in countries with the majority of the proletariat, the more proletarian democracy can we have in the early years of our rule.

—HUGO OEHLER.

The R.R. Workers and the Wage Cut

A Militant Looks at Conditions in his Industry and Reviews the Past

The article printed below is a discussion article we have received from a worker long active in the Railroad industry. It raises important questions with regard to the Communist approach to the problems of the transport workers, which cannot be overlooked and which deserve the attention of all Communist trade unionists. The columns of *The Militant* remain, as always, open to all points of view among its class-conscious, working class readers, on this as well as on all matters of import to the revolutionary movement.—Ed.

The recent wage cut of the R. R. workers has once again brought the R. R. unions to the foreground of the American labor movement. The several articles in the *Militant* dealing with this event have brought out most of the basic factors of the immediate developments. However, to a certain extent they have one common fault. They are uniform in playing up the betrayal of the officials with very little criticism of the rank and file for their past activities or inactivity.

It is true enough that, in so far as the immediate aspects of the situation are concerned, the betrayal of the R. R. workers by the labor skates stands out in bold relief. It is also true that the R. R. workers (the great majority of those involved at the present time have been in the industry since the war) over the period of the past twelve years have been guilty of inactivity, self-centeredness, narrow craft psychology, passivity, white chauvinism, bourgeois prejudices, etc. While the latter facts do not excuse the labor skates for their betrayal neither does the betrayal absolve the rank and file from their sins of omission and commission.

American Stalinism constantly demonstrates to us that the only method known to the bureaucrats for winning both black and white workers for militant struggle is by a system of patronization. But the history of the American labor movement teaches that workers in such situations are prone to seize upon ex-

cuses of this kind of deserting the unions in the most critical moment, thus making the further onslaught of the capitalist class less difficult.

Every militant worker knows or should know, as was pointed out in a recent leading article on the R. R. wage cuts, in *The Militant*, that the acceptance of one wage cut does not arrest the wage-cutting drive. On the contrary it only wets the appetite of the master class. This was the lesson of the events leading up to the shopmen's strike of 1912. Preservation of the R. R. unions, as weak as they are, is of paramount importance to the R. R. workers at the present moment.

MUST ACKNOWLEDGE MISTAKES

In the struggle to develop the class consciousness of the working class it is as essential to point out to the workers their weak sides as well as their strong points and the role of the bureaucrats must not be allowed to serve as an excuse for the short comings of the rank and file. The novice fears to criticize the workers because he is afraid of offending them. He is likely to rely upon the condemnation of the officials instead. But every experienced agitator knows that the first step toward any militant action is to get the workers to see and acknowledge their own failings. This is less difficult to accomplish than it may seem, for the working class is not easily offended by sincere criticism and they instinctively know that they have been guilty of many offenses against their own best interests.

It is handling the question superficially to lay too much stress upon the lack of activity and preparation on the part of the officials when it became evident that the present wage cuts were the immediate goal of the R. R. Companies. To accept such a viewpoint is to aid the official in erecting a plausible excuse for their capitulation. The labor skates betrayal goes back much further and much deeper than that. Likewise the behavior of the rank and file. The history of the struggle in the R. R. industry over the period of the last twelve or fourteen years is full of events. If the rebel worker is to be of value to the R. R. workers in the present situation he must be able to skillfully present both sides of the picture. Those who are incapable of seeing the weakness of the working class will be sure to overlook their strong points at the critical moment.

UNITY SOLIDARITY A CRYING NEED

It was inevitable that all R. R. workers as well as the R. R. union in general would sooner or later suffer from the defeat of the shop men in 1922. The favored position granted to the Brotherhood unions during and after this strike was little short of a bribe for non-support of the shop men. The Brotherhood members are now receiving the second installment of interest on their policy. No amount of excuses can eliminate the fact that the "Hoger" sat on his back side (two hundred and fifty pounds of solid anchorage) and pulled the throttle while the shop men were putting up a heroic but losing battle. Not a few of them, monkey wrench in hand, "got out and got under": It was thus that "Casey" Jones kept his junk pile running. And the trainmen and conductors were doing their stuff in perfect union. Even the "Fire Boys" with their militant traditions and from whose ranks came the undaunted Gene Debs, shame-facedly kept the "home fires" burning brightly beneath the leaky boilers. This was not the first but second offense, for the Brotherhoods did the same thing during the "out-law" switchmen's strike at an earlier date.

Could the Brotherhood men have struck in sympathy with the shop men in spite of their officials? The shop men set the example in the victorious "out-law" strike of 1919 when they told their officials to jump in the lake. Militant support of the shop men in 1922 by the Brotherhoods, leaving the job in sympathy, would have welded the R. R. workers together permanently with an unbreakable iron band of solidarity. It would have left an undying tradition in the R. R. unions.

Do the shop men then have anything to crow about? Very little. After the "out-law" strike victory in 1919, the rank and file allowed themselves to be swayed by a sense of self-security and self-satisfaction. The plea on the part of a few militants to take the maintenance of way men into the shop federation, for the most part, fell on deaf ears. They, the "skilled shop men", disinclined to be too closely associated with "common" (some of the so-called laborers had almost as much skill as the shop crafts) laborers. Several of the shop craft unions (particularly the machinists) were more afraid of being "contaminated" by the Negro workers (who wanted nothing better than a chance to fight side by side and shoulder by shoulder with their white fellow workers) than they were of the R. R. bosses.

The writer knows whereof he speaks, for the main part of his effort during this time was in the direction of bringing the maintenance of way men into the shop federation. Opposition came not only from the officials but from the rank and file as well. Even where there was sympathy for the idea there was little concrete action and much passivity. In the midst of the strike of 1922 every shop man realized the mistake. But it was then too late. Instead of admitting the mistake however, some of them took to blaming it all on the then President of the Maintenance of Way Men. Although that culprit deserved to be condemned and kicked out of the labor

movement, the principal blame belongs to the shop men themselves, for it was they who placed the weapons in this fakes' hands by their past policies.

The shop men are also to be blamed for their feeble effort toward the bringing of the several other A. F. of L. Railroad unions into a closely knitted strike alliance and making the R. R. Department of the A. F. of L. something more than a soft spot for such job holding scoundrels as Bert M. Jewel.

It is just at such a time, when the workers are compelled to suffer the consequences of past indifference, that the lessons flowing from past experience must be hammered home to them. In such a time, the logic of the militant minority has tenfold force. Those who waste too much time on the acronically acts of the officials are often wont to divert attention from the more permanent lessons that the working class must learn before any lasting improvement can be made in their status.

Unless the events over the entire period from the end of the war onward are understood and explained, all comment on the present situation will be well nigh useless to the Railroad worker. The whole history must be reviewed and interrupted in language understandable to the working class. Treachery of the officials either past, present or future must not be allowed to become an excuse for individual desertions from the ranks of the old unions. The weaknesses and mistakes of the rank and file must not be minimized. They must be brought out in the open in order that they may be overcome and they can be overcome only by militant activity and real solidarity. There must be no deserting of the unions at the critical moment. The workers must be made to understand that the crying need is One Big Union of all the Railroad workers from the track laborer to the "Hoger" and that the way to get it is to work for it. By substituting unity for dissension, and solidarity for petty self-interest, the Railroad worker can not only regain all lost ground but can march ahead to new victories and the six hour day for the entire Railroad industry.

—J. M. AGITATOR.

- A Story of Boss Violence in the Illinois Mine Fields -

Andy is a young coal miner. He works in one of the big coal mines of southern Illinois. His job is possibly the most hazardous in the mines. He runs a locomotive on the main line. Andy and I started into the labor movement at the same time. One evening an organizer of the Young Workers' League came to our mining camp. He played capitalism, he spoke of the struggles of youth in the working class' general fight through out the world. The orator was convincing. Our early experience had taught us that he was right. We joined the Young Workers' League and became absorbed in the fight energetically. We did the best we could, we studied and everything in line with our class duties, was fulfilled to the greatest extent.

Nine years later, we again were together at the recent Indianapolis convention of the United Mine Workers of America. We joined together in a room during the two weeks in the convention city. Every morning we journeyed together at the conclave. We listened attentively to the orators. The infamous John L. Lewis, President of the International Union, belittled and growled away at the insurgents. As we watched the portly, pot bellied, bushy browed, "leader" of "our" union, prance around with his air of sophistication, we began to wonder among ourselves, where such a species of a coal miner had ever originated from! We saw with our own eyes and heard with our ears, this betrayer of the miners for years and his cohorts. We had not made any mistake in the nine years that we had opposed this tool of the coal operators.

During the hectic sessions of the convention we took our place in the fight against the erroneous policies of the officialdom. Andy is not an orator, his early beginnings in the pit had not permitted him to get the education one deserves. Like scores of stevedores of the class struggle, Andy's deeds are not measured by the wonderful language of a silver tongued speaker, but are transformed daily into action by his fights against the mine bosses and his service to the membership of his large local union in which he serves in the capacity of secretary. During the rank betrayals of the Lewis machine throughout the entire proceedings of the convention, Andy's teeth gritted, his mind was where the minds of the officers the union were farthest from; he thought about the miners back home, the miners in the unorganized fields, suffering, starving, dying like rats.

Upon our return home, we prepared for the regular local union meetings. Duty bound, we take the fight back to the coal miners of southern Illinois. Once more the United Mine Workers of America has met in an International Convention, and once more the Lewis machine has further hog-tied the coal miners of the continent. Andy, as a delegate from his local union reports to a well-attended meeting. He exposes the packed convention, the professional hand clappers that were brought in by the official wrecking crew. Nothing was done for the miners! To send delegates to such a convention is like sending delegates to hell, Andy tells them. The miners know it. Their freedom to fight the coal operators and their murderous

attacks against them are stifled, not by the forces without, but by the forces from within, paid by the coal miners themselves in handsome salaries.

In the local union, as in every mass section of organized labor is present a stool pigeon of the coal company. One gangster by the name of Whitlow. Formerly on the district payroll of the reactionary clique, alleged to be on the payroll of the Lewis machine at present and for a fact deputized on several occasions to break local "wild cat" strikes and to slug and kill Communists. A general rumpus takes place in the local union meeting as the stool pigeon takes offense to the remarks of the delegates. The miners boo and jeer the agent of the bosses. Andy calls his bluff and challenges him to lay aside his brass "knucks" and his gun and to come in the center of the hall like a man. The complexion of the gangster turns pale, later it becomes green as his cowardly constitution fails him in a man to man fight. The gangster, like the rest of his ilk, is exposed. He must snuff the humiliation of being exposed! He is not now in the dark corners of the street gangling militant workers, his hand is called by a young miner. The meeting is tense, every miner is determined that no other aides of the gangster will interfere. But like all other cowards, the gangster and four of his lieutenants sneak out of the hall with a mad rush. Andy follows them outside, the young militant's indignation is past control. We follow Andy. As we approach the stairway, the gangster has a dead aim on

Andy, his wolfish eyes gleam like a demon in the darkness of the night. The murderer's gun barks twice. Andy is temporarily floored, the bullet strikes Andy in the back, piercing his abdomen. The other bullet strikes another young miner in the leg. A waiting automobile rushes the bandits away whom the enraged miners, speeding to the sheriff's office. The gangster receives the protection of the County Jail, as his blood lust body trembles from fear.

Andy is rushed to the hospital along with the other victim. Doctors hurriedly speed to and fro, as the young victim goes under the knife of the surgeon. Hundreds of miners swarm the dark shadows of the trees surrounding the hospital, awaiting news, hoping against hope that their young leader will live. At home, a young wife with her infant will have to be notified . . . What a task!

While Andy fights for his life, while every tissue and corporeal exerts itself for life, as his gentle face is covered by a deadly sweat, the officers of law and order caucus with the murderer. The gangster has nothing to fear from the "law", he is encouraged to murder by the very "enforcers of justice!" "After all, shooting a Communist, especially a hunk, is no more serious than shooting a nigger, they're worse than niggers." This is the report from the County Office of the great American democracy, the land of equal opportunity, pursuit of happiness and symbol of world freedom.

—GERMINAL.

The Militant Subscription Drive

In the center of the drive to build the opposition press stands the task of boosting the circulation of *The Militant*. This can be done in three ways. It is necessary to increase the paid subscription list. From March 1st to June 1st the subscription drive will take place. The branches of the League should take up the drive in an organized manner. The New York branch has organized two teams with a captain at the head of each. The progress of the teams will be recorded on a specially designed chart on the bulletin board. During the drive with each one year subscription of \$2.00 we will offer to the subscriber a paper bound copy of the *Permanent Revolution*; with each six months' subscription of \$1.00 the *Strategy of the World Revolution*; with a three months' subscription of \$.50 any one of our 10c pamphlets. Everywhere our comrades should canvass our sympathizers and their friends for subscriptions. The progress of the drive will be reported in *The Militant*.

The second way of boosting the circulation of the *Militant* is by going after expired subs. Our branches will be notified regularly in advance of the expirations. They are expected to canvass for renewals. Renewals will be considered on the same basis as new subscriptions and will be entered to the credit of the comrades. Where we have no branches, if our comrades will undertake this work, we will inform them regularly of further expirations.

The third method of boosting the circulation of *The Militant* is to increase the newsstand and bookstore sale. To help our comrades place *The Militant* on stands and in book stores we have printed posters with a picture of comrade Trotsky and the simple statement "Leon Trotsky writes every week for *The Militant*." These posters are attractive and should be placed on only those stands which carry or will carry *The Militant*. The publication of the first volume of the *History of the Russian Revolution* will no doubt be attended by a wave of publicity. It is our intention to ride the crest of this wave. The posters should be ordered immediately, and placed immediately. The bundle orders should also be remitted at once. Where stands carry *The Militant*, an attempt should be made to persuade them to increase their orders. The posters will be furnished gratis. But they should be distributed discriminatingly as our supply is limited.

If all our comrades pitch in this drive should make it possible to raise the circulation of *The Militant* 100%.

WANTED Literature Agents

Unemployed comrades who can devote a few hours daily can help themselves and at the same time spread the literature of the Left Opposition. Write for particulars. PIONEER PUBLISHERS New York City

Lectures on the History of the Communist International

On Wednesday, March 9th when comrade Shachtman begins his series of eight lectures on the *History of the Communist International*, the Left Opposition, in New York, will take another step to provide workers with an education along Marxian lines which the Stalinists have distorted to fit the needs of their factional stranglehold of the party. The subject was chosen with this view in mind.

The lectures will trace the rise and development of the Third International under Lenin and Trotsky; its Stalinization and degeneration subsequent to Lenin's death, and its future perspectives. The lectures will be popular and designed to raise class consciousness as well as to equip workers with accurate factual data theoretically along the lines of Marxism-Leninism.

HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

A Series of Eight Popular Lectures For Workers

by Max Shachtman
March 9th—Origins of the Third International
March 16th—The Founding of the New International
March 23rd—The Twenty-One Conditions of the International
March 30th—The Struggle for the Conquest of the Masses
April 6th—The Last Leninist Congress
April 13th—The First Victory of the Right-Centrist Reaction
April 20th—The Triumph of the Epigones
April 27th—The Future of the Third International—What Next at the LABOR TEMPLE—14th St., and 2nd Ave. at 8 P. M.
QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION.
Admission 15c per lecture \$1 for the course

«Young Spartacus» No. 4 Out

The March issue of the *Young Spartacus* is ready for sale and distribution. It contains a summarized article by comrade Trotsky on Germany and Fascism, a report by Albert Glotzer on Imperialist War and the Class Struggle, an article on the murder of Harry Stinson, one of the "Logic of the Theory of National Socialism", a brief biographical sketch of Karl Marx and other interesting items.

The comrades should make efforts for effective distribution and sale of the *Young Spartacus*.

The editorial board of the *Young Spartacus* wishes to apologize for the four blank pages which accompany some of the copies of this issue. Due to a misunderstanding the "form" of the *Young Spartacus* was removed from the press before the press work had been completed, and its contents distributed. We had no alternative but to use the eight page copies (four pages printed and four blank). These copies contain the complete issue of our paper.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

German Political Scene

BERLIN, Feb. 16, 1932

The terrible effects of the crisis, increasing in its intensity, are apparent to all. At present, the articles of the American reporter, Knickerbocker, are making their way through the world press. It must be said that he does not exaggerate at all. The hordes of beggars and prostitutes are growing on the streets daily: a symptom of the constantly spreading misery. But even those who do have work, find it impossible to live a normal life on their ever more and more reduced "wages".

Under these circumstances it is rather astonishing, on first consideration, that no strikes whatsoever broke out at the time of the last wage cut, in January, despite the fact that the C. P. G. agitated for strikes with all its forces, once again sacrificed a good number of the few who still remain with it in the factories. But the cause here is the same as that for the lack of all the other activities. By its false "third period" tactics, the party has isolated itself from the masses organized in the trade unions, who form the decisive element for any sort of action. In this manner, the masses who want to fight remain without leadership, and the leadership that wants to fight—without masses. This new bankruptcy of the trade union tactics in the course of the strike attempts in January has caused the bureaucracy to carry out a certain turn in trade union policy with increased energy; that is, all forces are now being concentrated for the work in the trade unions. But unfortunately, this work is being carried on in such a spirit that great successes cannot be expected.

NAZI TERROR INCREASES

The most striking feature of the situation—and one should not be distracted from this by all the parliamentary maneuvers—is the growth of the National Socialist movement, if not in numbers, then in power, in spite of all the minor injuries inflicted on Hitler. The extra-parliamentary activity of the Nazis has once again taken a big bound. Only to mention two examples (which, by the way, have taken place right in the midst of Red Berlin): an assault by Nazis on a workers' colony in Felsenheim—entirely after the Italian model—and the disruption of a protest meeting attended by several thousand Communists by a few hundred Nazis. The latter case is altogether unheard-of. It is the first time such a thing has happened. Here, as well as in the case of other murders of workers, and in the scuffles at the universities it is naturally the Communists who are arrested. The Nazis are generally set free. Is it at all surprising, when Minister Groener—and that is very significant too—who still hauled Nazi officers before a court martial a year ago, today opens up the "republican" army for the Nazis? In order to round out the picture, we must also mention that the organizers of the pogrom of which we have spoken above, and in particular a certain Count Helldorf, have all been acquitted.

With regard to the presidential elections, we have reported before. It is, of course, self-evident that the Left Opposition will, as always, support the candidate of the party. The very probable renunciation of a candidacy of its own in favor of Hindenburg by the S. P. G. will naturally offer exceptionally favorable opportunities for the Communists in the election struggle. The task imposed by this, namely, to take advantage of the parliamentary gain for extra-parliamentary actions will, however, be possible only with a turn in the tactics of the C. P.

UNITED FRONT IS ONLY SOLUTION

The position of the S. P. G. in the presidential elections is naturally breaking up its "iron front", created under such hopeful circumstances, almost immediately. That was a bloc of all republican organizations for a struggle against Fascism, carrying on a theoretical campaign with many well attended meetings, which had, to be sure, very little practical value for the fight against the Fascists, but did nevertheless effect the dissatisfied S. P. G. members so strongly that the growth of the Socialist Labor Party (the split-off from the S. P. G.), for example, had come to a standstill. At the present, only a united front policy, as outlined by comrade Trotsky in his latest pamphlets, is needed to drive a deep wedge into their ranks.

To report more in detail about the S. L. P. G. very much space is required, for this prototype of a Centrist party has almost as many tendencies as members. (There can be no doubt that a rapid process of differentiation is going to take place within it.) On the one side, in the direction of reformism, towards which a great part of the leadership doubtlessly tends, and in the direction of Communism, to which a great part of the worker members stands very close. Not a few of them will stop at Stalinist Centristism, if it will not only turn slightly in the German question. These are aided by preparatory work on the part of those Brandlerites in the S. L. P. G. who preach against criticism in the international and the Russian questions. It is well-known that the "genuine" Brandlerites themselves are on their way back to Stalin. The creation of an equal Centrist party has

made their attempt at the establishment of one like it—superfluous. Part of them have gone over to the Centrist party, the others want to go back. What will become of this former part of the Brandlerites in the further course of the process of development inside the S. L. P. G., it is hard to say with certainty, in advance. The perspectives are not very good for them, since Walcher, Froelich, e.c., have a very great, but nevertheless very questionable tradition (1923) behind them.

It is also quite indisputable that with even the meagre activities of the German Opposition, great parts of the S. L. P. G. will, after they have convinced themselves of the impossibility of their fundamental idea (or rather, fundamental

mistakes,—the creation of a new Communist party—place themselves on the positions of the Left Opposition and fight with us to reform the party. For it is hard to describe the extraordinary popularity that comrade Trotsky enjoys within the ranks of these workers who are coming from reformism to the revolution. No wonder. These workers feel no need of the theoretical marginalization of Brandler-Thalheimer or the stammering of Thalheimer; they are anxious to learn Communism at its source. This has not only instigated the Stalinists to a new campaign of slander, but even Brandler could not sleep peacefully until he too had contributed in his moribund little sheet, his compound of falsification and insults under the misleading title, "theoretical article", which was quite worthy of a Yaroslavsky. But this will not stop the onmarch of the Trotsky pamphlets, which speak on that which millions of workers feel as a necessity.

—E. BAUER.

Greek Oppositionist Victim of Terror

ATHENS, GREECE

On January 23, there died in the Municipal Hospital of Athens, comrade Theodore Paboucoupos, for two years a member of the Archio-Marxist Youth. Comrade Paboucoupos and nine other members of our organization were arrested during the illegal demonstrations on the Fourteenth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution and condemned to 42 months of imprisonment and deportation. Imprisoned in the Averoff Reformatory he was savagely maltreated by the guards because of his revolutionary attitude. All the comrades were beaten up for 10 consecutive hours on the flat of their feet. As a result of this maltreatment, our comrade Paboucoupos suffered from a swelling and a gangrene developed. His leg was am-

putated, but the poison spread all over his organism and after 50 days of martyrdom he succumbed.

Here is a version of the incidents that took place on the day of his burial, according to the bourgeois journal "Eleftheros Anthros" of January 24.

"The Communist Incidents of Yesterday"

"The Communist Injured at Averoff Dies"

"During the Funeral Fighting Takes Place"

"Clashes between Police and Archio-Marxists"

"Attacks Made to Snatch Away the Corpses"

"Yesterday morning the young Communist Paboucoupos died at the Municipal Hospital, where he had been transferred from Averoff Prison, to which he was committed with other Communists for violating the Anti-Communist Law, and at which he was maltreated by a guard. At the Hospital, his foot was amputated, but it was impossible to save him. The death of the young Communist Paboucoupos, due, according to the hospital physicians, to septic poisoning caused by the injury, provoked bloody battles between police and Communists at his funeral yesterday. The fighting was provoked in the following manner: "As soon as the death of the young worker Paboucoupos became known, the Organization of the Bolshevik-Leninists (Archio-Marxists) circulated the leaflet printed below among the workers:

"Workers: Your comrade Paboucoupos is dead. A victim of bourgeois savagery, this young worker has given his life to the struggle for bread and freedom of our class. The butchers have slain him in the prisons.

"Workers: Do not allow this crime to pass unpunished. Raise your voice in protest and prepare the ferment of revenge. All out to his funeral today at 8 o'clock near the Church of the First Cemetery. Follow our young comrade to his last resting place! Down with the capitalist assassins! The martyrs of our cause must not be forgotten!

Organization of the Bolshevik-Leninists (Archio-Marxist Left Opposition)

"At 3 o'clock promptly, the Archio-Marxists began to arrive in groups and demanded that the corpse be handed over to them for the funeral. The brother of the victim and his parents appeared for the same purpose. But the police gathered in front of the Hospital, and executing the orders of the Police Department, refused to hand over the body of Paboucoupos to the Archio-Marxists. In view of the refusal of the police to grant the demands of the Archio-Marxists and the insistence of the latter on taking possession of the body of their comrade, saying that "he belonged to them", the incidents mentioned above took place. Seeing that the assembled would not depart even if they attempted to disperse them by force, the police tried to remove the corpse through a door at the rear end of the Hospital, out of the sight of the Communists.

"After the transfer of the corpse, the Archio-Marxists were informed that the dead had been interred in the First Cemetery.

"An attack against the Police
"Following this, the Archio-Marxists turned en masse to the First Cemetery. But a great contingent of police gathered there, with Chief of Police Nascos at their head.

"At the First Cemetery the Archio-Marxists again demanded that the corpse of Paboucoupos be given to them, but the police refused and occupying the gates to the cemetery, prohibited them from entering. Upon this attitude on the part of the police, the Archio-Marxists began to climb the walls and in several minutes they were all inside the cemetery and took possession of the unfortunate Paboucoupos. Immediately, they hoisted the dead on their shoulders and started to sing revolutionary funeral songs in preparation to the interment. The police, with fresh reinforcements, commanded the Archio-Marxists to abandon the dead and to leave. They refused. A lively scuffle took place between police and Archio-Marxists. The police finally succeeded in dispersing the Archio-Marxists, chasing them with nightsticks among the graves. Later on the police buried the dead after an official ceremony.

"But the incidents of yesterday did not end at the cemetery. The dispersed Archio-Marxists reformed their ranks in front of the University to protest the unjust seizure of the dead by the police. Three speakers harangued the crowd, attacking the police, condemning its interference and characterizing it as "unheard-of cruelty". . . . Later the Archio-Marxists headed for the Court House. A committee petitioned the District Attorney, protesting against the attitude of the police and declared for the first time, relatives and friends have not been allowed to bury their dead, entrusted to policemen with nightsticks! The District Attorney declared himself incompetent to act in the matter. After the committee left the Court House, new incidents were provoked. A skirmish

took place between police and Archio-Marxists resulting in one policeman being wounded and in the arrest of seven workers."

At the time of their arrest for the demonstration of the Fourteenth Anniversary, our comrades declared before the Tribunal that they were Bolshevik-Leninists. A lawyer comrade defended them. The official organ of the party did not breathe a word of all this and classified them as members of the party. Seven days after our paper Pali Ton Taxeon brought news of the crime committed in the prison, the party paper launched an attack against the state for the maltreatment of comrade Paboucoupos, whom it called a member of the Young Communist League affiliated to the party. The young martyr wrote a letter, published in the Pali (The letter mentioned appeared in The Militant of January 6, 1932—Ed.)

The party organ did not breathe a word about it, but continued to exploit the fact in the branches of the I. L. D. where they refused to let our comrades take the floor. At the same time, the I. L. D. forgot the martyr and failed to send him either medications or food. The day of his death they went so far as to demand the corpse for the funeral, although the deceased was a member of our organization and despite the fact that his brother is also a sympathizer of ours. At the grave, a Stalinist outraged all those present with the shout "Down with the Archio-Fascists!" but the worker-members of the party, who had joined in our united front, silenced him. The party membership considered the dead as a member of the working class. But the Stalinist bureaucrats attempted to exploit him for their own ends, not mentioning anywhere that the victim was a member of our organization.

Pali Ton Taxeon, in its editorial on January 26, drew the following conclusions:

"The death of comrade Paboucoupos has given the members and sympathizers of the Communist party an opportunity to demonstrate their sentiments. Despite the efforts of the Stalinist bureaucracy to exploit comrade Paboucoupos, as is its custom in other working class questions, the workers of the party understood that the victim was a victim of their class and they realized the united front with us in their chagrin at the actions of the bureaucrats as they have realized it in the course of the struggle. For them, the Archio-Marxist Paboucoupos was a revolutionist and a member of a revolutionary Communist organization. The Stalinist bureaucracy is responsible before the workers of having attempted to transform the dead into a banner for its own exploitation against our organization. The workers have judged them and condemned them for it."

The Memorial Meeting

On the First of February, our organization organized a memorial meeting for comrade Paboucoupos. 1500 workers participated. Bloody clashes took place in front of the cemetery where the police force attacked with stones for a whole hour until it was finally forced to shoot at the demonstrators, to disperse them. Later on, demonstrations were held in the town proper. 141 were arrested, but due to the broad participation of the working class and its militant manifestations, the arrested were set free. This has aroused the fury of the bourgeoisie and the judges responsible for the acquittals have been severely reprimanded.

The Stalinists fixed another hour for the memorial in order not to permit their sympathizers to come in contact with us. We defeated this maneuver by appearing at the hour set by them. We took the initiative in the demonstration and we transformed it into a success for our organization. The following day, the official organ of the party was forced to admit that Paboucoupos was an Archio-Marxist.

Spanish C. P. in Revolution

(Continued on column four)

tral party organ is edited by the turncoat Pumarega, which is, perhaps, as it should be, under the Stalinist regime.

With the conditions in almost perfect harmony for the progress of the Communist party, with virtually everything in its favor, the party has nevertheless only made the slightest gains, gains which, considering the possibilities, are really closer to losses. Instead of dominating the stage of events, official Communism drags out a distracted existence somewhere in the wings. Stalinism has robbed it of its vigor, paralyzed its limbs, upset its ideological balance, divested it of its power to attract the masses. Only a stiff antidote of Marxism will enable the Communist movement to shake off this noxious disease. Communism is not dead in Spain, as its enemies hope. It has only been momentarily prostrated by Centristism, and it will revive with new strength under the influence of the Left Opposition. The Bolshevik-Leninists of that country already number a thousand strong and they bear the future in their hands.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

The Spanish Communist Party in the Revolution

Points of similarity in the Russian and the Spanish revolution can be found in numerous questions. It is when a comparison is made between the state of the revolutionary party in both countries that the striking contrast is found. The Bolshevik party under Lenin and Trotsky was fully equipped for the struggle for power and drove inexorably and successfully towards that aim. In Spain, the Communist party, deprived of rudiments, sails and crew by the ravaging storms of Stalinism has floundered helplessly in the trough of events and has served as one of the principal factors slackening the progress of the proletarian victory.

It does not always take a revolutionary situation to demonstrate the disastrous effects of eight years of the domination of Centristism in the Communist International. But such a situation does reveal with the clarity of a flash of lightning the wreckage in the field of ideas and organization which the Stalinist current has left in the wake of its campaign against "Trotskyism", that is, against the tested principles of Marxism. The tragedy of the Chinese revolution is to be attributed to it. The setbacks suffered by the proletarian movement in England during the big strikes six years ago, in Austria during the Viennaurrection, in Germany for the last few years, in short, wherever the Communists have been confronted with historic tasks, may be traced directly to the poisonous doctrines distilled in the laboratories of the Stalin machine. Now the "great organizers of defeat" are diligently pursuing their appointed task in Spain. The responsibility for the situation lies directly in the hands of the central Stalinist clique, for it has ruthlessly extirpated any sign of independent thought and leadership in the national sections, substituting for them puppets in office who practise a servile obedience towards the "infallible chiefs"—a condition which has one advantage: it makes it impossible for these chiefs to unload the responsibility for defeat upon anybody else, try as they will.

MANUILSKY ADMITS ERRORS

It is a truism to affirm that no small question is involved. The question of the Communist party is decisive in the Spanish revolution. Only anarchists can believe that without a proletarian vanguard organized into a political party for the purpose of leading the class to power, and capable of reaching that goal, the workers of Spain can achieve their emancipation. But in actuality, one of the main reasons for the persistent strength of the anarchists in the Spanish labor movement has been "the absence of such a party. Just look at the following, great condensed record of the official party leadership, registered, moreover, in a revolutionary period when uncorrected small errors assume downright threatening proportions.

Every Communist infant now "knows" that one of the unforgivable crimes of "Trotskyism" is its penchant for "leaping over stages", for "not distinguishing" between the democratic and the socialist stages of the revolution. This stupid falsehood has been dimmed into the ears of every new recruit to the movement. No doubt but that the present leaders of the Spanish party accused their own Oppositionists of the same thing. But when the monarchy was overthrown, these revolutionary savants, far from "leaping over" any stages, simply failed to see that a "new stage" had been reached. In this line of thought they were merely giving a faithful imitation of Manuilsky and the other appointed leaders of the Comintern, which did not prevent one of the official scapegoats from stating (correctly, but more than a year afterward) that:

"The party was taken by surprise by the fall of the monarchy; it saw in it nothing more than a change of front, without seeing the change in the class relationships, and in principle it roundly denied that the bourgeois-democratic revolution had commenced."

In other words, the Stalinists, who have introduced into Marxism the positively gifted idea of the bourgeois revolution "growing over into" the socialist revolution, made the simple mistake of not recognizing the bourgeois-democratic revolution even when it burst before them with a deafening roar. After the fall of the monarchy, the French Communist Party plastered the walls of

Paris with posters announcing: "Nothing has changed in Spain!"

As soon as the party leaders woke up to the fact that a revolution had taken place under their very noses, they proceeded to "act with determination". While the masses of workers and peasants, and certainly the petty bourgeoisie, were still reeling deliciously under the influence of their democratic illusions, the party contended itself with fingering into a void the "radical" slogan: Down with the bourgeois republic! Partial slogans like urging the seizure of land by the peasant, were scornfully pushed aside and in their place the slogan of Soviets was issued as a slogan for immediate action, and of course, "Soviets under the leadership of the Communist party". Naturally, neither the workers nor the peasants paid the slightest attention to such fantastic absurdities. The Stalinists acted throughout like the man who has come too late for his train and then, after going home because "there is still time for the next one", misses that one too.

The interest in democratic demands aroused in the masses by the fall of the monarchy found no reflection in the activities and slogans of the official party. Neither by word or deed did it give the masses any indication that only the proletariat and its revolution could really solve the democratic tasks with which Spain is still confronted. In this manner, it lengthened the term of imprisonment to which the popular masses were condemned in the ranks of the republican and socialist demagogues who were thus enabled to pursue their hypocritical course of unfulfilled and unfulfillable promises.

In the trade union field the party piled blunder upon blunder. And here it had to deal not only with the social democracy which was already discredited among the majority of the workers (although it still remains no mean factor), but with the anarchists and syndicalists who had a revolutionary prestige among the masses which only an intelligent Marxist policy could possibly shake. Instead, therefore, of sinking the roots of the party in the National Confederation of Labor (anarcho-syndicalist) and the General Union of Workers (Socialist), the party was forced by its leadership to waste invaluable time in what the official Comintern critic (Stirner) now calls "the premature creation of small and lifeless Red trade unions". Result: in the socialist trade unions, the Communist influence remains quite negligible. In the anarchist unions, with hundreds of thousands of members and the decisive influence upon the workers, the party's hold is just as inconsequential. In fact, throughout Catalonia, the industrial heart of Spain and the seat of power of the N. C. of L., the Communist party does not even exist because the vast bulk of the organized Communist workers have been

inexcusably surrendered to the mercies of the Right wing faction of Maurin and Co.

To say that the internal regime in the Spanish party does not differ essentially from the one prevailing in the other national sections, is already enough to give any even half-experienced Communist worker a clear idea as to what is meant. For months during the early period of the revolution, the Madrid "Executive Committee", composed of a handful of bureaucrats, ruled despotically in the name of Spanish Communism without any mandate except the rights arbitrarily conferred upon them by their Moscow superiors, in the purely papal sense. Critical and even questioning voices in the ranks were either commanded to be still, or else their possessors were summarily expelled from the party. Bullejos-Trila-Adame—this unholy trinity has become a by-word in the ranks of Spanish Communism, and even inside the official party. Workers supporting the Left Opposition found themselves promptly removed from the party's membership list. The best-known and most popular leaders and founders of the Spanish Communist movement were expelled for "Trotskyism", and that is why such comrades as Juan Andrade, Andres Nin, Henri Lacroix, Luis Palacios, Esteban Bilbao and scores of others of the same caliber are today outside the ranks of official Communism, which does not, it is true, diminish their activity for the revolutionary movement by one iota.

Whole districts and groups have been expelled, and in cases with disastrous consequences. The best example of the latter is the case of the Catalan Federation which resisted the false trade union line of Messrs. Bullejos and Adame and fought against party bureaucracy. The arbitrary expulsions which followed resulted in Right wing confusionists like Maurin being enabled virtually to take over the Catalan Communist movement, while the official party remains with scarcely a nucleus throughout the district. But for that, elements have made their way into the party who can only disgrace its name. The worst instance is the appointment of Angel Pumarega as editor of the party's recently established daily paper in Madrid. Pumarega is the creature who, while imprisoned with other Communist leaders under the Primo dictatorship, wrote from his cell to plead for mercy and liberation on the basis of his complete renunciation of Communism and the assurance that he would quit all politics. The release by this despicable renegade only enabled the latter to devote his talents for a long time to the reactionary gangster "trade unions" organized by Martinez Andio in Barcelona. Now, while the party is carefully purged of all "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists", the cent-

(Continued on last column)

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BOOK REVIEW

«The History of the Russian Revolution»

Leon Trotsky: *The History of the Russian Revolution. Volume 1: The Overthrow of Tsarism.*—Translated by Max Eastman.—Published by Simon and Schuster, Inc., New York.—\$4.00.

With the enforced leisure imposed upon him by the Stalinist faction for the past four years, the organizer of the Red Army, the comrade-in-arms of Lenin, has forged another great weapon for the international working class in its struggle for a higher form of society, for liberation from the capitalist yoke. And that is precisely what his *History of the Russian Revolution* is. A weapon, a manual of action for the proletarian revolutionists the world over.

If the Russian revolution in itself served to inspire in thousands of proletarian fighters in every country the spirit of Bolshevik internationalism, then this *History of the Russian Revolution*, by the scientific analysis of its inner processes, will teach these fighters how to put that spirit into practice.

Without for one moment leaving out of sight the broad historical outlines of the event, Trotsky displays a painstaking devotion to detail, a penetrating preoccupation with the minutest shadings of action, policy and thought such as only a craftsman is capable of. The whole gigantic scene, all of its complicated mechanism, rises before the reader with the whole lucidity of its deep internal logic. Neither the intrigues and counter-intrigues of the reactionary camouflages within the decrepit Romanov monarchy, nor the nuances of policy among the representatives of the big bourgeoisie, nor the squirming and vacillation of the petty bourgeois leaders are left out of account. Each is accorded its proper place and weight in the continuity of the narrative, each is evaluated from the point of view of the tactics of the revolutionary party.

The major place, however, is of course accorded to the chief actor in the immense drama—the masses. "The most indubitable feature of a revolution is the direct interference of the masses in its historic events." And it is the study of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses in action that makes the book doubly valuable for the Communist militant. Here, the masses are shown marching ahead with determination while their "leaders" turn and twist and attempt to avoid struggle. Here the masses are shown smashing through the hardened shell of the conservative ideology accumulated by them in the course of peaceful times by bold, revolutionary, everyday activity.

The picture of the masses streaming into the streets in February to proclaim the downfall of the Romanovs, while the "democratic" Milukovs plead with the doomed dynasty for a "constitutional regime"; the picture of the masses demonstrating openly for the dismissal of Milukov in April, while Kerensky and Tseretelli and the other conciliators tremble lest the bourgeoisie leave all the power to them; and once again the picture of the masses rallying to the Bolshevik banner against the "offensive" in June, while Kerensky and Tseretelli prepare to outlaw the Bolsheviks as German spies, are only a few of the impressions that will help bring home the lesson of the tremendous historical importance of the masses to those who are dedicated to lead them in the struggles to come.

The masses are not to be trifled with. In the last analysis, it is they who decide, who and what shall prevail. And it is this fact that the Communists, who are needed by the masses just as much as they need them, must understand. "For better or worse, the revolutionary party bases its tactics upon a calculation of the changes of mass consciousness." Just to talk about the masses and their role, is not enough. It is necessary to understand what is going on in their minds. "However, the processes taking place in the consciousness of the masses are not unrelated and independent... consciousness is determined by conditions." To understand these conditions and their reflections in the mind of the people, a revolutionary, Marxist party is needed for "the active orientation of the masses by a method of successive approximations." Without a Marxist understanding of the character of the Russian revolution, of the relationship of class forces within it, and of the specific period of time in which it broke out, a successful conclusion was unthinkable. And it was just this understanding that Lenin brought to the Bolshevik party in April 1917, when the Bolshevik leaders, along with the other political chiefs, lagged behind the consciousness of the masses.

Lenin's rearming of the party is regarded by Trotsky as the most important factor in shaping the course of the revolution. Just as the "interference of the masses" formed the unmistakable general feature of the revolution, the

rearming of the revolutionary party, and the orientation of the masses subsequent to that, lent it its specific, ultimate character. In the chapter, "Rearming the Party", the role of the proletarian vanguard and that of the revolutionary leadership as a whole, is expounded with convincing precision. The personality of Lenin, his indispensable value for the progress of the masses to power, is cast in its true light. His great historical significance is enhanced by an objective, Marxist evaluation. Lenin's was the power of determining the conditions of the consciousness of the masses and of "actively orientating the masses by a method of successive approximations." And it was this power of Lenin's, combined with the "interference of the masses" of the party itself in the rearming of the party (up to then disoriented by Kamenev, Molotov and Stalin) that brought the Bolsheviks to the fore as the veritable leaders of the revolution.

Of especial value to the theoretical considerations involved in the estimate of the February revolution, is the appendix to the chapter "Peculiarities of Russia's Development". The dangerous practical implications of a schematic conception of the dialectics of economic development are pointed out in all their sharpness. Without a realistic, Marxist view of the specific character of Russia, without applying the Marxist theory of the permanent revolution to it, it is impossible to grasp the logic of the events of 1917. How can the impotence and the amazingly rapid elimination from power of the Russian bourgeoisie be understood without it? How can the dominating role of the young and numerically weak Russian proletariat be conceived of, from a different point of view? Those who are inclined to consider his characterizations of Kerensky, Milukov and the other protagonists of the big and the petty bourgeoisie as caused by personal malice only fail to give the slightest attention to Trotsky's scientifically grounded analysis of the social basis that produced them. Trotsky cannot be held responsible for the ridiculous spectacle of the Kerenskys and Milukovs any more than he can be held responsible for the precarious position of the Russian bourgeoisie in 1917. That was merely due to the peculiarities of historical development. And the same holds true for the portraits of Stalin, Tseretelli, Kamenev and the others, as well.

The chapter of "The Peasantry" is particularly significant in so far as it explodes the myth of the Stalinist epigones of an eternal alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry—as though it were created in heaven. It was certainly not Lenin who developed this disastrous theory which has since his death produced such frightful results in China and elsewhere. Lenin's conception of the alliance with peasantry like Trotsky's, was based on the temporary relationships of forces within the country. It was precisely the weakness of the bourgeoisie and the immature development of capitalism in Russia, Trotsky points out, that made the peasantry—always incapable of independent action—more amenable to an alliance with the proletariat. The agrarian problem of the Russia of 1917 and the actual attitude of Lenin towards it, are presented with telling proof.

The History of the Russian Revolution is a challenge to the bourgeois historians, it is a challenge to the social democrats and the Stalinists as well. Retracing the events step by step, illuminating each step with irrefutable facts and documents, Trotsky builds up the Bolshevik resume of the February revolution, and flings historic truth in the face of all the slanders and distortions to which this great event has been subjected in the past. It once more proves that only the Marxists can afford today to say what is, to speak out the truth. Without feigning historical impartiality, beneath the cloak of which reaction so desperately attempts to spread its deadly poison, Trotsky gives a fearless and objective account of events as they took place. The right to draw his own conclusions from the facts no one can deny him. That is his revolutionary duty. But in order that his conclusions may be most effective for the progress of the revolution, the Marxist knows that he must base them upon reality.

The great work of comrade Trotsky is so packed with action, so closely cemented with documents, so impregnated with powerful revolutionary lessons, that a brief review like the present cannot, by far, even attempt to do it justice. *The History of the Russian Revolution* is not merely a new publication, it is a creation that will become part of the life of future revolutionary generations. We shall come back to it again from time to time.

We are bringing below a chapter from a larger work by comrade Rakovsky. Although the figures cited have, in part, grown antiquated and, in part, been surpassed, this work is nevertheless of exceptional significance. For the first time problems which facilitate a Marxist examination of the results of the five year plan and of the process of development in the Soviet Union are raised and subjected to a thorough analysis.

Christian Georgevitch Rakovsky is one of the most prominent personalities in the international revolutionary movement, with a record of versatile activities and of participation in the revolutionary movements of several countries behind him. He is now 58 years old, 42 years of his life—ever since 1880—he has spent in the revolutionary working class movement. Having from Dobruja (formerly Bulgaria, later Rumania), he still enjoys the greatest degree of confidence on the part of the Balkan proletariat. In the years 1906-1907 he founded the Rumanian socialist party and trade unions. During the war he participated in the Zimmerwald conference. The Russian revolution liberated him from imprisonment in Rumania. Since then, he occupied some of the most important positions in the civil war. Elected president of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, he remains at this post for four years, when he is sent to hostile England as the Soviet Ambassador to that country. From this post he is transferred to that of Ambassador to France. Wherever he goes, he remains faithful to his revolutionary internationalism. He showed himself prepared to exchange his position as Ambassador for the life of an exile when he saw the leadership of the C. P. of the Soviet Union deviating from the Marxist line. Ever since 1928, he has been living in exile, at first in Astrakhan. Physicians pointed out that Rakovsky would not, at his age, be able to bear the life of an exile, that he was doomed to physical destruction there. After this, Stalin deported him to Barnoul in Siberia! Stalin knows that the frightful cold and the general climate of that place will destroy this fighter physically. Every sincere worker must raise his voice against these shameful deeds. Rakovsky must become the model of the revolutionary youth that floods to proletarian internationalism. The campaign of physical destruction conducted by Stalin against the Bolshevik-Leninists cannot destroy the ideas of the Left Opposition. In spite of everything, they are forging ahead and penetrating the masses of Communist workers.—Ed.

The extraordinarily strong quantitative increase in production over that of last year is absolutely indisputable. The gross value of heavy industry for three quarters of this year (1930) amounted to 11,705 million Rubles (prices remaining equal) as against 91,374 million Rubles for the past year. This is an increase of 27.4 per cent. Although this increase is 3.7 per cent lower than that prescribed by the plan, it is nevertheless to be considered as exceptionally high. This would be sufficient ground for optimism, were we to stop with the mere mention of the fact, without going into an analysis of the accompanying circumstances and phenomena which are bound up with this rise in the quantitative co-

Lovestonites in A. C. W.

(Continued from page 1)

The Necessity of A Correct Policy
With a correct policy it is possible to reach the masses of clothing workers at this time and get them behind a serious movement against the betrayals of the Hillman officialdom. Hillman's grip on the organization has been greatly shattered and his prestige irreparably damaged. His betrayal of the tailors in the strike of last July and the recent wage cut imposed on the hitherto privileged cutters have created the conditions for a unified struggle. The cutters who paid the price for Hillman's fake struggle against racketeering are now realizing their common interests with the tailors. Hillman's policy of serving the bosses at the expense of the masses of clothing workers is forcing him to wipe out all vestiges of union conditions and reduce all branches to the lowest level of working standards. The bosses have succeeded in not only breaking the condition of the workers but also in weakening the Hillman administration. The time is not far when they will be ready to discard even the services of the Hillman bureaucracy as these services are approaching the point of exhaustion. When Hillman becomes useless to them, the fight against the A. C. W. will be the next stage in the history of the industry.

The Left wing must be prepared for great struggles. The Rank and File Committee has a great task to perform. The Lovestone Right wing combination holds no gains for the clothing workers, but it can, however, temporarily succeed in misleading the workers and cause more betrayals. The Rank and File Committee must state off their demagogic advances. This cannot be accomplished by merely disrupting their meetings, even though they may not deserve any other treatment. There should be a consistent ideological preparation of Left wing forces and the adoption of a correct and clear policy. A thorough analysis of the past error and a correct approach to the present situation will clear the way for a much needed Left wing movement in the A. C. W.

—ALBERT ORLAND.

Rakovsky on the Five Year Plan

I have already pointed out that a growth in the quantity figures themselves does not represent an adequate criterion for the evaluation of the actual growth of the productive forces, nor even for determining the existence of any such growth in general. A genuine yardstick for the increase of the forces of production, and consequently, a guarantee for further raising the quantity figures, can be given by the following three factors: (1) the basis upon which these quantity figures have been achieved; (2) the relationship between the quantity and the quality coefficients; (3) the measure of accumulation and extension of industrial capital.

Two main types of increases in the quantity figures are possible: (1) an increase on the basis of the extension of investment capital, which is generally connected with a rise in the productivity of labor (in the Marxist sense of the word; i. e., an increase in the product of labor, figured per person, on the basis of the transition of industry to a higher level); (2) an increase on the basis of the old figure for investment capital (and consequently on the old technical basis) at the cost of its more intensive exploitation. In the latter case, a rise in the quantity figures is generally bound up with an increase in the intensity of labor and with a relatively big growth of the labor forces. In practice, both these methods of increasing the quantity figures generally go hand in hand, and the task before us consists of determining the share of each. An exact calculation of this is hardly possible (in any case it is impossible on the basis of the material I have at hand) so that it becomes necessary to employ a series of indirect indices which, in my opinion, suffice to give a general conception of the state of affairs. It is indisputable that in the course of the last year a certain extension of industrial investment capital has taken place regardless of the non-fulfillment of the plan in the main fields of production and regardless of the insufficient amortization. It is indisputable that this is also the case in the course of the present year, so that an increase of quantity has, to a certain extent, taken place also on the basis. But when we approach this question from the other end we are easily convinced that in reality, the rise in quantity has taken place on the basis of the methods of the second order. We have, above all, an enormous increase in the burden borne by the old investment capital through of the introduction of the uninterrupted working week and the increase in work shifts.

According to the control figures, the increase in the labor product per worker should have "supported itself" only in a very slight measure on a rise in the intensity of labor. In practice this has worked out differently. Already in the first half year the number of workers increased 14.3 per cent in comparison with the same period of the past year. The increase in the number of workers surpassed the assumptions of the plan more than fourfold. In so far as the increase in the labor product per worker is concerned, that amounted in the first half year to about 18-19 per cent instead of the 25.3 per cent prescribed by the plan. If we could determine with precision to what extent this increase in the product of labor took place at the cost of improvement in the technical basis and to what extent at the cost of a rise in the intensity of labor, that would, of course, throw even more light on the subject. But at present we can only give an approximate calculation on the basis of the figures cited above. The introduction of the five-day week, in connection with uninterrupted work in the factory, signifies in itself an increase in the working time of the factory equipment amounting to 1-6 or 16.6 per cent. If within these three quarters of the year about 50 per cent of the workers, that is, about 1-2 of the industry, went over to the five day week, then this increased exploitation of investment capital alone must have brought with it an increase in production of about 8-9 per cent. The increase in work shifts must have brought an increase of 1-2 per cent. The increase in the number of workers tended in the same direction; since it took place in a considerable measure at the cost of an increase in unskilled workers, that meant an opportunity for the skilled workers to better exploit the equipment. Finally, when we take into consideration the fact that the transition to uninterrupted work in the factories meant the automatic abolition of a

CHICAGO ATTENTION

There will be a Special Meeting on Wednesday, March 8th, 1932, 8 P. M. Speaker: AL GLOTZER Subject: American Policies in the Far East at the Open Forum at 1435 N. Western Ave. CHICAGO OPEN FORUM Sunday, MARCH 13, at 8 P. M. "LESSONS OF THE PARIS COMMUNE" Lecture by CHARLES CURTIS at 1435 N. Western Avenue MINNEAPOLIS WORKERS OPEN FORUM Sunday, MARCH 13, at 8 P. M. "THE PARIS COMMUNE" Lecture by CARL COWLE at 1530 E. Franklin Street Admission Free Everyone Welcome

series of idle periods for equipment of a purely technical character, then it is probably not far from the truth to assume that 15 per cent of the increase in production is to be attributed to the introduction of the five-day week, the increase in the work shifts and the growth in the number of workers; in other words, to the rise in the intensity of the exploitation of the equipment.

The remaining 12 percent are to be attributed to the increase in the productivity of labor, to the increase in the intensity of labor and to the extension of investment capital. As we shall see further on, the lion's share must be attributed to the increase in the intensity of labor, which diminishes the specific weight of the influence of the two other factors with regard to the quantitative growth proportionally. I repeat that this calculation (I had to leave a whole series of details out of consideration) is only approximate but it is sufficiently exact to permit at least one conclusion with regard to the growth in quantity; the growth in quantity was produced, in a decisive measure, not at the cost of an increase in investment capital and not at the cost of an improvement of the technical basis, but at the cost of a more intensive exploitation of the investment capital that was at hand, with the increase in the number of workers on the one hand and the rise in the intensity of labor on the other. But such a method of increasing the quantity bears within its bosom the precondition for a breakdown, not to mention the fact that it in no way guarantees a further quantitative rise in industry. This method of increasing quantity very rapidly clashes with its

* Data regarding several isolated undertakings and branches show that these figures are actually even considerably higher.

own natural boundaries. Neither the intensive exploitation of the machine nor the intensification of labor can be increased endlessly. This sort of method has another meaning entirely—and that too, from an economic point of view—when it is applied only for a short period of time and when, parallel with its application, the possibility is given to create within just as short a period of time, the material basis: a new investment capital*. But this same fact, that such a method must be seized upon and that it is elevated into a system, is precisely the proof for the fact that we are far behind with the creation of the material basis. The measure of depression in the working class with whose aid Centrism hopes to make up for lost time, further proves how great this backwardness is. The essence of the present situation consists precisely in this fact, that it has indisputably become evident that this backwardness cannot be liquidated within a short time merely with the aid of the internal resources of the country. Before I go over to a consideration of this question I still want to deal with three factors which prove from different angles and in different ways that with regard to the increase in quantity we have arrived very closely to the boundary, beyond which a further growth on the given basis is impossible.

The first and most important of these factors is the quality of production. It suffices to pick up anyone of our papers to become convinced that in this regard the situation is catastrophic. Neither agitation nor administrative measures, nor measures of a juridical character have been able to put a halt to the process of the deterioration of the quality. The facts are sufficiently well known so that I will only confine myself to a few of the most obvious examples.

(To Be Continued.)

—CHRISTIAN RAKOVSKY.

* Such a method can be dictated for example by a condition of war when the questions of reproduction generally recede to the background.

Uphold Our Revolutionary Classics!

When young comrades, who are too much impressed with their own importance, express it in supercilious scorn for the revolutionary classics, it is time to issue a serious warning. There is only one short step from such an attitude into the camp of the useless petty bourgeois intelligentsia or else into the foul pollution of the most abominable revisionism. This latter is precisely what happened to one of our young comrades in an article entitled "Honor Bolshevik Leaders" and appearing over his signature in *Young Spartacus* No. 2. He stepped with both feet into that foul pollution.

It is said in that article: "Rosa, in her inaugural address, again investigated the new problems brought forth by the conditions of the war and post-war period. She re-examined the teachings of Marx and Engels on the questions of armed insurrection, guerrilla warfare, force and violence and concluded that history had once again placed on the agenda the tactic advocated by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto in 1847-8, but later proclaimed by Engels as outlived." (Emphasis ours.—A. S.)

In criticizing Rosa Luxemburg Lenin once quoted two simple lines from a Russian proverb: "It sometimes happens to eagles that they descend lower than chickens, but chickens never succeed in mounting as high as eagles," and he added, "she was and remains an eagle". In its reversed form this would apply to our young comrade. The outrageous statement emphasized above looks too much like the attempt of a chicken to mount even higher than the eagle.

In ascribing these views to Engels our young comrade cites in parenthesis, evidently as his proof, the introduction to "The Class Struggles in France" by Marx. Perhaps he was unaware of the fact that long ago evidence has been unearthed of how this introduction, when appearing in print by the Berlin *Workers*, was miserably garbled by the German social democrats of the revisionist school, notably by Bernstein. The extent of this garbling became clear when Ryazanov discovered the original Engels manuscript, of which he has since produced photostats, showing the important deletions which had been made. Some of the results of his findings Ryazanov published in "Unter dem Banner des Marxismus" (Vol. I No. 1, German edition). In English these findings were reproduced by Trachtenberg in the "Workers Monthly" for November 1925.

What Engels himself thought of the printing of the introduction and of the garbled version becomes quite clear in his letters to Kautsky (then still fighting revisionism). First in his letter of March 25, 1895, he says: "My text has suffered some because of the scruples of our Berlin friends, due to timidity over the anti-socialist laws which, under the circumstances, I had to consider."

Again in his letter to Kautsky dated April 1, 1895, Engels said: "To my astonishment I saw today printed in the *Vorwarts*, without previous knowledge, an extract from my introduction so dressed up that I appear as a peaceful worshiper of legality and quondam (in spite of all). The more pleased I am that now the whole appears in the 'Neue Zeit', so that this shameful impression is obliterated. I shall tell Liebknecht very definitely what I think of this, and also those, whoever they may be, that gave him the opportunity to distort my meaning."

Engels spoke in a similar vein, of the "mean joke" played on him, in his letter to Paul Lafargue, dated April 5, 1895.

It is perfectly true that Engels, in this introduction, draws a sharp distinction between the conditions of 1848 and those of 1895. This is as it should be. And it is particularly in this respect that the deleted parts assume their enormous significance. We shall quote only one.

In drawing the sharp distinctions of difference in the two periods Engels says: "Does this mean that the street battles will play no part in the future? Not at all. It simply means that conditions have become far more unfavorable for the civilian fighters since 1848, and far more favorable for the military forces. Street battles in the future may be successful only if this unfavorable situation can be neutralized by other factors. Such fights will therefore be far less usual in the earlier stages of a great revolution, than in its further course, and will have to be fought with greater resources of strength. Such battles will rather resort—as in the great French revolution, and as on September 4th and October 31st, 1870, in Paris—to open attack than to the defensive tactics of the barricades."

Is there in this powerful testimony any evidence of Engels having proclaimed the tactics of the Communist manifesto as outlived? None whatever. On the contrary, the letters quoted contain the wrath of the revolutionary teacher against the monstrous falsifiers.

Such accusations made against Engels become a blot upon the Communist movement which we must eradicate. With our modest means we must hold aloft the banner of Marxism and particularly so in the Left Opposition. We can well afford to be humble students endeavoring to learn from our great teachers. We must guard against this supercilious, know-it-all attitude which steps with both feet into the foul pollution of social reformism. Comrades guilty of such an attitude must be called to order sharply.

—ARNE SWABECK.

N.Y. Paris Commune Affair

The Paris Commune Celebration to be held by the New York Branch on Saturday evening, March 19th at the Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place will be a joint mass meeting and entertainment. Comrade Swabek, National Secretary of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will speak on the Significance of the Paris Commune.

There will be a chorus of forty Hungarian comrades, a group of dances by members and sympathizers of the New York branch, as well as other forms of entertainment. There will be refreshments on hand.

A LECTURE OF INTEREST TO JEWISH WORKERS

The first lecture of the Left Opposition in the Jewish language in New York will be given by comrade M. Lewitt, Sunday, March 6th at 3 o'clock in the *Stuyvesant Casino*, 2nd Ave., at 9th St. His subject will be: *What Does Left Opposition Stand For—Its Program and Aims*. Following the lecture there will be questions and discussions. The price of admission is only 10c. Unemployed workers will be admitted free. This lecture will be held under the auspices of the *Unser Kampf Arbeiter Club*, an organization of Jewish workers sympathetic to the Left Opposition.

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ATTENTION, BOSTON!

"What Is Europe Heading For?"

Lecture by Albert Glotzer

Who has just returned from Europe, after a visit to TROTSKY. He will give us TROTSKY'S views on the European situation.

on Sunday, March 20th, 1932, 8 P. M.

at the ELM HILL BLDG.

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Sunday's Elections in Germany The Allignment of Class Forces in the Campaign Struggle

On Sunday, March 13 elections of enormous historical consequences are taking place in Germany. Behind these elections stands the mobilization of forces to decide the issue of who shall prevail, Communism or Fascism. Its historical consequence lies not so much in the direct outcome as to which candidate will win; but in the expression these elections give to the line-up and the strength of the class forces involved.

In its purely parliamentary aspect the present line-up represents itself as follows: To the Right the extreme reaction of Fascists (Nazis) nationalists and steel helmets, in the Center the bloc around the candidacy of Hindenburg of the various capitalist center parties and social democracy, to the Left the Communists.

Thus while the blurring of the class lines is still expressed in the fact of workers under social democratic influence being swung into the camp supporting Hindenburg together with outright capitalist reactionaries the two forces on either side of this grouping remain distinct. The strength of these two forces will be decisive for the immediate future. Futile indeed will this event be for the German working class.

As to how decisive for the future this coming recording of strength of class forces will be is amply testified in the pre-election campaigns. There are already the evidences of the conflict being transferred ever more out of the purely parliamentary field into sharp street battles. In this respect violence against the workers is on the increase. But there are also the accompanying hopeful signs of increasing working class unity in such skirmishes against the Fascist reaction. On the other hand ascension is now more clearly proclaiming Communism as its real enemy.

THE WORKING CLASS DIVIDED IN TWO MAIN GROUPS

As already indicated in this fateful situation the working class is still in its main aspect divided, by organization and by ideology. Today they appear in two main groups under the, for the actual situation, rather sumptuous names the "iron front" and the "red united front". In the former is included the trade unions, the Social Democratic party, the republican Reichsbanner and the labor sports organizations. Their leaders are the social chauvinists of S. P. G. It has of course nothing in common with a workers' iron front, but represents an attempt of the treacherous social democratic bureaucrats to swing these workers into a servile support of the reactionary capitalist government of Hindenburg and Brüning—for the maintenance of the capitalist system. Yet these organizations who make up the "iron front" embrace the workers who are still under the influence of social democratic ideology. The "red united front" embraces the workers won for the Communist ideology. A serious division in face of a dangerously vicious common enemy bent upon the destruction of all vestiges of working class organization.

The Social Democratic party bureaucracy is about to complete its course which passed through deception and treason to complete depravity. No longer even useful to rule on behalf of German capitalism they face the final test of ability to sell the workers whom they influence for Judas' silver. Their leadership over so many years has brought the ultimate result of enormous retreats for the workers of Germany. Today wages are cut to the very bone. It is estimated that 7 to 8 million workers are in the ranks of the permanently unemployed army, while starvation and misery stalks the land. The social democratic bureaucrats have given up their last shred of pretense of fighting for a reform program. Their whole course of object servility is now reaching its culmination in the fact that they have prepared all the prerequisites for a victory of Fascism. But that is also their most severe test. The workers are rapidly extricating themselves from their ideology and domination. The Social Democratic youth has long shown dissatisfaction with their toleration policy.

GROWTH OF FASCIST REACTION A THREAT TO WHOLE WORKING CLASS

In elections held during the last couple of years throughout Germany the Fascist gains have mounted at a dizzying

speed. That gives expression to their menacing strength. Moreover, in a rapidly sharpening revolutionary situation, its role as the final means of maintaining capitalist rule becomes so much more pronounced. And so it is now. The Nazis can count on growing numbers of direct supporters amongst the great monopoly institutions.

Its true character as the darkest force of reaction, combining its aims of brutal working class suppression with a philosophy of adopting pre-capitalist forms of economy, was expressed, perhaps unwittingly, by a reporter of the *New York Times* of March 1. In describing the economic program of the parties to the Right he said: "All three groups (Nazis, Nationalists and Steel Helmets) fervently believe Germany should adopt a policy that they call 'autarkie', or economic independence. They admit this would be difficult, but think Germany in the long run could succeed in cutting herself off from Western Europe and feeding herself from her own land with the help of the Eastern European agricultural states. It would involve writing off parts of the vast capital Germany has put into her industrial plant, with a view to following a course exactly opposite to flooding the world with manufactured goods. It would involve an economic revolution and a terrific strain on the nation."

Here we have, though not yet clearly formulated, a theory of capitalist national self-sufficiency with an implied aspiration to become the spearhead of armed intervention for subjugation of the Soviet Republics. A return to pre-capitalist forms of production and exchange of commodities, squeezed in within national boundaries. A return to barbarism with the "terrible strain" to rest upon the shoulders of the working class.

IS THE WAY OUT THROUGH A FASCIST DICTATORSHIP

Today there is no way for Germany from her present economic dilemma on a capitalist basis. It exists within an economically declining capitalist Europe, ever more receiving the imprint of being put on rations in world economy by the more powerful American imperialism. German capitalism, after its re-stabilization following the events of 1923, has accomplished two successive waves of rationalization of its industry. Existing within a declining capitalist Europe and out of from its former colonies, its economic problems become today that much more acute. Even a temporary relief for German capitalism through a Fascist dictatorship could, of course, only serve to further intensify these contradictions. However, the menacing threat in such a temporary way out for German capitalism is the sinister prospect of the crushing of the German working class movement, and with that the enormous danger to the whole world's working class movement—above all to the Soviet Union and the Communist International.

COMMUNIST PARTY FAILS IN GREAT POSSIBILITIES

What is the position of the German Communist party in this situation of menacing threats? Stuporous efforts are being made by the S. P. bureaucrats to swing the bulk of the working class, under the sumptuous name of the "iron front", into support of the Hindenburg candidacy, into support of capitalism and, in its ultimate sense, into support of preparation for the Fascist regime. Obviously, this latter aspect is not yet clear to these workers. They are being held under the illusion that at the moment their support to Hindenburg will offset the Fascist advance. To what extent and by what methods has the official Communist party endeavored to shatter this illusion?

Undoubtedly there was an excellent opportunity to split the working class forces away from the Center bloc of reaction now supporting Hindenburg. But that would presuppose the Communist party genuinely offering a united front embodying the serious immediate objectives of working class struggle. There should even have been no objection to serious efforts to find the common grounds for unity around one working class candidate as a means of utilizing these elections to further stem the tide of Fascist reaction.

At the 1925 German presidential elections there were three candidates, the Communist, the social democrat and the

Trotsky Discusses World Situation

We are reprinting below an interview granted by comrade Trotsky through the intermediary of Simon and Schuster, the American publishers of his latest work, "The History of the Russian Revolution" to the *N. Y. Times*.

The presentation of his views—which are those of the International Left Opposition—is here given in a concise and trenchant form, so that every reader can at once grasp the general outlines of our position as well as the elementary causes of the struggle we are carrying on.

Appraisal of Five-Year Plan

Question: Will you give your appraisal of the Five-Year Plan and the economic perspectives confronting Russia? **Answer:** The question of industrialization, and particularly of the Five-Year Plan, was one of the chief points of conflict between the Stalin faction and the Left Opposition, to which I belong. Up to February, 1928, the Stalin faction considered it necessary to rest its power upon the strong peasant and refused to compel him to make sacrifices in the interest of industrialization. The very principle of planning was laughed at by the bureaucracy. "We depend upon rain, not plans," they said. In 1925 I published a book, "Toward Capitalism or Socialism?" in which I proved that with a proper leadership industry could show a 20 per cent yearly increase or more. Stalin and Molotov accused these figures fantastic and considered the Left Opposition of "superindustrialism." These cursory comments on the history of the thing are sufficient to demonstrate my attitude to the Five-Year Plan: I consider it a gigantic step forward in the development not only of the Soviet Union but of humanity.

Question: Do you believe that the development of the Five-Year Plan has strengthened or weakened the possibility of building socialism in Soviet Russia alone without cooperation along similar lines in the rest of Europe? **Answer:** This raises the question about socialism in a single country. The inevitability of socialism flows historically from the fact that the present productive forces of humanity have become incompatible not only with the private property in the means of production but also with present national boundaries, especially in Europe. Just as medieval particularism hindered the development of capitalism in its youth, so now at the peak of its development capitalism is strangling in the limits set by the national States.

(Continued on page 4)

Socialism cannot confine productive forces in the Procrustean bed of national States. The Socialist economy will develop on the basis of an international division of labor, the mighty foundations of which have been laid down by capitalism. The Soviet industrial construction is, in my view, a part of a future European, Asiatic and world-wide Socialist structure, and not an independent national whole.

Soviet Russia and the Capitalist World

Question: Will Soviet Russia be compelled to come to some sort of a compromise with Western capitalism, assuming that she may not be able to pursue a Socialist policy single-handed? What form would such a compromise assume? **Answer:** The "compromise" between the Soviet and the capitalist systems is not a question of the future but of the present. It is already a fact today, although not a very stable one. How will the interrelations between the isolated Soviet Union and world capitalism develop? Here a concrete prophecy is not easy to make, but in general I should cast the following horoscope: European capitalism is far nearer to a Socialist revolution than the Soviet Union is to a national Socialist society.

Question: What are the prospects of Soviet Russia's relations with other countries in the political field if such a compromise in the provinces is achieved? **Answer:** The Soviet Government is interested in maintaining peaceful relations. It has demonstrated its will to peace, and is still demonstrating it by every means at the disposal of a government. It is true that in Paris they consider the Soviet proposal of universal disarmament a proof of the belligerent intentions of Moscow, and on the other hand the refusal of France to take steps toward disarmament they regard as an expression of her belligerent intentions. Following the same logic the French official press considers the Japanese invasion of China an act of civilization. Burglars, according to their logic, are not those who break into other people's houses, but those who defend their own. It is difficult to concur in this.

Attitude Toward the Stalin Regime

Question: What is your attitude toward the Stalin regime today and why? **Answer:** To answer this question I distinguish sharply two different conceptions: the Soviet regime as the regime of proletarian dictatorship and the Stalin regime, which is a bureaucratic perversion of the Soviet regime. It is with the aim of strengthening and developing the Soviet system that I wage a

Ford Thugs Massacre Starving Workers

Police Give Workers Lead instead of Bread

On Monday, March 7, Ford's cossacks fired on a crowd of jobless workers demonstrating before his plant at Dearborn, Michigan. Four workers were shot and killed because they had come to demand from the apostle of "class peace"—work, a chance to earn their living. Among those killed was Joe York, the district organizer of the Young Communist League. Communist workers were in the first ranks of the struggle, were the first to be wounded.

The demonstrators, upon the call of the Unemployment Council of Detroit, were marching in orderly fashion and had intended sending up a committee to the management of the Ford plant, to present their demands. Ford, the idol of the post war social democracy and all the other preachers of class collaboration, the symbol of "Americanization", immediately ordered his gunmen to pour lead into the masses calling for work and bread.

The whole horrid shape of "humane" American capitalism stands exposed before the workers of the world. The "pacemaker" of modern industry and of "industrial democracy", whose hands are dripping with the blood of militant workers, will become identical with the darkest and most reactionary forms of Czarist despotism.

The heroic manifestation of the Detroit workers, coming in the midst of a general depression, will be a light-house of courage to the millions of unemployed workers all over the country in their fight against starvation. Their fearless march, in the face of tear-gas bombs, machine-gun fire will be an inspiration and a standard of battle for all those who share their miserable fate under the abominations of the capitalist system. The most powerfully developed industry in the world and in history can give the masses of the population only what the blackest regimes of the past have given them: hunger and lead. The workers are waking up to the fact that as long as the profit system, as long as private ownership controls the means of production, all technical progress can merely serve to enslave them. That is what the Communists are out to teach the workers, that is the condition against

which the Communists are the vanguard fighters.

Action Teaches Lessons

The workers can only learn from practical experience, from action. And it is in action that Communism shows the workers most clearly what they are up against and how they can overcome it. To carry out this historic task, the forefront fighters of Communism have once more proved their fearlessness, their daring, their absolute devotion to the cause of the working class, their utter defiance of the class enemy. Joe York, a valiant young Communist warrior, has fallen at the hands of the boss class. The answer of the working class of America to the murder of York and his three comrades must be a more determined, a more tenacious struggle against the master class than ever. The best class vengeance for the murder of our fighters is—organization. The fight for which York and his comrades died, must be carried into every factory, into every trade union. The whole proletariat must be rallied for a militant protest, the banner of the Detroit martyrs must be held high.

Every worker in the United States knows what hunger means, every worker knows what wage-outs mean. The heroic example of the Communists does not pass them by unnoticed. But they are still apprehensive, they are not as yet convinced of the correctness of Communist policy. The Communists must take into account the degree of consciousness of the masses. In order to lead them into decisive struggles against the class foe, they must be prepared to go with the masses as far as the masses will go at the moment. In common struggle with the working masses they have the best opportunity for winning them over to a Communist line of action.

Relief Struggle Growing

The masses are at present conscious of the necessity of resisting further unemployment, further wage cuts, and of wrenching from the capitalist class a measure of relief for their misery. The workers are still bound to their reformist leaders by innumerable prejudices, traditions and organizational ties. If they are to be brought into action, their leaders must be pressed against the wall. The united front of working class struggle against boss misery must be organized. That is the way to carry the banner of the fallen Detroit fighters up higher. That is the way for a successful advance of the forces of Communism. That is the way of winning a majority of the workers for the proletarian revolution.

The Communist party has once more, as often before, been the only party to show the oppressed and exploited workers the way out, the road to a fighting solution. It has once more shown that it is the only true party of the working class. It has proved that the workers are not going to remain passive before the onslaught of the bosses.

Government Persecution Coming

Already, the boss government is initiating a ferocious campaign of persecution against the Communist organizers. The whole frame-up system of capitalist class justice, with its "criminal syndicalism" laws and other vicious devices is being set into motion. The entire working class of the country must come to the defense of those attacked like a solid stone wall. Every worker's fate, every worker's elementary right to existence, is at stake.

The Communist party is calling protest and memorial meetings all over the country. It is the duty of every class conscious worker to stand behind the party of his class, and to demonstrate his solidarity with it. Against the bosses' offensive, against government persecution, for the workers' right to demonstrate, for unemployment relief and unemployed insurance. Against wage cuts and for the six hour day, five day week. Against the imperialist war preparations and for Long Term Credits to Workers' Russia.

All New York workers will show their solidarity with the Communist party on Friday evening, March 11, at the Central Avenue, 67th Street and Third Avenue.

Workers! Make your protests against the Dearborn massacre a powerful demonstration of solidarity that will strike fear into the hearts of the bosses!

Press Circulation Drive

As we swing into the second week of the drive it is possible to report an encouraging response on the part of comrades and sympathizers. Some expired subs have been renewed. Some new ones have been sent in. At present the record of renewed and new subs is as follows: New York—7; Minneapolis—2; Chicago—1; Miscellaneous—4. There is also one new bundle order for a new stand to report. This is from Chicago. But this progress is not yet enough. More must be done.

What is already accomplished indicates that if all our comrades and supporters will put their shoulders to the wheel we can make a success of the drive. Certainly the objective situation is favorable. Workers are interested as never before in Communism. It can be assumed that a large working class reading public exists. It is necessary to reach it.

This can be done principally in two ways. First it is necessary to get new

N.Y. Paris Commune Affair

The members and sympathizers of the Left Opposition in New York are going to celebrate the sixty-first anniversary of the Paris Commune on Saturday evening, March 19, at the Irving Plaza, 15th St., and Irving Place. The celebration will take form of an entertainment and mass meeting.

Comrade Arne Swaback, National Secretary of the Communist League of America, will speak on "The Significance of the Paris Commune."

An elaborate social program has been arranged for. A chorus of forty Hungarian comrades will present a number of revolutionary songs, members of the N. Y. branch and the Spartacus Youth Club, have been preparing several original dances. We will also have a piano recital and group singing. Refreshments will be on hand.

The free pamphlets offered to subscribers during the period of the drive constitute a considerable reduction in the cost of a sub and are undoubtedly a strong inducement. They should be used as such. With each \$2.00 sub for fifty-two issues (1 year) *The Militant* will give a paper bound copy of comrade Trotsky's *The Permanent Revolution*; with each \$1.00 sub for twenty-six issues (6 mos.) a copy of part 2 of the *World Program—the Strategy of the Draft Revolution* by Comrade Trotsky! with each trial sub of \$0.50 (13 issues) any one of our 10c pamphlets. In sending in subs comrades should specify the literature which goes with them.

In addition to this, during the period of the drive, comrades may offer a \$2.00 rate for a combined 1 year subscription to *The Militant* and *Young Spartacus*. This will include fifty-two weekly issues of *The Militant* and twelve monthly issues of *Young Spartacus*. In the case of combined subs there is no literature premium. Whenever a combined sub is sent in it should be clearly indicated as such.

The second way of increasing the sale of *The Militant* is by increasing the bundle orders of branches, newstands, and bookstores. And by increasing the number of newstands which carry *The Militant*. This can be done more easily now by means of the newstands posters we spoke of in the last issue. These have been delivered by the printer and come up to our expectations. The posters will be shipped free immediately upon request. It should be remembered that we haven't too many. They should be placed only on stands and in stores which carry or will carry *The Militant*.

A third method of boosting the sub list is by renewing expired subs. Every week a number run out. From this it can be seen that the renewal of expired subs is a regular task. The national center notifies the branches in advance of the expiration. Where we have no

branches the national center notifies the subscribers. These subs must not be allowed to expire for want of attention. Their importance lies in the fact that as a loss they will offset the number of new subs. As a political loss, of course, they are even more important. Renewals count as new subs. Literature premiums apply equally to them. They are included in the standing given above.

The thing to do now is to drive along the three ways outlined above. Systematic plans should be worked out by the branches. Every copy of *The Militant* should take it upon himself to bring in at least one new sub, or get one renewal, or get one newstand to carry *The Militant*, or better still all three. Against the difficult months which lie ahead *The Militant* must be put on a sounder financial basis now. Every effort must be made to insure the success of the drive.

OPEN FORUM

Lecture by
ARNE SWABACK
"LESSONS OF THE
DRESSMAKERS STRIKE"

at the
Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue

Friday, March 11, 1932

at 8 P. M.

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

ADMISSION: 25 Cents
Unemployed Workers Admitted Free
Auspices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

Paris Commune Celebration Saturday Evening, March 19, at Irving Plaza

The Economic Month

Further Decline in Production and in Workers Living Standards

In attempting to give a brief economic analysis of the past few months, and a prognosis for the immediate future one should observe the following trends. First, the actual figures on production and general business activity (steel, cotton cloth production, shoes, car loadings, electric power production, building, etc.) of course, adjusted for seasonal variation. Secondly a study should be made of commodity prices. No break in the declining curve of general business activity can be expected unless a brake can be applied to the precipitous fall of commodity prices. Capitalists will begin to replace worn machinery, and invest the easily obtained credit in new industry only when they feel that they will not be confronted with their competitors purchasing in March at a reduced rate the raw materials that they purchased in January.

In connection with the actual commodity prices, one should attempt to estimate the actual stocks on hand, of raw materials and of manufactured goods, (quantity, not value is the factor to be looked for—most estimates are of present depreciated value, not of quantity). In connection with this item one should also examine the figures for construction contracts awarded and building permits granted. Also important, are new capital issues. These of course indicate purchases to take place in the immediate future. Thirdly, the condition of the working class, in the form of wage cuts, numbers employed, total wage, etc., etc., should be considered. Fourthly, there should be taken into consideration any special items that may have arisen, such as the recent government measures, or any special large scale measures planned or advocated by any specific industry. Under this last heading should be included any measures that have some bearing on the subject, but do not properly fall under any of the above headings. The above procedure, although not advocated as a rigid plan, should succeed in giving one a brief yet general sketch of the economic condition and immediate prospects of the country.

To sum up the economic developments of the past two months, one can but say, that as yet there have appeared no signs of any immediate revival. The months of January and February continued the kaleidoscopic decline in production begun over two years ago. The steel industry which ordinarily shows an improvement during the first quarter, continued to perform at about 26 to 27 per cent of capacity. The hoped-for rise in steel production to be brought on by an increase in automobile production failed to materialize, because of the lack of improvement in the production of new cars. The index of automobile production declined from a high of 52 for the first week of January, to one of 38.5 for the last week of February. Despite the streaming headlines to the contrary, Ford has not yet begun any substantial production. Freight car loadings and electric power output showed similar declines, the latter dropping during the two months' period from an index of 222 to one of 216, registering a rate of decline much greater than that of the past two years as a whole. The latest reports of building activity, one of the most important industries of the country, showed no bettering of its present paralyzed condition, the figures even showing an aggravation of the condition of the industry. The New York Times combined weekly index registered a new low for the depression in the last week of February. The index is now at 60.8 as against 69 for the beginning of the year.

The only figures reporting increased activity of a substantial nature have been those of shoe and cotton cloth production. In the production of cotton cloth, the rise from an index of 91 in the first week of January to one of 96 for the last week of February, had merely an aggravating effect upon the market, the sales in no way being able to consume the increased production. The stocks on hand increased, and despite the temporary rise in price brought on by the Shanghai events, the price trend continued downward for the period. (An interesting feature to be investigated in this so-called consumers' industry, is the recent statement made by the New York Cotton Exchange Service that 40 per cent in yardage and 60 per cent in weight of all the cotton goods produced go into industrial uses).

Commodity prices temporarily steadied in the third week of February, the only break in the two months' period, failed to keep their gains, and again registered a decline for the final week of the month. The *Annalist* index dropped from 95 to the level of 91.4. In the factors connected with commodity prices no signs leading to the belief that a bottom has been reached can be seen. Although comprehensive figures are difficult to obtain, one is led to believe that stocks on hand of manufactured goods still remain very high. The accumulation of raw materials is growing so rapidly as to become threatening for some industries. Crop estimates for the coming year indicate even greater yields than the present year. On the field of building activity the hoped for increase remained in the wishing stage. The figures of this year are running about 30 per cent below those of last year. For both contracts awarded and building permits granted, one is forced to use the words of the National City Bank Bulletin, "lowest by far" for any

similar period. New industrial capital issues (a portion of which sums will be used for the purchase of goods in the next few months) have been conspicuous during the month of February by their almost complete absence.

The first two months of the year marked a continuation and extension of the general wage slashing campaign, this time attacking the organized industries, namely railroads and building trades. A horizontal 10 per cent wage cut to some 1,500,000 workers employed by the railroads, will reduce the total wage for this group, for the coming year, approximately by \$200,000,000. The proposed 25 per cent cut in the building trades has this peculiar feature attached to it, namely, that the great majority of the workers in the industry are already receiving much below the scale. The proposed official wage cuts can but mean, not the adjustment of wages to 25 per cent below the present scale, (which in many cases would mean an actual wage increase) but rather a further reduction of the already reduced prevailing rate of pay.

According to the latest available reports of the Department of Labor, the number of people employed continues to decline; the total wage paid decreasing even more rapidly. Thus the drop from December to January for factory employment was from 7.9 to 6.8 whereas payrolls declined from 55.8 to 52.4. This ever widening spread between the two curves merely indicates the results of the wage cutting campaign. The worker fortunate to be kept on the payroll is finding less and less in the pay envelope each week.

As special emergency measures, the past two months saw the birth of the two much heralded banking measures, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Glass-Steagall Bill. (In connection with our article on the Glass-Steagall bill, a misleading sentence, crept in, due to last minute revision. The sentence reading, "But how can anyone hail as epoch making, a bill that does nothing but make legal that which is actually taking place," should have been concluded, "namely, the continued withdrawal of gold by foreign countries.") The entire attempt to increase commodity prices by increasing the available money in circulation is based upon the false assumption that it is possible to inject into the process of circulation, additional money despite the fact that business does not desire the additional sums. The bankers have yet to explain how the possible increase in currency will result in an actual increase. Were the government actually able to inject new money into circulation, then this would be a factor in tending to bring about a temporary rise in prices. But the present measures are valueless in this respect. Actual business conditions are the determining factor, and not the effect of money in circulation. Summed up in the words of Marx, "prices are not high or low, because there is more or less money in circulation, but on the contrary, there is more or less money in circulation, because prices are high or low." The complete futility of the present currency measures is summed up in the above sentence.

The danger of America going off the gold standard (inflation in the strict sense of the term) becomes greater daily. Gold continues to be drained from the country. In the first month of the year the total decrease of gold stocks was 37 million, while for February this sum had mounted to 67 million. In addition to the above there exists the ever mounting deficit of the national government, which will probably reach well into the three billions for the present fiscal year, unless new tax measures are rushed through. "The need to balance governmental budgets of all kinds beginning with the Federal Government." Thus reads the National City Bank report, expressing in their words the fear of the stability of the U. S. government bonds. The financial crisis rather than being alleviated, is facing much greater stumbling blocks. Private German bonds are now being talked of, in addition to the public debt, in the discussions of defaulting. There is even talk here of a complete shut down of the stock market. The framework of the banking system is rapidly becoming weaker.

All in all, the conclusions to be drawn are, that the prospects for immediate revival are not great. Unemployment and the misery of the working class will most probably become more accentuated. The questions of immediate relief and of unemployment insurance must remain at the forefront of our unemployment campaign. Concentrating on these slogans, and in addition bringing forward that of the six hour day, as well as that of credits to the Soviet Union, the Communist movement should attempt to rally around it the great masses of workers who more and more should become disillusioned with the prospects held out for them by the capitalist system.

—H. STONE.

ATTENTION. BOSTON!
What Is Europe Heading For?

Lecture by
Albert Glotzer
on
Sunday, March 20th, 1932, 8 P. M.
at the
ELM HILL BLDG.
532 Warren Street

Organization Notes

CLEVELAND, OHIO. Our steadily growing mailing list in this city has finally resulted in a branch of the Left Opposition now engaged in active work. Reports coming into the office are to the effect that our new Jewish organ *Unser Kampf* found a ready response and is being quite well distributed among the Jewish working class readers. The first active work is being expressed in a substantial order for literature and for additional copies of *The Militant*.

For a long time there have been many sympathizers of the Left Opposition in Cleveland. The several efforts made in the past by party bureaucrats to break up our meetings arranged at the time for Cannon and for Shachtman did not in the least deter the sympathizers but on the contrary added to their ranks. Last summer, comrades Clarke and Stamm put in an active period of street speaking, literature sales and collection of *Militant* subscriptions. All in all, this helped lay the foundation for a new active branch. This new branch is making arrangements for a meeting for comrade Glotzer on his national tour visit.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. — Our comrades, always active in this city utilizing their good working class contacts, are now raising a very fundamental issue growing out of recent events. They took part in the Feb. 4 unemployment demonstration held on Bridge Square. As is known to our readers, it was broken up by the police under orders of the Farmer-Labor mayor, Anderson. Several workers were arrested and have since been sentenced to pay fines ranging from \$10 to \$25. The Farmer-Labor mayor is utilizing this conviction as a legal reinforcement of his threat that there shall be no more workers' meetings on Bridge Square.

The official party, yet suffering from the Third Period adventurism, is raising the issue of the "right of the workers to defend themselves and their meetings." This is not the correct slogan in such a situation where the fundamental issue of the right of free speech is involved. Our branch is raising this as the proper slogan recognizing also its much broader appeal. In line with this our branch is insisting that the Communist forces take the initiative in calling a free speech conference to bring organized mass pressure behind the demand. When presented in this manner the opportunity is enhanced to hammer one more lesson home to the Minneapolis workers, namely the one of the true role of the Farmer-Labor Party city of-

cialists in utilizing the capitalist machinery of city government to suppress the working class rights.

The Minneapolis branch in addition to its regular public activities, meetings and forums is also conducting a study class in Elements of Marxism. Similarly the first steps have been taken for the organization of a youth club.

ST. LOUIS, MO.—Our small membership in this city has gained new recruits to their ranks. In addition, it has established convincing proof that although small in numbers, active work will bring results. Recently the branch held a successful debate, well attended, in which our comrade Roberts defended the Proletarian Dictatorship against the celebrated American democracy. That was a part of our regularly conducted weekly open forum. Attendance at the Glotzer meeting held in St. Louis as well as at subsequent forums testify to the fact that the worker audience found it self impressed with our presentation. Our St. Louis branch has now also taken the first steps toward the organization of a youth club.

Our three months' subscription drive is on the way and already brings good response. In subsequent issues we will carry exact accounts of the responses received. From our early announcements our supporters will have noticed that we propose this drive as one means whereby we can render practical aid to our press, the kind of practical aid which also spells increased financial assistance. Such assistance is very sorely needed.

This, however, is only one side of the question. The other, which is yet more important, is the one of seriously taking up the task of extending the Left Opposition press. Each step in our program of expansion so far taken have brought results in extended influence for the Left Opposition views. The establishment of the weekly *Militant*, of the *Young Spartacus*, of the Greek organ, *Unser Kampf* were the important steps. The extended influence achieved has been expressed concretely in many instances.

Building of the Left Opposition press is the best means of further extending its influence. It is a vitally important means of building and strengthening of the Communist movement as a whole.

HELP BUILD THE LEFT OPPOSITION PRESS!

United Front of Southern Miners Imperative

While miners in the Eastern Kentucky fields continue to fight sporadic battles for their existence the machinery of "law and order" is getting ready to grind out more "justice." During March and April the remaining forty defendants of the Harlan County murder conspiracy frame-up are to stand trial. Their case dates back to May 5, last year, when during the Everts strike in a battle, provoked by the company gun thug, Sheriff Henry Blair, three gunmen and one miner were killed. Wm. Hightower and W. B. Jones, president and secretary of the Everts local union, who were the first defendants tried, are already serving the life sentence imposed upon them.

Next to Harlan county, in Pineville, nine strikers and relief workers are about to go on trial indicted for criminal syndicalism. They have been held in jail since Jan. 4th. This frame-up grew out of the strike conducted by the National Miners Union which began on Jan. 1st. The trial which followed closely upon the heels of the dastardly murder, by company gun thugs, of Henry Simms the young Communist organizer.

Savagely wreaking their vengeance upon these coal miners, who dared to attempt to obtain better conditions, the companies of northern "civilization", who own the mines, have outdone the southern bourgeois in vicious persecution. They found bigoted reactionary tools who could serve to their liking, so much so that even the liberal writers from the Theodore Dreiser committee and the Waldo Frank committee could be chased out of the field branded

as dangerous to the community. Servile creatures of "law and order" like Judge Jones and Sheriff Blair covered themselves with infamy. This questionable reputation does not, of course, make the state of Kentucky an exception. On the contrary, it merely focusses the class struggle there at the moment. Yesterday it was Pennsylvania or West Virginia, today Kentucky. One more object lesson in the function of the capitalist state forces, including the celebrated American frame up method, as a means of coercion against the workers is recorded. The all important question is: To what extent do the workers translate these lessons into practical endeavors to meet it.

Support the Relief and Defense!

In preparation for the coming trials reports from Kentucky testify to the increasing persecution and intimidation by company gun thugs of witnesses who appeared at the Hightower-Jones trial. Throughout the fields down into Tennessee, to which the strike has spread, the hysterical red scare is being kept alive. It is the cover under which the persecution proceeds, and, as so often before demonstrated, the perfidious officials of the U. M. W. of A. (all that is left of that organization there) are working hand in glove with the operators' agents to crush unionism. Eastern Kentucky has long remained an unorganized field. To keep it so is the aim of this black horde.

The impoverished coal miners, constantly harassed by starvation, are even now suffering further wage cuts bringing the rate for day men down to \$2.00 a day. Help for both relief and defense is sorely needed. Their battle, although still sporadic and not sufficiently organized, is nevertheless writing another brilliant page in the miners' history for organization. This is what carries a powerful appeal which should be heeded by the workers everywhere. The Harlan miners defense is in the care of the General Defense Committee, 555 W. Lake St., Chicago, Ill. The Pineville case is in the care of the I. L. D., 799 Broadway, New York.

The struggle of the Kentucky miners, their strike for living conditions, in a very large measure depends upon the assistance of workers elsewhere. They face a powerful enemy, well organized; an enemy which has been enabled so far to strike a blow at one section of the workers at a time, inflicting defeat upon one section while the others were kept at work under starvation conditions. The sad fact is that they have been able to keep these mine strikes localized. Only a short while ago the Pennsylvania and Ohio miners were on strike led by the National Miners Union. Almost simultaneously the West Virginia miners went out under their independent union. These strikes were isolated to their local fields. The rebellious Illinois miners were again

Railroads & Strike Policy

The Strike Weapon and its Rejection by the Misleaders

In the purely industrial disputes between the bosses and the workers concerning hours of work, wages and working conditions, the only weapon the workers have to promote and protect their interest with, is the strike. In a political struggle wherein the workers are aiming for control of the government, the strike can only serve as a supplementary weapon, as an aid or help in the general struggle for political power and control. But when workers organized in trade or industrial unions fight only for better conditions, or to keep the wages and working conditions they have, from being taken away from them by the boss, then the strike is the only weapon for either offensive or defensive purposes.

Therefore, we think that without illustrating this point further, the average worker will agree with us when we maintain that the strike is the only weapon of the labor unions, and a good one at that. But good weapons can only be used effectively when placed in the hands of individuals who possess the necessary skill and determination to use them at the proper time. And this is equally true about the strike weapon. Let us note briefly how the strike weapon and strike strategy have been used by the leaders of the Railroad brotherhoods in the last fifteen years.

The last time the Brotherhood leadership made any pretense at using the strike weapon effectively, was during the movement for the eight hour day on the railroads in 1916. Two strikes were organized and came within a few hours of taking effect to bring about the eight hour day for railroad workers. The first strike was called off with the enactment of the Adamson Eight Hour Law. The railroad owners took the Adamson Law to the U. S. Supreme Court with a view of having it declared unconstitutional. Another strike vote was taken and the second railroad strike came within a few hours of going into effect when the Supreme Court came out with a 5 to 4 decision against its unconstitutionality. It was necessary for the railroad workers to use the strike weapon to squeeze the Eight Hour Law out of congress and it had to be used again to squeeze agreement with it out of the Supreme Court by the narrow margin of 5 to 4. In neither case was the strike weapon used but it was ready for use if necessary, and the strike weapon was the thing which furnished the necessary influence

to bring the eight hour day into reality on the railroads.

Since the Eight Hour Day movement in 1916, strike policy and strike strategy has steadily drifted towards the very bottom of bankruptcy and today the strike is practically discarded as a weapon, in so far as the Brotherhood leaders are concerned. Instead of training and organizing the railroad workers to use the only weapon they have against their bosses, they have trained them to cast it aside or to hang it up in the closet and to keep it there. Instead of keeping the strike weapon ready and in good shape, for use when necessary, the Brotherhood leaders sign one peace pact after another with the railroad bosses, always and inevitably at the expense of the workers. The recent Chicago peace pact was just another example of this bankrupt policy.

Strike Policy vs. Cooperation Policy

The Brotherhood leaders, like all labor leaders, are confronted with two main alternatives; they must either fight or surrender to the bosses. For workers there is no escape from one of these two processes. We are compelled by the circumstances to choose one of two roads upon which to travel, either to victory or to defeat. Since 1916, the Brotherhood leaders have steadily kept the railroad workers on the path which leads to defeat. The sign posts which directed our leadership along this path were such inventions as: The B. and O. Cooperation Plan; the Watson-Parker Law to prevent strikes in labor disputes; Class Collaboration instead of Class Struggle; Peace Pacts, Mutual admiration and cooperation between Railroad and Brotherhood Officials. These were the slogans which were used as weather-cocks to steer the railroad labor movement towards the swamp of surrender and defeat. The Brotherhood leaders chose this road because it was a road which offered less resistance to their personal interest and ambitions than the road which led towards organization, amalgamation and well-led struggles against the bosses.

In order to make it a little more clear to the ordinary worker as to why the Brotherhood leaders adopted the policy to cooperate with the railroad management instead of fighting it so as to promote and protect the railroad workers' interest, we will point out several things. The Brotherhood leadership have organized the railroad workers into 21 separate craft unions. The same type of organization which the Locomotive Engineers launched at Detroit, Michigan in 1888. And we still cling to this out-of-date craft system of organization. It would be to the railroad workers' interest to amalgamate these 21 useless and expensive crafts unions into an industrial union, but it would not be to the best interest of craft union officials to do so. Their big salaries separate them from the rank and file and so the interest of the Brotherhood officials runs in the opposite direction from that of the members. Therefore, we are not one union but twenty-one. It would be to the best interest of the Brotherhood members to have freedom of expression in their unions so they could advocate amalgamation, reduction of official salaries, elimination of gag-laws and secret work, but this would be against the interest of 15,000 craft officials like Robertson. They want gag-laws, censored magazines, obligations and secret work to barricade themselves against the organized criticism of the rank and file. It would be for the interest of railroad workers to have one strong union for all workers in the railroad industry so they could better protect and promote their interest against the bosses. It is against the interest of the labor leaders to build this kind of organization and consequently they cannot fight the bosses and are therefore forced to cooperate with them. So, the way things stand in the railroad brotherhoods today, it is the desire of the officials to avoid at all costs strikes and struggles because they have not got the kind of organization needed to put up a successful strike and it is against their interest to build one, and hence we have the cooperation policy instead of the strike policy.

This cooperation policy has had a most destructive effect on the railroad unions since the railroads were returned to private control after the war. During the war, under government control, when the railroad owners were reaping enormous profits, the lower paid masses of railroad workers were allowed to organize without serious opposition and thousands of shop and maintenance workers streamed into the rail unions. But after the war profits were over, and the roads returned to private control, then the onslaught started on the unions by the railroad owners and the craft system of organization simply crumbled. The only thing that was saved from the wreckage was the Four Transportation Brotherhoods, whose leaders offered cooperation with the bosses in return for the privilege to collect dues from the members of the so-called "Big Four". Since that time all the labor skates have adopted the policy to cooperate with the boss in order to keep their meal tickets from being completely destroyed. Most of the shop workers have been permitted to remain in company unions for the last ten years. Working conditions have been gradually lost. Workers are being suspended or discharged for getting injured while at work to save the company from paying them anything. Speed-up, "ef-

(Continued on page 4)

Support «Unser Kampf»

The first three issues of *Unser Kampf* our organ in the Yiddish Language met with a very favorable reception among all our comrades, sympathizers and friends. Especially appreciative were those of our readers whose knowledge of the English language is limited. The worker who is anxious to know about the platform of the International Left Opposition, wants to read about it in the language he knows best.

The financial aid to make the appearance of *Unser Kampf* possible, came from branches, from groups and individuals. But nevertheless the aid is still urgently needed. Very many of our adherents are victims of the deep-going crisis and cannot help to the extent they would like to. We know that at the first opportunity those of our readers will bring forth their contribution. At this time we are forced to appeal to every one for financial aid. The fourth issue is in preparation—but to see the light of day it needs the aid of all our sympathizers.

—UNSER KAMF.

«Young Spartacus» No. 4

The March issue of the *Young Spartacus*, Vol. 1, No. 4, is ready for distribution and sale. Comrades should send in orders.

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ENTERTAINMENT

On Saturday, March 12th, the *Unser Kampf Arbeiter Club* will hold a *vetehinka* in the headquarters of the Opposition, 84 East 10th Street. The club will provide a bar and entertainment. Admission is 25c. All workers are invited to attend.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Party and C.I. in England

LONDON—

Our party is admittedly weak, backward in revolutionary action, and shot through with social democratic tendencies. We are accustomed to blame "ourselves" for this. We have used self-criticism to the point of self-abasement. But is it only "ourselves" who are to blame? Is it not rather the fault of those in the Comintern who have neglected the British party and its difficulties—neglected not only the British party, but all those parties which, in capitalist countries, are striving to overthrow the bourgeoisie?

The course of events in the party leadership has been as follows: certain British comrades, by virtue of their militant activity, commended themselves to the Russian revolutionaries in the early days of the Comintern. They were taught some of the elements of Communism, and returned to England to lead the proletariat over the long and difficult course that lay ahead. From that time on, their assimilation of Marxism and Leninism ceased. They became bureaucrats divorced from the masses, immersed in routine work, and incapable of initiative, for initiative re-

quires some freedom of action for its development, and that is what our leaders lacked—in addition to theoretical understanding.

We think that the present leadership of the Comintern—the Stalin leadership, has allowed things to slide in most sections of the organization. It has been content to let our fossilized bureaucrats carry on here, provided sufficient reports were returned, Russian triumphs given publicity, and defence of the Soviet Union advocated. We say that the Five Year Plan has absorbed practically all the attention of our Russian comrades and that we have been forced into the position of mere distant admirers of Russian working class successes.

To back up this statement, we give the following extracts from recent speeches of two well known Russian party officials—comrades Molotov and Litvinov. Molotov at the XVII Conference (Moscow) of the all union Communist Party on January 30th last, said: "The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is clear—it is a policy of peace. It is obvious to all that we are totally absorbed in peaceful construction in our country and are doing all in power to prevent all new imperialist attacks on the Socialist Republic." ("Moscow News", Feb. 2, 1932)

As if this was not enough to make clear the indifference of the Russian authorities to revolutionary work in capitalist countries, comrade Litvinov on Feb. 11, at the Geneva "Disarmament" Conference, announced that, "The sole aim of the Soviet Government is to build up Socialism upon the territory of the Soviet Union!" ("Daily Worker" (London), Feb. 12, 1932)

This statement of Litvinov's holds the key to the whole desperate situation of the revolutionary organizations outside the Soviet Union, and especially in Great Britain. It repeats plainly the assertion of Stalin that socialism can be confined to one country. This assertion was most glaringly made in an interview of Stalin with a United Press correspondent in December, 1930, when he was asked, "Can the capitalist and Communist systems co-exist peacefully?" Stalin replied: "It is possible, and the best proof is that they have lived peacefully (sic) side by side since the conclusion of the civil war and the intervention period." ("Moscow News", Dec. 17, 1930), Rak-dik followed this up six months later (at the Dzerzhinsky Club) with the statement, "Bolshevism is no article of export!" ("Moscow News", June 18, 1931)

Contrast the point of view thus expressed with the teaching of Lenin, who said: "It is as impossible to pass from capitalism to socialism without breaking national frameworks, as it was impossible to pass from feudalism to capitalism without adopting the idea as a nation." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 18, page 72)

The present leadership of the Communist International has, by its own statements—and action—travelled a long way from the decisions of the Second Congress (1920) of the International, where a resolution extracted from the statutes of the First International was unanimously adopted. It was resolved at the Second Congress: That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national problem, but one of a social character embracing every civilized country, and the solution of which depends on the theoretical and practical cooperation of the most progressive countries.

The leadership of our British party should be the first to agree with the above resolution, for in an introduction to the Thesis on National and Colonial Questions of the Second Congress, the B. C. of the C. P. G. B. concluded with: Finally, the ultimate aim is indicated in the World Soviet Republic, to be reached by an ever-expanding Federation of Soviet Republics, which shall organize world production, distribution and transport as a single problem. Already, the economic needs of today calls for this world economic organization, but the rival capitalist camps are from their nature incapable of unity. That task awaits the World Soviet!

And no doubt the leading officials of our party do agree with the Second Congress resolution—"in principle". But in action they follow meekly the line laid down by the exponent of "socialism in one country".

Do we need a new line then? Certainly we do—a true Leninist line. We need also to get away from the apologetic attitude we have been adopting—of constantly blaming "ourselves" for all the faults and shortcomings of the British party. Of course we have faults, chiefly those of theoretical backwardness and of inexperience, but the roots of our extreme disability lie outside Britain; they are to be found in the policy of the Stalin leadership of the Comintern—most strikingly condemned by recent events concerning China, but always at fault in the past—a policy of going over the heads of the working class (e. g. flirting with Hicks, Purcell and Co.) of overestimating the strength and stability of capitalism (unpreparedness to meet the present world crisis) and of making everything subservient

to the immediate needs of the U. S. S. R., regardless of revolutionary problems confronting the proletariat of the capitalist countries.

Our new line, to which we, the party rank and file, must adopt ourselves, is a line of internationalism, of revolutionary action, of rapid expansion into the mass of the workers. We need to warmly greet workers outside the party, instead of lecturing them as inferior beings. Away with sectarianism! Into the masses! Concentrate on our own revolutionary problems! The best defence of the Soviet Union is a free and sustained attack on our bourgeoisie here. A new world revolutionary situation lies before us. Our own October is not far distant. The capitalist class is going to give us the war. Let us give it war in return—a civil war for the international revolution, for the dictatorship of the working class, for the World Soviet Republic.

—BRITISH WORKER.

Rakovsky on the Five Year Plan

(Continued from last issue)

In the following metallurgical factories and types of enterprises, the amount of defective goods was:

Djerdjinsky factory (wrought iron plates)	32 per cent
Djerdjinsky and Petrovsky factory (steel parts)	40 per cent
Verkhny-Turinsk factory (steel parts)	100 per cent
Lapayevsky factory (sheet metal)	40 per cent
Nadjejdinsky factory (high quality steel)	30 per cent
Marti factory (steel)	32 per cent

This list can, of course, be increased many times. It is a matter, therefore, not of single defects, but of a whole system of producing defective goods. The

percentage of waste in the production of coal increased sharply, reaching in some instances as much as 18 per cent. Only 20 per cent of the bricks produced could stand up under the established methods of loading. Matters are still worse in light industries, in which textiles broke all records. According to the figures often quoted, the average percentage of defective goods in the different trusts was 50 per cent. The press also quotes the figures of the losses in millions of rubles, connected with this drop in quality. It is characteristic that the new factories do not remain behind in the percentages of defective goods. The textile factory of the Melange Syndicate, which has been recently constructed, produced in April, 93.98 per cent (!) and in May 92.37 per cent defective

goods. According to the figures of the People's Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, the percentage of defective goods in the needle industry amounted to 30 per cent this year as against 10 per cent last year. Defective goods in the production of rubber reaches 14 per cent, of shoes 13 per cent. There is literally not a single branch of industry where the problem of quality is not a very painful one, and there is almost not a single branch where the current year did not bring a deterioration of quality. It is clear, in connection with this, that where the produce has to go through several stages in the process of production or through several branches of industry, the poor quality in one branch is multiplied by the poor quality in all the other branches. To what conclusions does an examination of the question of quality bring us? There are two conclusions: (1) The deterioration of the quality of production makes the quantitative indices more or less fictitious. Even Kuibishev was compelled to admit this at a session of the presidium of the Supreme Economic Council, where he declared: "The figures of the tremendous growth of industry become relative if we take into consideration the qualitative changes." ("Ekonon. Zhizn", May 22, 1930) "Za Industrializatsiu" of July 18, expresses itself still more emphatically, when it declares that under such conditions "all our quantitative achievements would not amount to a farthing"

In a whole series of instances, the deterioration of quality not only annuls the quantitative achievements, but even converts them into the opposite. For example, in the survey regarding the work in the textile industry for the first half year ("Za Industrializatsiu", April 20) we read: "In many enterprises the plan of production is fulfilled at the expense of a growth in industrial losses and in defective goods among finished and half-finished manufactures. The ultimate result shows that this makes the quantitative achievements negligible and that it has incurred losses to the textile industry and to national economy as a whole. Finally, in several groups of commodities, the cost of production is not covered, not a speak of any accumulation." This is the reverse side of the high tempo of increasing production.

Only a comparison with the qualitative indices makes it possible to judge the quantitative indices. Without taking into account the quality of the products, the quantity figures represent a mere statistical fiction, which does not at all give a picture of the actual state of affairs. It is entirely clear that only by dividing the quantitative indices by the qualitative ones, can a true picture of reality be obtained. Such a picture would be considerably different from the one drawn in flippant articles by the official press. Unfortunately, there are not as yet such indices, with the help of which it would be possible to determine the level of the quality of production and through that, also the actual level of its quantitative growth. This is our first conclusion.

(2) The qualitative indices so far achieved, not only disclose a great relativity of the quantitative indices at the present, but also their possible trend in the future. At the same time, the qualitative indices also demonstrate indirectly the degree reached by the intensity of labor, with which they are closely bound up. Intensity of labor is driven to such limits that the worker who produces the amount demanded of him, is no longer able to direct his attention to the quality. All the data indicate that (further on, we shall once more come back to this) on the given technical basis, we have arrived very close to the boundary, beyond which a further increase in quantity through an increase in the intensity of labor can only be bought at the expense of a deterioration in quality. The quality of production is a signal warning that a further increase in quantity at the expense of an increase in the intensity of labor is no longer possible.

(To be continued)
Barnon, July-August 1930
—CHRISTIAN RAKOVSKY.

* These figures were taken from several issues of "Za Industrializatsiu" ("or Industrialization") and "Ekonomiticheskaya Zhizn" ("Economic Life") at the end of the first half of the fiscal year 1930. But if there has been any change since, then only for the worse.—Ch. R.

A Few Lessons of the Anarchist Uprisings in Spain

The recent revolt in upper Llobregat, in Callesu Suvia, Berga, Figols and Carcener had completely paralyzed the power of the exploiters for several days. The red flag of the workers waved over the city hall in several of the towns. All of the currents of the Spanish revolutionary movement again tested their theories in practice. The party press in America, which had ignored the Spanish revolution for months and months, all of a sudden broadcast the news that they had established Soviets in several towns in Spain. And among many other things, they said that, the Left Opposition was playing a counter-revolutionary role in the struggle. But a few days passed, and even the blind could see that, said to say, the Communist party was not leading the revolts. Nothing more is said or heard in the Party press or its meetings about Spain, yet the struggle has not stopped, in spite of the fact the Centrist press is silent now, as they were in the previous months.

The leadership of the National Confederation of Labor again showed its hand in stemming the tide rather than fanning the revolt. The vanguard action of the American Stalinists in proclaiming leadership of the struggles was followed by the tail-endism of the Spanish Stalinists in the struggle. The socialist and anarchist role adds new weight to their role of betrayals, all of which is summed up in a recent document of the Spanish Left Opposition published in *The Militant*, Feb. 27.

But since this document, we have new material on the Anarchists that further confirms the position of the Left Opposition on the role of the Anarchists in the Spanish revolution. The *Industrial Worker* of March 8, carried an article by de Guzman, from the "La Tierra", translated by M. Olaj. This article proves the anarchists have learned nothing since their master, Bakunin "captured power" in Lyons, France in 1870.

In Spain, "Figols was the first town to revolt and the last to be entered by troops. The town was for five days, from Monday to Saturday, living a regime of libertarian communism." Libertarian communism? And we ask, what may libertarian communism be? We are informed that, "Anarchism has been a reality for a week. And at no place or time were there killings, robberies and excesses which according to the detractors of anarchism are their very essence." These kind souls, these humanitarians, the subjective individuals are more concerned with the bourgeois opinion of them, than they are with the interest of the workers. What of it, if the bourgeois slander revolutionists, call them thieves, murderers, robbers and enemies of society? Can you expect anything else from the exploiters and their flunkies? Have exploiters ever called the exploited nice names when the slave class desire to throw off the burden of exploitation? If the exploiters confine their opposition to "nasty names" we would have no trouble in taking power, but sad to say, this slander is only a slight breeze of the hurricane they let loose on us ever chance we give them. The individualism of the anarchists is more concerned about their subjective feelings than about the interest of the workers.

The anarchists, to make sure the bourgeois learn how Christlike or Gandhian-like anarchism is—"generous and idealist spirits that they were—once triumphant with the social revolution proclaimed, did not think of squaring accounts; they did not want to shed blood, they did not even bother to humiliate them. They seized all arms to prevent the enemy from attacking them; they posted guards to avoid being surprised, and leaving everybody in absolute freedom they continued working the same as before, without thinking for a moment that the triumph of the social revolution would release them from digging coal from the entrails of the earth." More confusion in fewer words is very difficult to write. They "did not think of squaring accounts." They disarmed them and left everybody, "in absolute freedom." Without expropriating and imprisoning the main forces of the enemy class and finishing those who resist, without establishing a Red Guard and a dictatorship of the proletariat,

they left the door wide open for the exploiters to return, to reorganize and to annihilate them. Their concept is to—decree the state out of existence; to simply proclaim the social revolution, but reality is not so simple. You can proclaim the social revolution and raise the red flag today and tomorrow find white terror at its heights unless adequate steps are taken to follow up the first victory and to smash the enemy, to smash their state and all means of exploitation that goes with it and establish a workers' dictatorship.

These "generous and idealist spirits" who established "libertarian communism" say, "In every place the Civil Guards, sheltered in their barracks, where they take refuge; the bourgeoisie locked up in their homes, are left alone. The revolution had triumphed and the revolutionists cannot imitate their former oppressors, by forcing them and the others to share their ideas." This is nothing less than a betrayal of the workers. The anarchists do not know the elementary difference between a successful social revolution and a successful battle in a revolution, which, if not immediately followed up—will result in defeat. They do not know the elementary difference between the bourgeoisie as the ruling power. The former exploiters, "are left alone" by the anarchist leaders and the enemy reorganizes its forces after the first wave of revolt and comes back in the form of bourgeois terror, that should by all means cause us to congratulate and honor the "generous and idealist spirits", the anarchists of Spain! The anarchists in Lyons in 1870 decreed the state out of existence and established a "libertarian communism" but before 24 hours had passed, the state, in the form of the National guards, returned and dispersed the rebels. And once again history repeats itself, only this time as a farce.

The Communists and the Agrarian Crisis

The confusion existing in the ranks of the Communist movement on the Agrarian question cannot be settled until we trace it to the source and at the same time present the determining factors of American agriculture. The agrarian question in America cannot be separated from the establishment of the Third International, after the successful Russian revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Power. Up to that time, the Second International had a bundle of confused ideas on the agrarian and colonial questions on the problem of the relationship between town and country. In fact, the Second International revised Marxism on this question, leaving the peasantry and colonies as open stamping grounds for imperialist robbery.

Marx and Engels present a clear analysis of this question in their writings and Lenin and Trotsky (Trotsky, "Our Revolution" 1906) brought this question down to practical working class politics in the 1905 period, so successfully carried out in the 1917 revolution by the Marxists. Through the Third International this material and these lessons have become the property of the whole class throughout the world, expressed by their vanguard. However, since the establishment of the Stalin regime and the gradual crowding to the background of the Marxian ideas, we have witnessed a revival of revisionism on this question. This time, from a different angle than that of the Second International.

This revisionism takes on two different forms, one in the colonial countries, and another in the advanced countries. In turn, the problem as a whole flows from the theory of socialism in one country. In the colonial countries, Stalinism poses the question of the 1905 revolution and not that of October 1917 and comes to the conclusion of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." Its concrete expressions have been manifold, with outstanding points of revision such as: the four-class-party in China, Workers and Peasants blocks, Peasant International etc. In the advanced capitalist countries and particularly in America its opposite expression is manifested. The problem of the farmers and the agrarian crisis is not understood and Centrist, in refusing to pose this question by showing the proper relation of town and country, has

left the door wide open for blunders. They have left unanswered the whole question of: What kind of a revolution? What will it look like? (Lenin and Trotsky answered this for Russia). We cannot be satisfied with merely saying: Soviets and dictatorship of the proletariat. What will the Soviets be like, when we take power, in comparison to the Soviets established by the first workers' class rule and in a backward country with the majority of peasants? In place of these answers we have revisionism for the advanced countries expressing itself as: The "peoples' revolution", Workers and Farmers parties and the Workers and Farmers Government; Self determination for the American Negro and the Anti-Imperialist League, etc.

One question we must settle and that will throw considerable light upon the problem for the advanced capitalist countries is the question of American agricultural conditions today. Once we lay down a Marxian analysis on this question we can more readily come to a proper understanding of the question. The problem for colonial countries will not be taken up here. We will confine ourself to advanced America.

Agrarian Development under Capitalism
A proper elevation of the problem calls for an understanding of its historical development and relation. Under pre-capitalist conditions agriculture and manufacturing were established as a unity with manufacturing subordinated to agriculture (manufacturing used in the obsolete sense—hand-tool production). "Domestic handicraft and manufacturing labor, as side issues to agriculture, which forms the basis, is the prerequisite of that mode of production upon which natural economy rests, in European antiquity and in Middle Ages as well as in the Indian commune of the present day, in which the traditional organization has not yet been destroyed. The capitalist mode of production completely dissolves this connection." (Marx: Capital, Vol. 3, page 913). The capitalist mode of production destroys this unity of agriculture and manufacturing and by the concentration of the means of production and their transformation into capital they are able to expropriate the direct producers and change them into wage workers. These wage workers are

(Continued on page 4)

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Trotsky Answers Some Fundamental Questions

Gives Views on Problems of Communist Movement in Soviet Russia, Europe and the United States

(Continued from page 1)

struggle against the Stalin regime. **Question:** Do you still regard the present phase of the Bolshevik revolution as "Thermidorian," and has your view as expressed in your autobiography been borne out, by events since your departure from Soviet Russia? **Answer:** I have never said that the present stage of the revolution was "Thermidorian." The historic conception of Thermidor has a very definite content: it means a completion of the first stage of a victorious counter-revolution. A Thermidor in the U. S. S. R. could mean nothing else than the coming into power, although at first in a semi-disguised form, of the bourgeoisie, and consequently a breakdown of the October revolution. I have never, at any time or anywhere, said that the October revolution has broken down. This opinion is persistently attributed to me by the Stalin press for purposes which have nothing whatever to do with the interests of truth. What I have asserted and do assert is that there has grown up on the basis of the October revolution a powerful bureaucratic stratum in which both active and passive Thermidorian tendencies are very strong. However, their victory is still far off. The opposition to these tendencies consists of a struggle for the independence of the Communist party, the trade unions and the soviets and for their vigilant control over the bureaucracy. This opinion was not formed by me after my exile from the Soviet Union; on the contrary, it was the cause of my exile. A bureaucracy does not tolerate any attacks upon its commanding role. The danger inherent in the Thermidorian tendencies of a bureaucracy was perfectly clear to Lenin. He gave warning against this danger in his last speech at the Eleventh Congress of the party in 1922. My last conversation with Lenin was devoted to this question. Lenin proposed that I form a bloc with him against that bureaucracy, the focal point of which he considered, and I also, to be the secretariat apparatus of the party led by Stalin. Lenin's second illness

Sunday's Elections in Germany

(Continued from page 1)

capitalist. Hindenburg as the latter candidate, supported by the extreme reactionary parties, signified the monarchy hovering over Germany. The E. C. C. I. then wrote correctly pointing out to the German Communist Party 10th congress, held July 10th, 1925: "The 10th congress of the Communist Party of Germany must frankly admit that the party committed an error by not following the advice given by the Executive Committee of the Communist International after the first presidential ballot and before the election of Hindenburg, namely, to signify to the German social democrats that the Communists were prepared to withdraw their candidate in favor of the social democratic candidate on certain conditions. Such errors and delays are unforgivable in politics and always costly to the party of the revolutionary proletariat."

Germany 1925 is, of course, not Germany 1932. Today there is an objectively revolutionary situation in the country. Today there is the yet more serious and more direct menace of Fascism hovering over Germany. Today so much more is the question of working class unity, of a united front from organization to organization, from movement to movement, of workers under social democratic ideology and those of Communist ideology against Fascism, the vital issue of the moment. It is not yet too late. The German proletariat is still in a powerful fighting position. It has created a powerful Communist Party; but the supreme need is for the party to understand how to apply this essential united front tactic on a genuine and honest basis.

GERMAN LEFT OPPOSITION APPEALS TO PARTY FOR UNITED FRONT POLICY

This our German comrades of the Left Opposition have already proposed in a very concrete form embodied in its appeal to the official Communist Party in addition to putting forward a worker's united front presidential candidate also to create (1) Committees of Action consisting of representatives of factories, trade unions, political groups and other workers' organizations.

(2) A Joint Council of Action to be constituted at a congress of delegates from these Committees of Action . . . to represent the proletarian concentration against the concentration of the reactionaries.

(3) The congress must be organized in advance as the proletarian counter-parliament in the event of a Fascist Reichstag, or against an extra parliamentary or parliamentary Fascist government.

(4) The congress must solve three tasks concretely:

(a) the preparation of the general strike to prevent the seizure of power by Hugenberg and Hitler;

(b) the formation of one common, non-party workers' defense corps;

(c) the elaboration of a common minimum program with regard to the next steps to be taken by the Committees of Action.

—ARNE SWABECK.

prevented the carrying out of this plan. **Socialist Success, Prepare Ground For Weakening of Bureaucracy**

Question: Is there need of modifying the Communist dictatorship in Russia and how should this be modified? **Answer:** This question is closely bound up with the first two. The economic successes, it is needless to say, have greatly strengthened the Soviet Union. At the same time they have greatly weakened the position of Stalin's official apparatus. In this there is no contradiction. In the first place, it is perfectly clear to all conscious elements of the population of the Soviet Union that the successes in the sphere of industrialization and collectivization became possible only because the Stalin bureaucracy came up against the resistance of its proteges, the kulak, who refused to surrender his grain to the State, and thus the bureaucracy was compelled to take over and carry out the program of the Left Opposition. Stalin has dealt with our program in much the same way that the free-trader MacDonald has dealt with the protectionist program of Joseph Chamberlain, who also in his time was cruelly beaten at the polls. Today Chamberlain (I mean the father, not the son) is in any case more popular in England than MacDonald. To be sure, Chamberlain died long ago. But the principal leaders of the Russian opposition are alive. Rakovsky in Burnaev is attentively following all the processes of industry and politics in the Soviet Union. A second and still more important cause of the weakening of the Soviet bureaucracy lies in the fact that the economic successes have greatly elevated not only the number of the Russian workers, but also their cultural level, their confidence in their own powers and their feeling of independence. All these traits are hard to reconcile with a bureaucratic guardianship. Nevertheless, the Stalin apparatus in its struggle for dominance has carried the bureaucratic regime to its utmost extremes. I want especially to emphasize this fact: the economic successes, as frequently happens in history, have not strengthened but, on the contrary, undermined the position of the ruling stratum. I consider important changes in the methods of the Soviet regime absolutely inevitable, and that, too, in the rather near future. These changes will involve a blow at the dictatorship of the Stalin bureaucracy, and will undoubtedly clear the road for a flourishing of Soviet democracy on the foundations laid down by the October revolution.

Predicts His Party's Return
Question: Do you look forward to your return to Soviet Russia? Under what conditions would that be possible and what would be your program? **Answer:** I think that the above-mentioned changes will make possible and inevitable a return of the Left Opposition to active work in the Soviet Union. **For Support of Bruening?—A Stalinist Slander!**

Question: You have been reported as urging the Communists in Germany to support the Bruening Government as a means of staving off the victory of Hitlerism—is that true? Why do you consider the present policy of German Communism erroneous? **Answer:** Dispatches to the effect that I have urged the German Communists to support the Government of Bruening are, of course, false. The Stalin press has attributed this plan to me, and the idea has been taken up by journalists who do not understand the situation. I proposed to the German Communists to carry out the policy of the so-called United Front. The Communists ought to propose to the Social-Democrats and to the trade unions led by them a program of cooperation, practical struggle against the attack of the Fascists. The Social-Democratic masses quite sincerely desire to wage such a struggle. If the leaders refuse, they will compromise themselves in the eyes of their own masses. If the leaders agree the masses, in practical action, will go beyond their leaders and support the Communists. One must

Railroads & Strike Policy

(Continued from page 2)

efficiency" and cooperation with the company policy have been put into effect with the consent of the labor officials. Stool-pigeonism is encouraged by the so-called merit mark system. Wage cuts have been voluntarily accepted by the labor leaders for the health of "our industry, or for some other equally foolish excuse. Strikes have been called on a number of small roads and been neglected and permitted to drag on aimlessly for years and finally forgotten. No attempt was made to spread these strikes, so they could be won. There was no picketing, and cars were delivered to and received from these striking roads by union workers on other lines. As a matter of fact, the class collaboration policy has practically wrecked the railroad unions and their only function at present is to collect dues from the members for the benefit of the salaried officials.

However, there is a marked reaction manifesting itself among the members against this cooperation and surrender policy and signs are pointing to the formation of a growing organized minority in the railroad unions who will sooner or later be able to relegate the 15,000 dollar-a-year bureaucrats, with their cooperation policy, to the political dung heap.

—A. E.

learn to make use of disagreements in the camp of opponents and enemies. Only with a policy as flexible as this is it possible to rise step by step to the top. Strategy involves maneuvers as well as assault. I have not the slightest doubt that the German Communist party, in spite of the resistance of the Stalin bureaucracy, will learn this strategy, through which alone bolshevism was able to win the power in Russia.

The Present Crisis: Its effects on Europe and America

Question: What is your view of the present world economic crisis and its implications for the prevailing social order? Do you still look for world revolution as a likely consequence of the crisis or do you believe that capitalism may surmount the crisis and enter upon a period of stabilization? What would be the situation of Soviet Russia in event of stabilization? Has not the world economic crisis placed Soviet Russia before the need of revising her own economic policies? **Answer:** The present economic crisis is an indubitable expression of the fact that world capitalism has outlived itself as a system. The question of the historic date when it will be replaced by another system will be decided, of course, in different ways for different parts of the world. Present-day Europe has no way out. Even though the automatic working of the laws of the market lead to a softening of the crisis in Europe after a year or two, the crisis will return again in a comparatively short time with redoubled force. The productive forces are being strangled in the national cells of Europe. The dilettante plan of M. Briand for a union of Europe has not emerged and never will emerge from the laboratory of the chancelleries and editorial offices. The ruling classes will cure the crisis with a further economic declamation of Europe and a strengthening of protectionism and militarism. Under

these circumstances I see no prospect of a general stabilization of European capitalism.

Question: How do you view the position of the United States in the present world situation? **Answer:** I think as a result of the present crisis the predominance of American over European capitalism will grow still more pronounced. In the same way, as a result of every crisis, you see a growth in the predominance of the big enterprise over the small, the trust over the isolated undertaking. However, this inevitable growth of the world hegemony of the United States will entail further deep contradictions both in the economy and in the politics of the great American Republic. In asserting the dictatorship of the dollar over the whole world the ruling class of the United States will introduce the contradictions of the whole world in a very basis of its own dominance. The economy and the politics of the United States will depend more and more directly upon crises, wars and revolutions in all parts of the world. The position of "observer" cannot long be maintained formally. I think that America will create the most colossal system of land, sea and air militarism that can be imagined. The conclusive emergence of America from its old "provincialism," the struggle for markets, the growth of armaments, and active world policy, the experience of the present crisis—all these things will inevitably introduce deep changes into the inner life of the United States. The emergence of a labor party is inevitable. It may begin to grow with an "American tempo," leading to the liquidation of one of the two old parties just as the Liberals have disappeared in England.

To sum it up, you must say the Soviet Union will be Americanized technically, Europe will either be Sovietized or descend to barbarism, the United States will be Europeanized politically.

The Communists and the Agrarian Crisis

(Continued from page 3)

first concentrated in the developing cities and later, with the development of capitalism, reach out and invade the countryside as agricultural workers almost to the degree that capitalist production subordinate agriculture and molds it to its own liking. "The advent of capital as an independent and leading power in agriculture does not take place generally all at once, but gradually and separately in various lines of production. It seizes first not agriculture proper, but such lines of production as cattle raising, especially sheep raising, whose principle product, wool, offers a steady surplus of the market price over the price of production during rising industry, and this is not balanced until later. This was the case in England during the 16th century." (Marx: Capital, Vol. 3, page 931)

In the first stage of production, its forces work destructively against the pre-capitalist condition of the unity of agriculture and manufacturing. But once it has smashed this relationship, it starts the process of unifying capitalist industry and capitalist agriculture on a new plane. Developed capitalism lays the base for the transformation of agriculture into a modern industry. In the negative sense this is already accomplished in advanced America, but in the positive sense it is not, and will not be until after the seizure of power by the proletariat and the establishment of the socialist mode of production.

The Agrarian Crisis

What is the relationship between agriculture and industry in America and what is the meaning of the agrarian crisis? The agrarian crisis seems to be a permanent feature of American capitalism, and logically so, because it is by the phenomena of the concentration of capital (and land capital is no exception) that American capitalism is further transforming American agriculture to its own liking. The centralization carries with it a greater diversification of the division of social labor, with different sections specializing in different food-stuffs, even through diversified uses of the soil, in order to rotate crops for the greatest exploitation of the capital invested.

"It is the nature of the capitalist mode of production to reduce the agricultural population continually as compared to the non-agricultural, because in industry, (strictly speaking) the increase of the constant capital compared to the variable capital goes hand in hand with an absolute increase, though relative decrease, of the variable capital: whereas

Youth Club Activities

YOUTH CLASS

A class in the A B C of Communism will hold its first session Sunday, March 13, 330 P. M., at 84 E. 10th St. This class has been arranged by the Spartacus Youth Club. Comrade George Ray will be the instructor. All young workers and students who are interested are invited to attend. The Spartacus Youth Club itself will meet at the same address on Sunday, March 13, at 5 P. M. A lecture by comrade Joseph Carter on "The Role of the Socialist Party" will be given. Extensive discussion will follow. The program of discussions for the next few meetings are as follows: March 20, "The Events in the Far East"; March 27, "The History of the Russian Revolution"—a discussion on Trotsky's book,

in agriculture the variable capital required for the exploitation of a certain piece of land is decreased absolutely and cannot increase unless new land is taken into cultivation, which implies a still greater previous growth of the non-agricultural population." (Vol. 3, page 747). The expropriation of the peasantry and handicraft labor as primitive accumulation of capital takes on new forms in advanced capitalism with the constant shift of the rural to the urban population and the debt-and-mortgage-ridden farmers over on the increase, in the last analysis resulting in driving them off the land. And if they return, to return as wage laborers or tenants in varied forms.

Effects of the Land Crisis

In other words, "healthy" capitalism, carrying out the capitalist process of centralization, concentration and accumulation, creating laws the capitalists cannot control are doing nothing more nor less than is necessary for a capitalist system. Where the "logical" sees the weakening of its agricultural base and point there to the "agrarian revolution" in an advanced country or to a "Workers and Farmers Government," the fact remains that the opposite is true and the weak spot in this process manifests itself in another sphere of capitalist production. In fact, the further tearing down of outlived agricultural relations and the molding of them to capitalist liking is necessary to strengthen this "industry" that has always lagged behind the general development of industrial capitalism. The agrarian crisis in advanced countries creates friction and steam to be let off. But its weakening effect upon capitalism is expressed primarily in the industrial base of advanced countries. It transforms a decisive section of the farmer class into agricultural workers. It shifts the dead weight of the country to the top heavy weight of the city under capitalism, swelling the proletariat from two angles. It further socializes the mode of production and, with it, the contradiction of accumulation and capitalist appropriation. It disorganizes the whole world division of labor, shaking up not only the internal relations between agriculture and industry but also the external relations between colonial and imperialist countries, in fact all of the contradictions of town and country as such.

The American farmer, since the war, has overproduced foodstuffs and raw material in every line but cannot see his own overproduction, and only points to the tremendous overproduction of the colonial regions, a necessary development and encouragement of industry under imperialism—resulting in the creation of a whirlwind pressure from all sides. "It is precisely the rapidly growing cultivation of such prairie or steppe districts which of late turns the renowned statement of Malthus, that the population 'presses upon the means of subsistence', into ridicule, and has created the reverse of it in the complaint of the agrarians, who wall that agriculture, and with it Germany, will be ruined unless the means of subsistence which are pressing upon the population are kept out by force. The cultivation of these steppes, prairies, pampas, llanos, etc., is only in its beginnings; its revolutionary effect on European agriculture will, therefore, make itself felt later on even more than hitherto." (Engels, Vol. 3, page 785). (To be continued)

BOOK REVIEW

«The Strategy of the World Revolution»

The Strategy of the World Revolution (Part I of the "Criticism of the Draft Program of the C. I.") by Leon Trotsky Published by the C. L. of A. Opposition New York City, 1931

This important document which was originally the second section of the Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International was published in the United States by the Left Opposition nearly a year and a half ago. The reason for its publication subsequent to the appearance of the two other sections of the criticism (published as The Draft Program of the Communist International, A Criticism of Fundamentals) was, as is related in the introduction, its complete suppression by the Stalin-Bucharin bloc so that the American Left Opposition was totally unaware of its existence. In the four years since it was written, far from having diminished in its usefulness in relation to the developments of the world revolution, it has, on the contrary, become more valuable, particularly when revolution is again being placed on the order of the day in Europe.

Trotsky on the Character of Our Epoch

Without understanding the nature of the epoch in which we live, the manner and tempo in which events unfold themselves, the enormous weight of the subjective factor in accelerating, precipitating, or retarding changes in the international situation, and without drawing the strategic lessons from the revolutionary convulsions of the post-war period and the Russian revolution, a repetition of the defeats of the world revolution are unavoidable. It is precisely upon these crucial questions that the program of the Communist International fails to give an adequate answer. "Without an extensive, general, dialectical comprehension of the present epoch as an epoch of abrupt turns," writes Trotsky, "a real education of the young parties, a correct strategic leadership of class struggles, a correct application of tactics and a sharp and bold right about face at a turn of the situation, is impossible. And it is just at such a turn that in two or three days often decides the destiny of the world revolution for years to come."

Events in Germany are now converging toward such a decisive point. For this reason the lessons of the defeat of 1923 which Trotsky succinctly reviews in this pamphlet assumes extraordinary timeliness. The German party was unable to reorientate itself toward mobilizing for the seizure of power in 1923 after it had been directed by the Third Congress toward the conquest of the masses through daily work in the trade unions, in parliament, in factories, in the press and so on. The party was confronted with what Trotsky calls the crisis of the revolutionary leadership on the eve of the transition to armed uprising. Elements of the leadership and middle layers of the party succumb to the furious assaults of bourgeois public opinion, to its material and ideological terror, and vacillate at the moment the party must proceed unhesitatingly into the armed struggle.

After the opportunist moment had been missed in Germany, the Comintern leadership instead of recognizing that, as a result of the defeat, they were confronted with a new stage in which it was necessary to retreat, to consolidate one's positions, to wage defensive struggles, entered upon a policy of ultra-Left adventurism. It was at this time in 1924 that Stalin declared: "The social democracy is an objectively more moderate wing of Fascism." But it was not until 1929, when the "third period" swept in that this original idea of Stalin ripened into the flourishing theory of "social-Fascism."

The Illusions of the Anglo-Russian Committee

However, the "Leftism" of 1924 soon converted itself into its opposite, the period of the opportunism of the Right-Center Bloc. Here Trotsky examines the mistakes committed by the Stalin-Bucharin leadership in the maneuvers with the Anglo-Russian Committee. The Left Opposition condemned the policy on the Anglo-Russian Committee not because it is opposed to the united front tactic, as the Right wing stupidly asserts, but because of the illusions with which it was invested. "The Anglo-Russian Committee was perceived not as a purely episodic bloc of leaders that would inevitably have to be and would be demonstratively broken at the first serious test in order to compromise the General Council. No, not only Stalin, Bucharin, Tomsky and others, but also Zinoviev saw in it a long-lasting 'friendship', an instrument for the systematic revolutionization of the English working masses, and if not the gate, at least the threshold of the gate over which the revolution of the English proletariat

would stride." Stalin conceived the bloc as a means of preventing military intervention of the imperialist powers in the Soviet Union.

The chapter on "The Maneuverist Character of Revolutionary Strategy" illuminates a tactic that has been systematically abused by the Right wing and deeply confused by the Centerists. Trotsky with scathing irony ridicules those corps of maneuver specialists who imagine that by maneuvers they can solve all the big questions of the class struggle. "Once and for all it must be impressed that a maneuver never decides anything in great matters . . . A correct maneuver can only facilitate the decision by giving the possibility of gaining time or of attaining greater results with smaller forces. Difficulties in principle, on the contrary, cannot be overcome with the aid of a maneuver." What should be the attitude toward the so-called ally? "In a maneuver, one must always proceed from the very worst assumptions with regard to one's adversary to whom concessions are made, or with regard to the dubious ally with whom arrangements are concluded, and not from the best. It must be constantly borne in mind that the ally can perhaps become an enemy by tomorrow." And above all, in every maneuver the independence of the party must be maintained.

Trotsky devotes a chapter to the question of the party regime. In a thoroughly dialectical manner he analyzes the question of groups and factions within the party, shows under what conditions they arise, and under what conditions they are absent; analyzes the question of Bolshevization and leadership, the relation between the C. P. S. U. and the parties of the West. After all the monstrous perversions on these basic questions by the bureaucratic apparatus it is indeed refreshing to read these lines, so lucid and so Marxian.

—G. R.

Lectures on the History of the Communist International

On Wednesday evening, March 16th at 8 P. M., comrade Shachtman will give the second of his series of eight lectures on the History of the Communist International. This lecture will deal with the first congress of the International held in 1919. Comrades and sympathizers who intend to attend this lecture would do well to read "The Manifesto of the Moscow International" which was signed in Moscow in March 1919 by comrade Lenin, Trotsky, Platten, Zinoviev and Rakovsky.

A Series of Eight Popular Lectures

by Max Shachtman

March 16th—The Founding of the New International

The First Congress—1919

March 23rd—The Twenty-One Conditions of the International

The Second Congress—1920

March 30th—The Struggle for the Conquest of the Masses

The Third Congress—1921

April 6th—The Last Leninist Congress

The Fourth Congress—1922

April 13th—The First Victory of the Right-Center Reaction

The Fifth Congress—1924

April 20th—The Triumph of the Epigones

The Sixth Congress—1928

April 27th—The Future of the Third International—What Next

at 8 P. M.

LABOR TEMPLE—14th St. and 2nd Ave.

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION.

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Glotzer's National Tour

In the west comrade Glotzer's national tour has met with success as well as with some difficulties. In St. Louis the meeting was held in the main public library hall with better than 100 workers in attendance. This attendance gives testimony to the growing interest in Communism displayed by the workers there. This became further evident in the discussion following the lecture with many questions addressed to the speaker touching upon the fundamental proletarian problems.

In the mine field of Illinois comrade Glotzer met some difficulties. Our most active comrade and to be away from the preparatory work to take part in negotiations of the union scale committee. In addition, and most important much intimidation already exists amongst the miners, further intensified by the latest Communist persecutions. Under such conditions, as could be expected, the meeting became small but nevertheless gave an opportunity to discuss some of the workers' problems with the live wires present.

There were additional difficulties in Kansas City which were also of the character hitting the Communist movement as a whole. Our comrades were actually unable, even after much effort, to secure a hall. The meeting therefore had to be held in a private but spacious house. It was the same house where one of the existing unemployment councils met. While it is located a good deal out of the way there was nevertheless an attendance of about 40 workers who took serious part in the questions discussed.

Young Spartacus Affair

YOUTH AFFAIR

On Saturday, March 26, at 8 P. M., a youth affair will be held at The Militant headquarters, 84 East 10th St., for the benefit of Young Spartacus, youth organ of the Left Opposition. All comrades are assured of a good time. There will be dancing, entertainment, and refreshments. The affair is being held under the auspices of the Spartacus Youth Club.

FOR INFORMATION
ON THE YOUTH MOVEMENT
READ YOUNG SPARTACUS



Lenin on the Paris Commune

We reprint below an article by Lenin on the significance of the Paris Commune to the international working class. Lenin and the Bolsheviks absorbed the lessons taught by Marx and Engels on the Commune and found these invaluable in their struggle for the Russian Revolution. On the sixty-first anniversary of the Paris Commune it is fitting for us to reprint this brief writing penned by one who helped carry out the tasks the heroic Parisian Communards set themselves, continued their work, and began the class revenge of the world proletariat against the bloody suppression of the Commune by leading the Russian workers to the victorious Red October.—Ed.

Forty years have passed since the proclamation of the Paris Commune. According to their custom, the French proletariat are honouring the memory of the revolutionary workers of March 18, 1871, by meetings and demonstrations. At the end of May they will again bring wreaths to the tombs of the Communards who were shot, the victims of the fearful "May Week," and over their graves they will once more take the oath to fight untrillingly until their ideas have conquered, until their cause has been completely victorious.

Why do the proletariat, not only in France but throughout the entire world, honour the workers of the Paris Commune as their forerunners? What was the heritage of the Commune?

The Commune broke out spontaneously. No one consciously prepared it in an organized way. The unsuccessful war with Germany, privations during the siege, unemployment among the proletariat and ruin among the petty-bourgeoisie; the indignation of the masses against the upper classes and against the authorities who had displayed their complete incapacity, an indefinable fermentation among the working class, which was discontented with its lot and was striving towards a different social system; the reactionary make-up of the National Assembly, which roused fears as to the fate of the republic—all this and many other things combined to drive the population of Paris to revolution on March 18, which unexpectedly placed power in the hands of the National Guard, in the hands of the working class and the petty-bourgeoisie which had joined in with it.

This was an event unprecedented in history. Up to that time power had customarily been in the hands of landlords and capitalists, i. e., in the hands of their trusted agents who made up the so-called Government. After the revolution of March 18, when the Thiers Government fled from Paris with its troops, its police and its officials, the people remained masters of the situation and power passed into the hands of the proletariat. But in modern society, enslaved economically by capital, the proletariat cannot dominate politically unless it breaks the chains which fetter it to capital. This is why the movement of the Commune inevitably had to take on a Socialist colouring, i. e., to begin striving for the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie, the power of capital, to destroy the very foundations of the present social order.

At first this movement was extremely indefinite and confused. It was joined by patriots who hoped that the Commune would renew the war with the Germans and bring it to a successful conclusion. It was supported by the small shopkeepers who were threatened with ruin unless there was a postponement of payments on debts and rent (the Government did not want to give them such a postponement but the Commune gave it). Finally, it had, at first, the sympathy of the bourgeois republicans, who feared that the reactionary National Assembly (the "blackwoodsmen", ignorant landlords) would restore the monarchy. But the chief role in this movement was of course played by the workers (especially the artisans of Paris), among whom Socialist propaganda had been energetically carried on during the last years of the Second Empire and many of whom even belonged to the First International.

Only the workers remained loyal to the Commune to the end. The bourgeois republicans and the petty-bourgeoisie soon broke away from it, the former afraid of the revolutionary Socialist proletarian character of the movement, and the others dropping out when they saw that it was doomed to inevitable defeat. Only the French proletariat supported their Government fearlessly and untrillingly, they alone fought and died for it, for the cause of the emancipation of the working class, for a better future for all toilers.

Deserted by their allies of yesterday and supported by no one, the Commune was doomed to inevitable defeat. The entire bourgeoisie of France, all the landlords, the stockbrokers, the factory owners, all the great and small robbers, all the exploiters, combined against it. This bourgeois coalition, supported by Bismarck (who released a hundred thousand French soldiers who had been

taken prisoner to put down revolutionary Paris), succeeded in rousing the backward peasants and the petty bourgeoisie of the provinces against the proletariat of Paris, and in surrounding half of Paris with a ring of steel (the other half was held by the German army). In some of the larger cities in France (Marseilles, Lyons, St. Etienne, Dijon, etc.) the workers also attempted to seize power, to proclaim the Commune, and come to the help of Paris, but these attempts soon failed. Paris, which had first raised the flag of proletarian revolt, was left to its own resources and doomed to certain destruction.

For the victory of the social revolution, at least two conditions are necessary: a high development of productive forces and the preparedness of the proletariat. But in 1871 neither of these conditions was present. French capitalism was still only slightly developed, and France was at that time mainly a country of petty-bourgeoisie (artisans, peasants, shopkeepers, etc.). On the other hand there was no workers' party, the working class, which in the mass was unprepared and untrained, did not even clearly visualize its tasks and the methods of fulfilling them. There were no serious political organizations of the proletariat, no strong trade unions and co-operative societies.

But the chief thing which the Commune lacked was the time to think out and undertake the fulfillment of its programme. It hardly had time to start working, when the Versailles government, supported by the entire bourgeoisie, opened military operations against Paris. The Commune had to think first of all of defence. Right up to the very end, May 21-28, it had no time to think seriously of anything else.

In spite of such unfavorable conditions, in spite of the brevity of its existence, the Commune found time to carry out some measures which sufficiently characterize its real significance and aims. The Commune replaced the standing army, that blind weapon in the hands of the ruling classes, by the armed people. It proclaimed the separation of church from State, abolished the State support of religious bodies (i. e., State salaries for priests), gave popular education a purely secular character, and in this way struck a severe blow at the gendarmes in priestly robes. In the purely social sphere the Commune could do very little, but this little nevertheless clearly shows its character as a popular workers' Government. Night work in bakeries was forbidden, the system of fines, this system of legalized robbery of the workers, was abolished. Finally, the famous decree was issued according to which all factories, works and workshops which had been abandoned or stopped by their owners, were to be handed over to associations of workers in order to resume production. And, as if to emphasize its character as a truly democratic proletarian Government, the Commune decreed that the salaries of all ranks in the administration and the government should not exceed the normal wages of a worker, and in no case should exceed 6,000 francs per year.

All these measures showed with sufficient clearness that the Commune was a deadly menace to the old world, founded on slavery and exploitation. Therefore bourgeois society could not sleep peacefully so long as the Red Flag of the proletariat waved over the Paris City Hall. When at last the organized force of the Government had managed to defeat the poorly organized forces of the revolution, the Bonapartist generals who had been beaten by the Germans and who were brave only when fighting their defeated countrymen, these French Rennekampfs and Meller-Sakomelskys, organized such a slaughter as Paris had never known. About 30,000 Parisians were killed by the ferocious soldiery, about 45,000 were arrested and many of these were afterwards executed, thousands were imprisoned or exiled. In all, Paris lost about 100,000 of its sons, including the best workers of all trades.

The bourgeoisie were satisfied. "Now we have finished with Socialism for a long time," said their leader, the blood-thirsty dwarf, Thiers, after the bloodbath which he and his generals had arranged for the proletariat of Paris. But these bourgeois crows cawed in vain. Six years after the suppression of the Commune, when many of its fighters were still pining in prison or in exile, a new workers' movement rose in France. A new Socialist generation, enriched by the experience of their predecessors and no whit discouraged by their defeat, picked up the flag which had dropped from the hands of the fighters of the Commune and bore it boldly and confidently forward, with cries of: "Long live the social revolution! Long live the Commune!" And a few years after that, the new workers' party and the agitation raised by it throughout the country, compelled the ruling classes to release the imprisoned Communards, who were still in the hands of the government.

The memory of the fighters of the Commune is not only honoured by the

New Trotsky Series on Germany Starts Next Week

Beginning with the next issue, *The Militant* will print extracts from comrade Trotsky's new book on Germany. The book has just arrived and is being translated into English. The table of contents are: **Democracy and Fascism; The Social Democracy and the Policy of the Lesser Evil; The Italian Experience; The Communist Party and the Working Class; The United Front Policy (Fundamental Principles); The Soviets as Organs of the United Front; The Russian Experience; What Is Centristism; Bureaucratic Centristism (The International Stalin Faction); The S. A. P. and Its Future; Brandfr, Urbans and Others; Economic Struggles and Trade Union Unity; The Political Mass Strike, Workers' Control of Production; From Defensive to Offensive.**

workers of France but by the proletariat of the whole world, for the Commune did not fight for any local or narrow national aim, but for the freedom of toiling humanity, of all the downtrodden and oppressed. As the foremost fighter for the social revolution, the Commune has won sympathy wherever there is a proletariat struggling and suffering. The picture of its life and death, the sight of a workers' government which seized the capital of the world and kept it in its hands for over two months, the spectacle of the heroic struggle of the proletariat and its sufferings after defeat—all this has raised the spirit of millions of workers, aroused their hopes and attracted their sympathies to the side of socialism. The thunder of the cannon in Paris awakened the most backward strata of the proletariat from deep slumber, and everywhere gave impetus to the growth of revolutionary Socialist propaganda. This is why the cause of the Commune did not die. It lives to the present day in every one of us.

The cause of the Commune is the social revolution, the cause of the complete political and economic emancipation of the toilers. It is the cause of the proletariat of the whole world. And in this sense it is immortal.

Rabochaya Gazeta, No. 4-5, April 28 (15), 1911.

After the Massacre in Detroit

The militant mass funeral of the Ford massacre victims registered the angry answer of the Detroit workers to the wanton murder of last week. The victims were laid to rest with full proletarian honors. The imposing funeral march lent further emphasis to the growing working class demand for unemployment relief.

In this automobile capital the curse of unemployment has become particularly acute. It is openly admitted by the city authorities that the jobless ranks are growing. In this respect the index prepared by the Detroit Board of Commerce gives illuminating figures. It records a recent drop to a present low of 68.6 per cent of what was considered a normal monthly employment average of 100 in 1923-1925 for the whole working population. In the month of February this year there were 50,000 less employed in Detroit than the same month a year ago. With no unemployment relief, save for the scant charity crumbs, the workers' conditions have become ever more desperate. Stark misery and starvation

Remember Our Prisoners

One of the surest tests of the revolutionary qualities of a workers' organization is its attitude toward the working class fighters in the prisons of the class enemy. Remembrance of the class war prisoners must take a practical form—unceasing struggle for their liberation and material provision for their prison needs.

Comrade Morgenstern and Goodman have a special claim on us because they are our own people who have been victimized for their fight for our cause. Their claim on the members and supporters of the Communist League is all the stronger because they have been deserted by the defense organizations maintained by the workers for the benefit of all class war prisoners—the I. L. D. Therefore, let us take care of our own! The Militant deems it a duty to open a prison relief fund for the benefit of our comrades. Our readers are requested to send contributions to this fund c/o *The Militant*, 84 East 10th St., New York City. Itemized reports of all receipts of this fund will be printed regularly and the proceeds forwarded to the comrades in prison.

Friday, March 18!
"THE GERMAN ELECTIONS"
Lecture by
SAM GORDON
at the LABOR TEMPLE

Results of the German Elections

Gains of Reaction Serious Warning against Stalinist Policy

Last Sunday's presidential elections in Germany were breathlessly watched by a world torn by economic crisis and apprehensive of social convulsions. For the bourgeois philistine, the elections constitute a fait accompli, an established fact. Thus, for instance, the American press, in its comment on the results of Sunday's poll, sees a decisive repulsion of Fascism and a permanent victory for the "inherently conservative character" of the German people. Hitler's inability to muster a larger vote than Hindenburg to them spells Hitler's defeat. For the revolutionary, for the Marxist, the elections constitute merely a gauge of social and political developments. It is therefore only natural for us to regard the bourgeois press comment with a grain of skepticism. With them, it is a case of the wish being the father of the thought. The American bourgeoisie fears social unrest, abroad as well as at home, worse than the pest. An advance of Fascism can only mean an outbreak of civil war in Germany. To hush away the chimera of such a civil war, its press prefers to overlook the facts.

To be sure, Hitler only rallied 11,500,000 votes to Hindenburg's 18,000,000. But when we consider that the Fascist gain amounted to some 5,000,000 votes more than the 6,400,000 they received in the Reichstag elections in 1930, and when we look at this fact objectively, dispassionately, we cannot fail to come to the conclusion that the elections reflected a tremendous and absolutely menacing advance on part of the Fascists. To be sure, it appears that the Fascists have very little resources left for further progress by purely legal means. The percentage of their vote is considerably lower than in the partial elections in 1931. But that only increases the probability of a forceful attempt at the seizure of power by the Hitlerites. The very character of the social composition of the Hitler camp, the fact that it is subject to violent fluctuations in political sentiment makes the thought of a "peaceful" growing into power of the National Socialists improbable. No one knows this better than Hitler himself. It is

only natural to assume that Hitler will act accordingly. The menace of Fascism hangs more heavily over the head of the German working class than ever.

How did the working class forces fare in the elections? The only working class candidate in the field, the candidate of the Communist Party, Ernst Thaelmann, received a total of 4,900,000 out of the 37,000,000 votes cast. All in all, a gain of some 350,000 over the 4,570,000 votes the Communist Party received in 1930. When we compare this gain with the 5,000,000 gain of the Fascists, when we keep in mind the fact that Thaelmann was the only working class candidate in the field—the social democrats renounced a candidacy of their own in favor of the Hohenzollern Field Marshall—and finally when we consider the sharpness of the economic situation, we can only admit that the Communist candidate suffered a disastrous defeat in Sunday's elections. That is the bare fact. The entire import of this fact must be realized by every Communist fighter, by every sincere revolutionist. The lesson of the election must be brought home to the class conscious workers—the conclusions must be drawn from it before it is too late before the decisive blow has been struck.

The election defeat of Thaelmann does not mean a defeat for the working class, a defeat for Communism. That is not decided by election, that is decided in open struggle, in the factories, in the streets. It does mean a debacle for the Stalinist policy of the German party leadership. It should serve as a warning to all serious and devoted workers—Communists in the ranks of the official party. Let us review the facts. The Hindenburg - Bruening - Groener regime has been represented in the eyes of all German workers, the social democratic as well as the Communist workers, as the dictatorship by emergency decree, of wage-cuts carried out by cabinet order, of the reduction of unemployed insurance to the point of starvation; of the abrogation of the most elementary working class rights; of the introduction of National Socialists into the army. No worker could possibly overlook these facts.

The Social democracy, versed in the ways of working class betrayal, called upon its followers to vote for this regime in the presidential elections, nevertheless. More than that, it was actually able to rally its followers behind this hunger-regime almost to a man. That is astonishing at first, but it must be understood. Why did the social democratic workers vote for Hindenburg? The social democratic misleaders called upon their worker-followers to vote for Hindenburg as the "lesser evil" against Fascism. Did the social democratic workers actually believe that this regime of hunger and starvation for the working class will fight against Fascism? Hardly. Why, then, did they nevertheless vote for Hindenburg because the situation seemed hopeless to them, because it was the only choice left to them outside of the united front of the working class.

Whose fault is it that the proletarian united front was not established? Can the social democratic leaders be expected to establish the united front. Never. Their entire composition, their character as lackeys of the capitalist class, as agents of the capitalists within the ranks of labor, makes such a step on their part unthinkable. Yet, what all the workers really desired was a fighting

united front against the menace that was directly threatening them, against Fascism. Both social democratic and Communist workers had fallen in the slaughter brought about by the Nazis in their punitive expeditions into Brunswick, both reformist and revolutionary workers were victimized in the daily attacks made upon working class meetings, groups and colonies. It was only natural for the workers to feel the necessity of fighting first and foremost against this danger.

The task of creating a united front of active struggle against Fascism could only be carried out by the Communists, by the revolutionary party. It was the duty of the Communists to force the social democratic leaders, already under pressure from their rank and file, into this united front, to put them to the test before their own followers. That was duty clearly devolving upon the revolutionary party from the general situation. What did the Stalinist leadership do instead. It rejected any united front whatsoever with the "social Fascists" and called upon the social democratic workers to join the "Red united front under the leadership of the Communist party". By the rejection of the Leninist conception of the united front, the Stalinist Central Committee of the German party repelled the reformist workers, left them helpless in the face of the treacherous machinations of their leadership. It was in this manner that the social reformists were able to swing the bulk of the German proletariat behind the candidacy of the Bruening hunger regime.

The result of the German presidential elections is a warning against the nefarious tactic of the German Stalinites. If it is not heeded, the working class of Germany faces disaster. If it is taken into account, the tactic must be changed immediately. More than that, the theory of "social Fascism" which is the source of all these disastrous developments, must be uprooted. It is this theory, which throws all opponents of the revolutionary party into one pot, without distinguishing between them and without exploiting the various conflicts among them; which bears all the earmarks of the Lassallean theory of the "single reactionary mass" condemned and refuted by Marx in his "Criticism of the Gotha Program"; it is this theory that has left a trail of confusion in the minds of the Communist militants and one of disaster in the development of the class struggle.

The main danger seen clearly by every worker in Germany today is the Fascist danger, is the Hitlerite danger. Every worker regards this question as one of life and death. The Communist party of Germany must realize this fact, if it is not to pursue its road to destruction, if the working class of Germany is to avoid extermination at the hands of Hitler's butchers.

The tremendous vote rolled up by the Fascists last Sunday, far from being a setback for the Nazi forces, is only a step in their march toward the seizure of power, toward the open attack against the proletariat. The coming weeks and months will no doubt witness more daring and more impudent assaults upon the workers' organizations by the Fascists than ever before. The workers are bound to feel the Hitlerite cudgel even more sharply than before. Their reactions toward the threat and their feeling for the need of working class unity are going to be much more profound in the future. The tactic of the united front will be on the order of the day more than ever. —SAM GORDON.

New York Marine Workers Go to Trial

The three marine workers, who have been confined in Tombs jail since last November in the New York "Dynamite Plot", went to trial Monday in the court of General Sessions, Division 1. The first three days were consumed in the examination of prospective jurors. As the *Militant* went to press, eleven jurors had been selected and the defense, conducted by Peter L. F. Sabbatino and Jacob Fishman, had exhausted nineteen of its twenty peremptory challenges.

The prosecution concentrated its objections, in the selection of the jury, on all who had been connected with the labor movement in any way or who were readers of labor or liberal publications. The plan to put the dynamiting charges over on a wave of red baiting was indicated in the detailed questioning of every one called for jury service as to his acquaintance with or knowledge of the various radical labor organizations or the individual members of the Marine Workers' Defense Committee, which is conducting the defense movement in behalf of the prisoners.

The defendants are members of the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union. The charges against them have been exposed as a conspiracy against union organization in the New York har-

bor, and a number of workers' league organizations, including the Communist League of America, joined forces in the Marine Workers' Defense Committee to provide their defense. On Saturday the defense Committee issued a new appeal for the solidarity and support of the workers on the eve of the trial and emphasized the need of funds for the legal expenses. All readers of the *Militant* are urged to respond to this appeal and to send funds to the Marine Workers' Defense Committee, 82 East Tenth Street, New York.

Next Week's Forum

On Friday, March 25 at 8 P. M. comrade Cannon will speak at the N. Y. open forum at the Labor Temple on **Marxist History and Bourgeois Criticism—The History of the Russian Revolution and Its Critics.** The lecture will be an oral review of comrade Trotsky's work and reviews of it which have appeared in the press.

NOTE TO OUR READERS

For technical reasons, we have been forced to postpone the final installment of Rakovsky's article on the Five Year Plan until next week.

—THE MILITANT.

The Communists and the Agrarian Crisis

(Continued from last issue)

In America the problem of city and country has taken on new dimensions. The 1930 census reports a 68,954,823 urban population and a 53,820,223 rural population. The majority are urban, the overwhelming majority are proletarian while, in the country where we seized power first, the overwhelming majority were peasants. Rural, in no sense means farmers. For example of the rural population only 30,447,229 make up the farm population is only 56% of the rural and only 24.8% of the total population. The bourgeois economist presents the problem as though it is about 50-50 for town and country, for "farmers and city people" and the average worker has accepted this trash. The farm population as 24.8% of the total population are by no means farmers. This means all persons living on farms without regard to occupation.

Taking this 24.8% and seeing what makes it up we find it is further narrowed by analysis. Under occupations, gainfully employed, the census lists (1920 figures—the 1930 figures not available, are even more in our favor) as dairy farmers, farmers and stock raisers; 6,201,261, and for dairy farm, farm and stock, laborers; 3,041,027. This means 6 million farmers and 4 million as agricultural workers. But of these 6 million farmers we find (1920 figures) 2,464,804 as tenant farmers, 1,461,306 as mortgaged farmers and 2,074,325 as farmers owning their farms. However, I am sure the 1930 figures, when published, will show even less farm owners today.

The big agricultural population in the last analysis boils down considerably, and the farmer as an ally does not lose any of his significance but he does lose much of his specific weight for America. The farm population as 24% of the total (1920) is composed of about 40% agricultural workers, 25% tenant farmers, 15% mortgaged farmers and 20% farm owners. This does not settle the problem and does not prove that the majority are revolutionary. One knows the majority of the American industrial workers are not revolutionary. However, once we obtain a proper perspective it shows the relation of the workers and farmers in the coming revolution.

This block of agricultural workers on cattle raising and dairy farms are not approached as farmers, but are won as workers. They are not allies, they are ours as a class. The varied forms of cropper dirt farmer and tenant farmer which make up the poor and middle farmer are our allies. As for the owners, yes even some of them will make good allies. As for the capitalist farmer—they are not allies, they are enemies and will be treated as such. We will waste no time in winning them over. Our allies lie in the percentage between the agrarian workers and the capitalist farmers. These must be won. Their relation to the workers in the problem of the American revolution is the most "insignificant" any proletariat in any advanced country has to contend with, maybe with the exception of England. In the Russian revolution, the minority, the proletariat, was the decisive force over the overwhelming majority of peasantry. In America, a revolution which will release the energies of the American proletariat, who stand as the vast majority will call forth proletarian energy unknown in the past.

America has developed its wheat belt, corn belt, cotton belt and has its agricultural states and its industrial states, but as its stands today, it is of no value for analysis of class forces in the revolution. The line of demarcation between industrial and agricultural states is of little value, because the most important industrial states are also the most important agricultural producers, too. Agricultural states as such, only have a meaning when the problem is confined within the states, and we show that the products from agriculture are of greater value than the products from industry, etc. But when one compares the amount and value of the products from agriculture with the agricultural products of the leading industrial states, one finds that the industrial states in many cases are more productive in agricultural products than the agricultural states, and where there is a close margin the industrial states make a good showing for themselves. New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio and the other important industrial states are also states producing more foodstuffs than the majority of the so-called agricultural states.

The industrial centers where the proletariat, the decisive force of revolution, resides, also has in its immediate vicinity the production of the food supply of first importance for short periods. It is not an easy matter to bottle up a proletariat in an industrial center if power is in their hands, with all the avenues of modern transportation to nearby food supplies. The agricultural worker will do his share and the poor and middle farmer must be won over.

The tremendous grain elevators, meat and food storage plants for the products of the country are controlled by the city and who controls the city controls this supply. American capitalism does not worry about peasant economy holding back on it as do some other capitalist nations with carry overs of natural economy where the rural population can hold without the city. The machine development and its use on American farms in a lesser or greater degree forces the agricultural economy to rest upon the industrial city. The methods of farming, storing, transporting, selling, etc., all bring capitalist agricultural relations under the indus-

trial city to which it is bound and from which American agriculture cannot escape, not retreat, not to mention the financial network that encompasses agriculture and ties it, binds it to the city.

In capitalist countries with feudal carry-overs, with peasant economy still lingering, we have a far more difficult problem. Although at that level, capital has already shown itself to be master of the house, it by no means has a free reign. The peasant economy weighs heavy upon capital and its development, but nevertheless, capital, and in turn the proletarian class is the decisive force in the relationship of the class struggle. What is true in these backward sections, where the country can eke out an existence even if the city goes to hell, but where in the city cannot continue without the country; is more so true, in developed capitalist countries like America. In fact, however, the problem is turned around. The city needs the country and has safeguarded this need by a thousand and one ties that bind the country to the city, but the country on the other hand cannot exist without the city—not in advanced America. Not on the present mode of production. That is only possible by stepping back a stage or two and this is not an overnight step but one which would follow a chaos, when neither capitalist nor proletarian rules.

The very connections of city and countries under developed capitalism, gives the American proletariat the advantage of the problem of revolution once this is concretely put on the agenda for the seizure of power. The very relation of forces with the overwhelming majority of the population being proletarian and the "farmers" divided into agrarian workers, tenant farmer, mortgaged farmer and capitalist farmer, with a section of the owner-farmer as allies, makes the problem different and in our favor. The Farmer-Labor Party is reactionary and will only lead the proletariat into the swamp of opportunism, this even Centrism understands now after years of blunders; but the idea of a "Workers and Farmers Government" and the slogan for it that Centrism still peddles, is just as reactionary, and can lead to nothing but national reformism.

The agrarian workers must be won as workers, the middle and poor farmers as allies according to the form of the problem. Negro and white, share cropper, contract farmer, dirt farmer, etc., and the capitalist farmer should not bother us. The agrarian crisis will not let up, even though there will be ebbs and flows, its basic effects will not be remedied through agrarian reforms. For the capitalist system, the remedy is greater concentration and pulling agriculture more into the orbit of capitalist production, putting agriculture more on the basis of an industry of capitalism—but this lets loose dynamite, which has its most deadly explosive effects not in the country but in the city. For the agrarian worker and our allies, the poor and middle farmers, the remedy is nothing short of the Proletarian Revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the means of transforming of the negative base of the agriculture industry into an industry of the socialist mode of production, completing the cycle agriculture has passed through—and opening the door to a new positive cycle of its development.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Our Subscription Drive

After a long and hard struggle The Militant became a weekly. The apparatus of its production, so to speak, has been built up step by step by much sacrifice. Now it is necessary to build on a firm foundation its distribution apparatus.

During the period of the present drive, March 1st to June 1st, this effort should take an intensive form. First of all we must get new subs. Friends and sympathizers must be convinced. Wherever possible whole days should be set aside for the carrying out of this task. This drive for new subs must be geared to a high pitch. It must be sustained at that pitch for the duration of the drive.

The literature premium announced in recent issues should be utilized to their full value. We give them again. For the period of the drive we will give with each one year \$2.00 sub (52 issues) a free paper bound copy of comrade Trotsky's *The Permanent Revolution*; with each half year \$1.00 sub (26 issues) a copy of the *Strategy of the World Revolution*; with each trial 50c sub (13 issues) any one of our 10c pamphlets. This premium applies to renewals as well as the new subs. During the period of the drive comrades may offer a combined \$2.00 rate for a year's subscription to The Militant and Young Spartacus. There is no literature premium with combined subs.

At the same time we are getting new subs we must see to the renewal of expired and expiring subs, or the gains of new subs will be offset by the losses of these old ones. In the execution of this task the national center is co-operating by systematic notification of the subscriber. If these notices are acted on promptly, the solution of the problem will be fairly easy.

At the present time the results in new and renewed subs are: New York—11; Minneapolis—2; Chicago—1; St. Louis—1; Miscellaneous—10. The increase in bundle orders stands at one in Chicago as reported in the last issue.

Another important method of raising the circulation of The Militant and building up its distribution is the expansion and extension of "mass" distribution.

Drug Clerks Organize

NEW YORK.

The present chaotic condition prevailing in the pharmaceutical industry, which is merely a photostatic copy of the existing chaos in the decaying capitalist structure as a whole, and the intense, almost inhuman exploitation of the drug clerk by a degenerate middle class of independent drug shop retailers, by the ever growing chain store magnates and the rich independent "cut-rate" parasites, are threatening to reduce the standard of living of the drug clerks to the lowest level of existence—to that of the Chinese coolie.

The incurable cancer of capitalism—unemployment—has greatly augmented the misery of the drug clerks and turned two thousand licensed and junior pharmacists of this city into the streets. Some of them have already taken their places on the breadlines. Others are still clinging to the last line of defense, their savings, which they were able to build up during the so-called "prosperity" period thanks to the dreadfully long hours of work which made expenditures other than the mere necessities impossible.

The legendary professional status of the pharmacist in our capitalist society has acted as an emollient to his sore human pride and lulled in him the rebellion against the degrading conditions under which he is working. The sharpening and protraction of the present crisis has dealt a shattering blow to his legendary status and made him realize his true status, that of the wage earner, subject to all the laws governing wage labor under this decaying capitalist system.

The drug clerk has arisen and begun to move. He is moving in the direction of the trade union front.

His vanguard, leaderless, without experience and program, but in excellent fighting morale, has been intercepted by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and has definitely landed in the right flank of the labor camp.

On March 8, the Drug Clerks' Union was officially christened by Mr. Collins, national officer of the A. F. of L. and chartered as the Drug Clerks' Union of Greater New York, Local 581 of the Retail Clerks International Protective Association.

A brief account of the installation meeting will sufficiently describe the condition of this new-born babe.

The meeting was opened by Mr. Feinstein, president of the union, who introduced Dr. Linville, president of the Teachers' Union. Dr. Linville spoke at great length of the trade union movement, but as betrays a president of an A. F. of L. local, he distorted the revolutionary concept of trade unionism and reduced it to the ideological level of his class, namely the middle class. He finished his oration wishing them success and rightly pointed out the need of a program, which he, of course, hoped that the leaders of the union, with the advice of the national office, will be able to formulate.

Next spoke president Feinstein, whose physiognomy is a true reflection of his intellect and vice versa. He delivered a "speech" of about twenty to thirty words, nine tenths of which he devoted to impress upon the members that he

will not tolerate radicals in "his" union. This antiquated mass of stupidity in human form has spent over forty years of his life in the darkest corner of the world, the back of a drugstore, which fully explains his idiotic appearance and low cultural level.

Last spoke Collins of the A. F. of L. This typical labor bureaucrat, in a typical A. F. of L. dialogue, as he himself termed his manner of speech, harangued the young recruits yet untainted by the A. F. of L. philosophy and manifesting a good fighting vitality, and urged them to "hang on" and not to fight.

Here is one of his gems: "Folks, times are bad. Now is not the time to fight. Hang on to your job. Don't fight. Wait."

Immediately after the close of the meeting, the more articulate element came up to the secretary and voiced their disapproval with the president's attitude toward radicals and the "don't fight, wait" idea.

"We came here to do work, not to wait," the cry of one of the militants resounded.

Here we see a familiar scene, so frequently enacted in the labor movement. The rank and file seething with revolt, ready to strike the enemy; the leaders holding them back, telling them that the hour has not yet struck and thus breaking their morale.

Upon the revolutionary drug clerk develops a great task and great responsibility. He must, in the words of Lenin, "brave all difficulties, attacks, insults and persecutions at the hands of the leaders" to gain an opportunity to come forward with a clear program of action which, we believe, will cause a differentiation in the ranks and in this manner render the formation of a strong Left wing possible.

—I. D.

The Dress Strike in Boston

BOSTON.

The cloakmakers under the leadership of the "United Front Committee" went back to work already in some cases under somewhat improved conditions. The cloakmakers under the leadership of the International went back to work with no wage cut.

Wages were cut plenty in the past two years. The International did not make an effort to get anything back. Now an agreement is being made for the dressmakers with no improved working conditions.

The desire for unity among the workers was great. When we came on the picket line it was a united mass picket line. The bitterness the workers felt to each other for the past two or three years on account of the divided struggles disappeared from their faces. Right wing workers and Left wing workers walked arm in arm, discussed plans of taking down shops and other plans. Every one looked brighter, had a smile on their face. The International was desperate to see such friendship among the workers and looked for ways and means to divide them. When the police captain complained to Philip Kramer, the International business agent who came on the picket line with the police captain, about too many pickets, he said, "What can I do? They are from the United Front" and promised that the next day there will be a distinction between our pickets and his pickets.

The next morning they wanted to put arm bands with the A. F. of L. initials on the arms of the International workers, but to their great disappointment the workers refused to wear the bands and be divided. "Unity, Yes, unity! The desire to be united is felt by all the workers. You can see it in their eyes. Why didn't they come to the meeting of the Left wing? We called them, we agitated them, we had conferences. Very few came. Those who have no jobs and are not afraid to lose them are disgusted with the International. Just as many workers are. The others did not come, they were afraid of losing their jobs. What was left for the Industrial Union to do to get these workers? We should have called the International leaders as well as the workers to unite on the basis of one united strike with one set of demands.

This should have been done at least a couple of months before the strike. So the workers of the International would have had time to demand of their leaders to have one united struggle for better conditions.

I feel quite sure the International leaders would refuse such unity. Then we would be able to tell the workers and they would see it clearly themselves, that their leaders are not interested in unity and we could expose them to the root.

Now the strike is at an end. The workers are coming back to work with no retrieval of the slashed wages, no improvements, and the International had a hard time to get an agreement altogether because bosses are interested in signing agreements only on two occasions: when they are forced by the unity of the workers and when they can get something from the union.

Two years ago, the International got agreements by just calling a stoppage and giving the bosses all the concessions for the privilege to collect dues. This year there was not much to be given as the bosses took everything away. Naturally, the shops that were called out by the united front and the Industrial Union could not get much either because they control only a small minority and those that went back did not get as much as still out on strike I can not say now. What they will get when they go back, we will report later.

—J. C.

Stalinist Flattery or Marxist Education

NEW YORK.

It is mildly entertaining to behold Sam Don, the well-known "anti-war expert" come out in the *Daily Worker* (Feb. 20, 1932) and say that "The Five Year Plan has demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt that Socialism can be built in one country", a statement which corresponds only too well with the utterings of his comrade-in-arms, the eminent Israel Amter, who only a week previous to that explained that same theory of Socialism in one country at an Open Forum of the new "Water Front Section of the C. P. U. S." in the following way:

"The average rank and file worker of the Soviet Union knows more about the theory of Socialism in one country than Trotsky or Cannon, for neither of these men has recently been there. Is it surprising that he should know more about it than some expelled leaders who have even attempted to study the theory? The rank and file worker accepts nothing as final until it has been given actual trial. Trotsky rejects the theory without any effort to demonstrate it."

Now, let us grant that the "average" rank and file worker of the Soviet Union "knows more about the interior of the new 'Palace of Soviets' than Trotsky or Cannon. But does an average rank and file member of the U. S. party know more about it than Trotsky or Cannon? Or does an average rank and file worker of the U. S. party know more about the revolutionary movement in America than Trotsky or Cannon? And what is there to indicate that an average member of the U. S. party knows more about the theory of Socialism in one country than Trotsky or Cannon? After all, the Sam Dons and the Amters must admit that he U. S. party member generally has not seen the Soviet Union and has not lived in a Socialist commonwealth so that he can be said to have any special familiarity with the nature, the problems and the difficulties of such a commodity. The theory of Socialism in one country is to the average worker only an idea, in the U. S. or elsewhere—and certainly, leaders who have given their lives to the study of scientific socialism are far more capable of judging these ideas than the glorified "average" worker. Amter's queer logic, to put it in another way, is equivalent to saying that because the junior of the *Daily Worker* building is more familiar with that structure than, let us say, Earl Browder, who appears to spend most of his time dining with Kuo Min Tang generals and otherwise revolutionizing the Far East, he knows more about the American revolutionary movement than the latter.

Again, Amter suggested that a rank and file worker in the Soviet Union has studied the theory of Socialism in one country and has learned a great deal more about its correctness than "some expelled leaders who never attempted to study it". We are not old, however, how the average rank and file knows the correctness of this theory—nor how the expelled leaders could attempt to know it, save by comparing the assumption of the theory in question and the fundamental principles of revolutionary internationalism, scientifically. The difference is that the "average rank and file party member" simply believe in a Stalinist theory without much effort at critical thought, while the "expelled leaders" who have given much thought to the question—have discovered the fallacy of national Socialism inherent in it.

Not long ago, an "average type" got up in our Open Forum and sprung a surprise by saying—quite innocently—that the Communist International—if translated into plain American language, would mean—the Russian Patriotic Society! We corrected him at that time by explaining clearly that this is not the case. But we do feel a little bit uncomfortable to have him come around and put up such embarrassing questions again.

If Trotsky and Cannon have never tried to demonstrate the theory of Socialism in one country—and we must give them credit for never having been so foolish—that is because they have shrewdly observed the absurdities of such a theory, because they have a realistic attitude toward the world's revolutionary developments and because they are not the least inclined to mumble nonsense. I do not suppose that any of the leaders of the Left Opposition has ever carried a horse-shoe to bring him luck, but their common sense has made it unnecessary for them to support such foolishness. One glance at Don's and Amter's logic is enough to show it is not worth trying.

—PAUL SCHWALBE.

Another Expulsion from the I. L. D.

On Thursday, March 10th, I was formally expelled from the Yorkville English Branch of the I. L. D. The main charge was that I was a "Trotskyist", and therefore my criticism of the so-called "united front from below" policy of the I. L. D. was incompatible with membership any longer.

In opening the attack, the organizer of the branch went to some length to state my "disruptive" activities; i. e., I had committed the audacious crime of speaking with members of the branch about the differences between the Left Opposition and the leadership of the official Party, and criticized the policies of the leadership.

No attempt was made to center the charge on inactivity, as my activity in the branch will attest to the fact that I have always volunteered for work and accepted all the tasks assigned to me. It is interesting to note that previous to the horrible discovery that I was a "counter-revolutionary, enemy of the working class", my activity and membership had been considered wholly satisfactory. Comrade Hacker himself, personally asked me to preside as chairman at the second Scottsboro Conference held a few months ago at a large downtown hall. Evidently, the stamp of "renegade" had not yet materialized before his eyes.

The chairman last night, a new member of the branch and, I think, a party member purposely assigned to the branch—since he does not live in our district—refused to permit me the final say. He insisted on his formal right as chairman to be the last speaker. He emitted a long harangue on Trotsky's "menshevism" of 1903, adding incidentally that Trotsky from the time of the revolution until 1923, had done good work, "when he was under the thumb of Lenin" (!) A long attack on Trotsky, not permitting me to answer.

There were seven comrades present. The vote was called for. The chairman, organizer, and Labor Defender agent immediately responded. One young comrade who works for the district and is also a new member of our branch, also voted for my expulsion—because he considered Trotsky an enemy of the working class, although he admitted he had never read a single document of the Opposition! When I explained to him that it was the policy of the I. L. D. to permit workers of any organization to enter the I. L. D. and work for it, he appeared puzzled, but voted for the expulsion, nevertheless. My vote was the only recorded against, the two remaining comrades were for abstaining, admitting that they were not acquainted with the questions—but decided to vote for the expulsion provided that it was to come to the District Committee and that I would be given a chance to appear. Comrade "Schneider, Labor Defender agent, assured the comrades that I would be given a chance to appear. I hold him to his word, as he is a member of the Section Executive Committee, and am only afraid that his confidence in the "workers' democracy" of Hacker and company will not be sustained.

I was accused of being the cause of the failure of the branch to grow. Any comrade who is acquainted with the Yorkville English Branch knows that the reason for the failure to grow has been the lack of consistent, regular activities. I fought continually for a systematic plan of meetings, house to house canvassing, educational lectures, distribution of *Labor Defenders* before unions, open air meetings, etc. I myself held several open air meetings alone when the district failed to supply speakers. I was suddenly thrown off the list of speakers, and since that time we never held them regularly. I advanced a plan for regular educational meetings every other week: it was accepted—I carried out my share of the work. In all activities, I can say that I did all required of any member of the organization. These things I state, not to gain reward for, but to outline for the comrades the only way that I see to build the branch. If they plan their work thus, the branch will grow—if not, it will remain stagnant as before.

The decision of expulsion is pending before the District Executive Committee. The policy of the I. L. D. is to admit all workers into its ranks, so long as they carry on the work of the organization under its discipline. I claim that I have proved that I have done so and can continue to do so. The only charge is "Trotskyism", which is no valid charge according to the ruling of the I. L. D. itself. I sincerely hope the District Executive will reverse the obviously unfounded expulsion of myself from the Yorkville English Branch of the I. L. D.

—HERBERT CAPELIS.

ATTENTION, GREEK WORKERS

In New York City two daily Greek bourgeois newspapers are published, the "*National Herald*" which supports the present "democratic" regime of Greece while the other the "*Atlantis*" represents the Royalist party of Greece and lately takes a pseudo-labor attitude.

The "*Emporos*" undertook a one sided struggle against the *National Herald* overlooking any kind of attack against the "*Atlantis*" which is more dangerous because it appears with the cloak of liberalism and therefore the "Communists" our Greek organ attacked this criminal neglect of the Greek Stalinism vigorously.

In the next issue of *The Militant* the Greek Bureau will write extensively upon this serious question which requires a correct and thorough discussion for the enlightenment not only of the Greek speaking Communists but of all Communists as well.

ST. LOUIS WORKERS, ATTENTION!

At a recent Left Opposition forum meeting two members of the official Communist Party during the discussion accepted a challenge to debate the Platform of the Left Opposition. The debate will take place Friday evening, March 25, at the Public Library, 14th St., and Cass Ave.

For the Left Opposition: John Scott
For the Communist Party: ?

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

A Shanghai View on Chinese Events

SHANGHAI, CHINA

February 16, 1932

While the principal scene of Japanese military activities in China has shifted, at least temporarily, from Manchuria to Shanghai, Manchuria remains the focusing point of Japan's colonial ambitions on the Asiatic mainland.

The current happenings in Shanghai, where major Japanese naval and military forces are endeavoring to defeat the Chinese 19th Route Army and oust it from Chapel, can be understood only in relation to the immediate pre-eminent political aim of Japanese imperialism, which is to expand its colonial possessions by the annexation of Manchuria and, meanwhile, as a first step, to secure treaty recognition of the position it has taken there. Japanese imperialism hopes, by a display of its naval and military might, and by wreaking havoc and destruction to terrorize the yellow politicians and militarists of Nanking (now Loyang) into signing such a treaty.

The political and military spokesmen of imperial Nippon have declared and announced their intention to respect China's territorial and administrative integrity, guaranteed by the Nine-Power Treaty, and to maintain the policy of the "open door" in Manchuria. A month of journeying through the three Eastern provinces has satisfied the writer—as it would all others with sound eyes and ears—that Manchuria has virtually ceased to be a part of China, and that the policy of the "open door" scarcely continues to exist except in the utterances of Japanese diplomats at Geneva, Washington and elsewhere.

Quite aside from the actual evidence, however, only a dullard could ever have imagined that the military campaigns were undertaken in any other interests than those of Japanese imperialism. Has British imperialism ever shared the spoils of its colonial wars with its trade rivals? Have the imperialists of France, of the United States, of Italy, of Spain ever done so? Has Japan done it in the case of Korea? What basis exists, then, for supposing that Manchuria will prove an exception to the general rule? None whatever.

Since September 18, when the troops of the Japanese garrison at Kwantung marched out of the South Manchuria Railway zone and occupied Mukden and other strategic points, the war of conquest, practically unresisted, has proceeded steadily. Fresh troops and munitions have poured into Manchuria as required. With the taking of Harbin, Japanese control of Manchuria is practically complete, for the retaking of strategic points in Heilungkiang province can be accomplished at any time. General Ma Chan-shan, erstwhile Chinese national hero, has been bargaining with the Japanese military at his headquarters in Hailu for some two months or more, and is now reported to have apologized to his former opponents for obstructing them at the Nonni River. He is clearly ready to strike a bargain on what he may consider favorable terms.

When I arrived at Shangkuan, the evacuation of Chang Hsueh-liang's armies from Manchuria had been completed. Forty-five trainloads of his troops had passed within the Great Wall during the preceding three or four days, without firing a single shot at the Japanese invaders. Thus was completed another chapter in the record of shameful capitulation of the Nanking government and its miserable Manchurian ally. The Japanese forces, having taken Chinchow, were advancing rapidly westward. It remained for them to ride triumphantly into Shangkuan on the Iron road of the Peiping-Mukden Railway to round out what has proved to be, initially, the easiest colonial conquest on record.

As an example of the cowardly refusal of those in power to even attempt to defend China's soil, of their abject surrender to Japanese aggression, I might record that on the day prior to the arrival of the Japanese forces at Shangkuan, a staff officer attached to the Chinese Garrison Headquarters rode out to meet the invaders, to inform them that they would meet with no resistance in the event that they desired to occupy the town. And Shangkuan, lying immediately south of the Great Wall, is outside Manchuria. One cannot doubt that they will prove equally obliging and accommodating should the hungry maw of Japanese imperialism demand the rest of China too. The freshest example is Shanghai (Chapel) where the 19th Route Army is stubbornly resisting the Japanese forces despite the receipt of orders from Nanking to withdraw and surrender the ground without fighting.

Shangkuan apparently forms no part of the immediate objectives of the Japanese Army, belonging geographically to the Tientsin-Peking area. Thus after a perfunctory inspection of the railway station and environs, the Japanese soldiery withdrew. From that station to Mukden, the whole railway line was in their hands. Before the advance westward, the staffs of all stations had fled and had been replaced by the officials and workers drawn from the South Manchuria Railway, Japanese-owned. All normal traffic on the section was obstructed and stopped and the line en-

tirely given over to the transportation of Japanese troops and military supplies. Within a fortnight, the Japanese headquarters at Mukden announced the "independence" of the section and renamed it the Shenyang-Shankaiwan Railway, at the same time guaranteeing the interest due British bondholders.

With this important railway line under their control, together with all branch and feeder lines, and now, lately, the partial seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway, jointly owned and operated by China and Soviet China with the disbanding of all Chinese administrative organs which made the slightest show of opposition and their replacement by puppet governments; with all activities, governmental and economic, supervised and controlled by the paid servants of Japanese imperialism; with all opposition stifled by military terror, what more is required to complete the picture of Manchuria as Japan's newest colonial possession? It is needless to add that the Japanese drive against Chinchow and points further west was accompanied by those acts of wanton destruction and brutality that are customarily associated with wars of colonial subjugation. Railway stations at places where positively no resistance was encountered by the Japanese troops were wantonly wrecked, and such members of the station staff as remained at their posts were brutally beaten up, in some instances seriously maimed and even killed.

In their triumphant invasion of Manchuria, the Japanese imperialists have not had things entirely their own way. First, they have been obliged to take some steps to allay the "misgivings" of their imperialist rivals, notably the United States, a task which, in the nature of the case, called for not a little ingenuity. In this field, since no other course was apparently open, they have confined themselves to hypocritical denials of any intention to annex Manchuria and to renewed pledges to maintain there, the "open door." The factual answer to the first has already been given above. Manchuria has been annexed de facto if not de jure.

As to the maintenance of the "open door" it is commonly known that at

three of the principal ports through which Manchuria's import trade flows, via: Dairen, Antung and Yinkow, goods of Japanese origin are permitted to enter at reduced tariff rates, in some cases duty free, while other foreign goods pay the officially levied duties. With the extension of Japanese control throughout Manchuria it can be expected that this system of preference, which is carried out sub Rosa, will likewise be extended to all Manchurian ports of entry, to the ultimate severe handicapping of trade of Japan's commercial rivals. This is but one example of Manchuria's gradually closing door. The preference enjoyed by Japanese products is at present surreptitious, but the exigencies of the economic crisis, which demands ever new trade outlets, will compel, ultimately, the official and formal sealing of a door which today stands only slightly ajar.

The second difficulty encountered one which grows constantly, is the opposition of the people over whom it seeks to become the overlord. Betrayed and deserted by the armies paid (ostensibly at any rate) to defend them, the peoples of Manchuria have been seemingly slow in developing opposition to the foreign imperialist invaders. In early January, however, the first substantial signs of an energetic partisan movement showed themselves. The remnants of the disbanded Chinese soldiery, mostly of peasant origin, discarded their uniforms and merged themselves with their compatriots in the villages to escape detection by Japanese troops intent on their extermination as "hungerbuds" (bandits).

Forming themselves into small, mobile bands, reinforced by members of the village poor, they swooped down on Japanese outposts under cover of darkness, engaged the defenders in sharp battle, often annihilating them completely, and then retreated into the night richer in arms and ammunition. In this way tremendous losses were sustained by the Japanese forces, especially those guarding small stations on the railway line between Mukden and Chinchow. Japanese reinforcements would endeavor to locate and round up the raiders as soon as it got light, but by then they had melted away into the neighboring vil-

lages from which they came, arms concealed, unidentifiable, awaiting their next opportunity.

Realizing the impossibility of tracing these annoying challengers of their might, and seriously perturbed by the losses in men and guns, the Japanese military command in Mukden have been considering punitive expeditions into the villages that flank the railway. It was proposed that in the village closest to the scene of the raid by a partisan band one adult male out of every ten should be taken out and shot as an example of others, and that this measure should be repeated after each raid. So far there have been no reports that such action has been instituted, although partisan activities increasingly harass the Japanese forces and hinder the consolidation of their initial conquest. Were such action taken it would only have the effect of strengthening and intensifying the spontaneous opposition it would aim to crush.

The growth of the partisan movement in Manchuria has had repercussions in Korea, where the movement for independence has been visibly stimulated. The Korean people have never been persuaded of the benevolence of Japanese imperialism, less so today than ever with the fresh example of Manchuria before them. At the same time the Japanese workers at home are voicing strong opposition to their masters' doings in Manchuria, and numerous huge protest demonstrations have been held in leading cities.

All these movements bid fair to hinder, possibly defeat, the realization of Japan's colonial ambitions, and all the scorpions of repression will be released to subdue them.

To counteract the growing opposition of the United States, Japan will seek to embroil the Soviet Union in war, assured that this will draw to her side all the imperialist powers, including the United States. It is plain that the continued "misgivings" of the State Department will shortly find expression in more concrete form than diplomatic notes of protest. Not for much longer will Japan's hollow declarations concerning her aims in Manchuria satisfy her powerful rival.

The final word, however, will rest with the revolutionary masses of the Far East, in alliance with the workers of the Soviet Union and of the whole world.

—C. FRANK GLASS.

The German Opposition at Work

This is the first of a series of articles on the current activities of the German Left Opposition.—Ed.

The tremendous sharpening of class conflicts in Germany, the dictatorship policy of the Brüning government, the fascist danger on the one hand, the treacherous policy of the social democracy on the other, and finally, the false policy and helplessness of the C. P. G. have produced a powerful process of fermentation within the best sections of the C. P. G. and in the ranks of the proletariat as a whole. This process finds its partial expression in a search for a correct line of struggle. The call for a united front of the entire proletarian class in a defense against Fascism is the strongest factor in the German labor movement today.

The Communist party remains impotent in this situation. The present leadership of the party actually declines, by its false policy, to take into account the most important factor, the existence of the proletarian class for a united front. The C. P. G. has succeeded, to be sure, in rallying large masses about it, but it has not succeeded in breaking down the decisive influence of the S. P. G. in the factories, in the trade unions and in the proletarian mass organizations. Thanks to the false policy of the party leadership a centrist party, the Socialist Labor Party, has been able to raise its head. For the moment, the prospect of a change in the line of the party is rather slim ("Social Fascism must first be defeated if Fascism is to be vanquished.")

What did the Left Opposition do in this situation? Do the German comrades know how to intervene in the events, despite their numerical weakness? In order to evaluate the work of the

German Opposition objectively, its past development must be taken into consideration. The complete bankruptcy of the Maslov-Fischer Opposition greatly compromised the ideas of the Left in the C. P. G. The policy conducted by the arrangement of the Left Opposition from the cadres of the party. The intrigues of Landau contributed the rest and only helped to make the Left Opposition ridiculous in the eyes of the best sections of the German working class. It was upon such premises that the Left Opposition had to resume its work in Germany. And in this work, it must be remembered, it was faced with a struggle not only against the strongest Stalinist party in Western Europe, but against the strongest Right wing group in the world, the Brandler group, as well.

Political and Organizational Activity

The German Opposition has taken a position on the most important political events in so far as it lay within the realm of its ability. Before the referendum in Prussia, it took a unequivocal position against the "Red" Referendum of the Communist party (carried on in common with the fascists) in its paper, the *Permanente Revolution*. In its Open Letter to the party it posed, on the basis of an analysis of the situation in Germany, the question of the united front as the central political problem of the C. P. G. Finally, the Left Opposition took a position toward the new centrist party, the Socialist Labor Party, in the form of theses. Within this party, which is centrist in its policy, there are many youths who have placed themselves on the ground of Communism. They reject entrance into the C. P. G. on account of its false policy. At the plenum of the National Committee, a resolution "On the Situation" was adopted.

Lately, the political influence of the Left Opposition has grown appreciably in Germany. The entire press, and especially the central organ of the Communist party, *Die Rote Fahne*, is forced to take a position toward the policy of the Left Opposition. The campaign against comrade Trotsky is carried on in full swing.

Still, it must be emphasized that the organic growth of the Opposition does not at all measure up to this political influence. That is due, in large part, to the immense objective difficulties, and in part also to the subjective difficulties: the material poverty of the organization in relationship to the necessary work; a hard-fought lack of forces and others.

The first few months after the elimination of Landau and his meagre following were occupied with a tightening of the organization and with the resumption of regular activities by the various local groups. That was a period of internal consolidation for the organization. The next step was the formation of active cadres, the winning over of new members and the reconstruction of our faction inside the party. In this field, the Berlin organization, despite its relative weakness has been able to register good progress. The membership figures rose and in several districts party factions were created. Despite the enormous difficult objective conditions, the group went ahead with the preparation of open discussion meetings, at which new members were enrolled. Numerous speakers were sent out to represent our organization at various discussion meetings.

The Saxon and Hamburg groups have likewise carried on good propaganda activity, especially of late. There too, we have been able to register an increase in membership. Especially instructive are the experiences of the Bruchsal group. In Bruchsal, there is only one organization in the field; there is no party organization. Through the application of the Leninist united front tactic, our Bruchsal comrades succeeded in establishing a proletarian class front, in which the social democratic party organization, the trade unions and all the other proletarian organizations participated. The result of this policy was that the local group was able to more than double its membership (more than a hundred); aside from this, several new local groups have been founded in the vicinity. Furthermore, new groups have been established in the following places: Beuthen, Goerlitz, Breslau, Frankfurt on the Main, the Ruhr, Orlanburg, Magdeburg, Erfurt, etc.

Literature and Press

The organization has from its inception made many efforts toward the creation of an Opposition literature. The material means did not suffice for a regularly appearing newspaper. All efforts were concentrated on the publication of inexpensive pamphlets, in order to carry on our propaganda on the broadest basis. All the writings of comrade Trotsky were published in pamphlet form. From time to time, the circulation of the publications continued to grow. Several mistakes were committed in this field (the issuance of too limited a number of pamphlets, which are today entirely out of print and which cannot be re-

—MONYAK.

(Continued on page 4)

«Stalin and His Creatures» -- The New Anti-Trotsky Campaign

The *Daily Worker* of March 1 presents us with a new candidate for the profitable honor of flinging mud at Trotsky. This time it is "Bill" Dunne who seeks to climb out of a recent obscurity on a mudslide of his own heaping. Whatever one may think of the suitability of the candidate, one cannot deny him a certain eagerness to earn his spurs no matter how deeply he must sink to find them.

This is not the first time Dunne has joined in the "final" burial of "Trotskyism". When we were first expelled from the American party, Dunne hastened to cable from Moscow a stateless-like protest against our alleged "use of his name", apparently under the flattering illusion that the "use" of his name would be profitable to anybody. Now, laboring under the same illusion, Dunne appears to believe that if he adds his little share of abuse and calumny to the mountains of filth reared by his equally willing colleagues, Trotsky and the whole Opposition will collapse under the strain, to be "deserted by the honest workers still among its crew", those honest, but apparently stupid and "misled" workers for whom every Stalinist functionary sheds tears of commiseration.

What is the occasion for this new outburst which "proves" that Trotsky "has finally joined" the counter-revolution? The interview granted by comrade Trotsky to the bourgeois press in which the views of the Opposition on the shakiness of the Stalin regime are briefly outlined, and the newspaper rumor that Trotsky is to be allowed into Czechoslovakia for three months. At least this is the formal occasion. In reality, the Stalinists are deeply troubled and dismayed. After years of the most venomous persecution, with all the resources of the Soviet power and the Comintern at their disposal, after periodical funerals for the Opposition, the corpse turns out to be more robust and vigorous than ever, while the ground trembles under the feet of the grave-diggers. Nothing else can explain the hysterical and brutal letter of Stalin against Slutsky and the other "Trotskyist smugglers", a letter which breaks a silence on the part of "the greatest disciple of Lenin" which the revolutionary events in Spain, the turbulent situation in Germany, and the world crisis in general have up to now sought in vain to pierce. And like the candle which splutters violently before dying out, the Stalinists have now launched a more than usually poisonous campaign against our great comrade. But like the dying candle, the odor of this campaign is clearly classified. Dunne's slanders are part of this campaign. He flutters with admirable accuracy into the category to which comrade Trotsky referred in his interview and which makes Dunne blue in the face: "Stalin and his creatures".

What is the content (by your leave) of Dunne's abuse? Trotsky is "counter-revolution's outpost in Prinkipo". The "precise moment when the Soviet Union is faced with the sharpest offensive in the present drive of world imperialism", is chosen by Trotsky "to place himself with added venom in the imperialist camp". And, adds Dunne, for whom no secret is inviolate and nothing is obscure, "it is no mere coincidence" that France's puppet government of Czechoslovakia "grants Trotsky permission for a three-months' stay at the very moment he is preparing his counter-revolutionary statement". But here, we regret to report, Dunne's courage fails him. If not his courage, then his inventive imagination. Why does he not conclude boldly that Trotsky is preparing to lead against the Soviet Union the same imperialist troops of Czechoslovakia whom he was driving out of Russia at the head of the Red Army at about the same time that Dunne was publishing Robert Minor's counter-revolutionary anarchist drive about how Lenin and Trotsky were cruelly and despotically strangling the "genuine Russian revolution" of Minor's petty bourgeois friends in Moscow? Only in this manner, we submit, would the article be properly rounded off.

We have another mild criticism to make of Dunne's article. He grows indignant over the fact that Trotsky gave his interview to the Associated Press, "one of the most useful agencies of American imperialism". Dunne is right, only he does not go far enough. He should point out that Trotsky is wrong in trying to break into a monopoly contractually owned by Stalin. We refer to the fact that TASS, the official Soviet telegraphic press agency, has an exclusive reciprocity contract with the Associated Press in this country, so that the correspondents of the former can usually be found in the offices of the latter, and the falsehoods manufactured against Trotsky, in the Stalinist forgery factory at Moscow are promptly transmitted to the American reading public by "one of the most useful agencies of American imperialism". The broadcasting of Trotsky's interview by the A. P. is really a breach of contract with Stalin, and we know of no worthier cause for which Dunne should take up his hollow cudgels.

Still another suggestion: Why should Dunne get so frightened at the prospect of Trotsky coming to Czechoslovakia? Where is Smeral? Is he doing nothing? When it was expected two years ago that Trotsky might get a visa to France, that sterling old French patriot, Marcel Cachin, came running to Bessekovsky, yes, Bessekovsky, the man who was acting as Soviet ambassador in France after the "counter-revolutionist" Rakovsky had been expelled by Briand and Stalin. Cachin begged Bessekovsky with tears in his eyes to see Briand immediately so as to prevent the issuance of

a visa to Trotsky. We have no doubt that the Soviet ambassadors and the creatures of Stalin in England, Germany and elsewhere, did the same thing when the proposal came up there for a Trotsky visa. As is known, the social democratic governments of England and Germany, like the reactionary governments of France and Belgium, and the republican-socialist coalition of Spain, all accommodated Stalin and refused a visa. Why should Czechoslovakia prove to be less amenable to Stalin's request? Where is Smeral? He is no novice at negotiating with bourgeois governments on a friendly—Oh, on a most friendly—basis.

There finally remains to attempt an explanation of Dunne's terrific howling. Nobody would conceivably make such a deafening noise, even in so "noble" a cause, if there were not some other sound that had to be drowned out. For example, it is because of his past "noises" that Radek now shouts so lustily against Trotsky. Or, if you want another example, English's or Bedacht's clamor against Lovestone. As even the uninitiated will suspect, the rule holds good in the present case too. In 1926, Dunne wrote back to the United States from one of his periodic trips to Moscow, and was foolish enough to express himself plainly on the internal Russian party conflict. Our readers will remember the period just after Stalin's break with Zinoviev and before the formation of the Opposition bloc. At that time there was an "interlude" in the Stalinist struggle against Trotsky and the Opposition, based upon Stalin's aspiration to bloc with the latter against Zinoviev and Kamenev. It was at this epoch that Dunne wrote with unconstrained joy: "Trotsky is back with a vengeance. His pictures and busts are displayed everywhere next to Lenin's" etc., etc. Eleventh-hour compassion for a man caught short dictates that we resist the temptation to publish in full the hymn of rejoicing Dunne penned at that time to the prospect of Trotsky coming "back with a vengeance".

The point is that this letter was always pretty much of an open secret in the party. Its existence is known to the stern party elders who never forget and rarely forgive. When Dunne's advancement to a higher rung in the hierarchical ladder is discussed in the sacred councils, some defender of the faith (a Browder, let us say, or a Hathaway) will say: "Yes, yes, but what about that letter?" There lies the secret of the terrific noise Dunne makes—not, to be sure, of the shameless vilification, because that is a commonplace with every Stalinist creature who ekes out his place in the party today, but of the unusual loudness. Dunne is simply trying to drown out the haunting echo of his 1926 letter. Sincerely, we wish him the luck his labors merit.

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE THREAT OF ILLEGALITY

American capitalism is already giving advance notice of the bloody answer it is preparing to the slaves whom it denies a living within their slavery. In the roar of gunfire at Detroit it said to the workers whom it has thrown onto the streets: "We cannot employ you and we will not provide for you, and if you protest we will shoot you." The massacre at Detroit was followed a few days later by the murderous attack on the Chicago demonstration of the Communists before the Japanese Consulate. Here, as in Detroit, the police were clearly the aggressors. The demonstration was designed as a peaceful one, with Communist direction it could not be otherwise under the given conditions, for it is no part of Communist policy to substitute the futile violence of an individual or of a small group for the intervention of the masses who are not yet active.

We do not credit the story, by means of which the police-murderers are attempting to cover themselves, that the first shots were fired from the crowd, and by a "Communist agitator" at that. Such individual reactions to the regime of brutal repression are of course possible; one may say inevitable. Even if that had been the case in Chicago, the police who forcibly deprived the manifestants of their rights would bear the whole responsibility. But their attempt to pin the accusation on a "known" Communist discredits their story from the start. It is a transparent subterfuge to justify themselves and to frame-up the party.

They are proceeding in the same way at Detroit. The four victims of their gunfire had not been laid away before they began a wild man-hunt for Communist leaders and set the legal machinery in motion to grind out wholesale indictments. They are drawing the noose tighter around the workers' vanguard. They are starting to isolate it from the great mass of discontented workers and to outlaw its activities. The labor passivity that has attended the Kentucky prosecutions and convictions only encourages a similar procedure after every skirmish in other places. The ruling capitalists and their Governmental hirelings, shivering in fear at the coming storm of labor rebellion, would like to cut off and proscriber the conscious and articulate section of the class and deprive the germinating mass movement of legal spokesmen and organizers.

The menace of illegality for the Communist movement is undoubtedly growing, and it calls for the most serious and all-sided consideration. There is no prescription by the aid of which the Party can be guaranteed a legal existence. With the present weakness and isolation of the Party, with the intensification of war danger increasing, and with a powerful ruling class panic-stricken at the prospect of a workers' mass movement to come, but not yet matured and merged with the vanguard, the revolutionary wing may be driven underground in spite of anything it can do.

There is no prescription that will guarantee legality. But within certain limits it can be safeguarded and strengthened by a correct policy. The experience of 1919-21 must be recalled and its lessons assimilated by those militants who have been drawn into the movement, under legal conditions, since that time. The first of these lessons is to value legality; and, without surrendering a single point of revolutionary doctrine or evading a single duty, to fight for it to the end. A retreat into illegality under the present conditions, or even under much more aggravated ones, would signify a retreat from the coming class battles.

THE SITUATION AND ITS TASK

One of the most important problems of American Communist tactics is to maintain an open legal, or at least semi-legal, position until a significant workers' mass movement has caught up with the conscious vanguard and joined with it in a common struggle on the concrete questions of the day. Then the suppression of the Party will be a thousand times more difficult. The numerically weak Party, isolated and fighting virtually alone, is only a threat. The Party supported by a Workers' mass movement is a power.

If we are going to find our way in the charged social atmosphere of these days, the first obligation laid upon us is to see things as they are. History assigns an enormous role to the conscious revolutionaries who foresee the line of march theoretically, but it does not allow us to force events by our own wishes. Marxism is no doctrine of social miracles wrought by small minorities. It has nothing in common with putschism. Even if one is convinced—as we are convinced—that we are near the threshold of great events and great

changes in the life of the American working class, it is not permissible to forget for a moment that we alone will not and cannot be the authors of these changes and these events. The future of American Communism is bright with promise, but we will move toward that great future only in so far as the working masses move with us at every step. The material conditions are long ripe for a tremendous upsurge of militant labor. This we know and this is the foundation of our perspectives. But the workers do not react automatically to the material pressure upon them, and there is no rule by which to foretell the extent and tempo of their movement in advance. That must be judged and estimated as it actually unfolds or, at least, as it is clearly intimated. A clear-sighted study of the mood and temper of the workers must precede and regulate the daily tactics and working methods of the revolutionary Party if it really aims to accelerate and influence the collisions of class forces.

Unemployment on the one side and wage reductions on the other are weighing down upon virtually the whole working class of America and ruthlessly changing all the accustomed conditions and standards of life. But in spite of that—and this is the most singular and inescapable fact in the situation—the workers have not yet begun the inevitable movement of revolt. Under pressure of conditions that become more and more intolerable the workers are undergoing a profound mental change. But the outward signs of this change are not yet manifest to any appreciable extent. It is like the slow accumulation of steam in a sealed boiler that has not yet reached the explosive point. The explosion will come, and it may come unannounced; but it is not storm, but rather the dead calm before storm, that characterizes the present situation.

The sporadic movements which flare up here and there are organized by the small Communist vanguard and, for the most part, carried through by them in almost every case. In these actions the Communist workers are distinguishing themselves by their courage and resolution. They are storing up capital and prestige for the future. But the masses are not moving with the Communists. In this disparity there is a great danger that the vanguard will become exhausted and demoralized and unable to handle the real movement when it breaks.

The Communist workers are not the working class. They are only its conscious section, and at present in America they are a small and numerically insignificant section. The Communist workers alone cannot fight real class battles. Their function is to fight with the workers and in their front ranks. The task of the Communists at the moment is to prepare the workers for the coming struggle. The center of this task is the "patient work of explanation": of agitation and propaganda to win the workers over to a course of struggle. There is no substitute for this prosaic task and there is no way to leap over it. A renovation of the Party's tactics in this sense is an absolute necessity. Only in this way can it prepare the coming workers' movement and entrench itself within it.

A FALSE SLOGAN

"The revolutionary fighting spirit of the Communist workers who demonstrated before the Japanese consulates last Saturday is not to be questioned. The firm will to fight against the imperialist war mongers was their animating impulse. And that is all the greater reason for protest against the manner in which the energies of the militants are being misdirected by the false tactics of the Party leaders. It is a cruel irony that the brave demonstration of the Chicago revolutionists, inspired by a hatred of 'their own' imperialists, could give the outward appearance of an 'anti-Japanese demonstration', and be so described by the capitalist press. Such a direction of the struggle does not in the least hamper the war plans of American imperialism. On the contrary it gives them unwitting support.

Of course we support the Chinese people; we ought to expose and denounce the Japanese militarists in our general edily wrong to concentrate the anti-war campaign in America against the government; but in our opinion it is decidedly of Japan. And this is precisely the impression that, in the present situation, the demonstrations before the Japanese consulates are bound to create in the minds of the masses. In actions of this kind only the salient facts stand out. The subsidiary slogans, the other issues which are 'linked up' with the main event, are lost in the shuffle. How quickly wrongly formulated slogans exact their penalty! The popular impression of the Saturday demonstrations as an 'anti-Japanese' affair is the price already paid for the asinine slogan of the Party leadership: 'Drive the Japanese diplomats from the country!'

In this slogan there is the basis for a complete disorientation of the proletarian struggle around the question of the coming war. It fits in with the pseudo-pacifist policy of American imperialism in the East and facilitates its work of delusion at home. 'The Japanese are mad with militarism; they are provoking a world war; but our own government strives for peace, and if it is finally forced into war it will be the fault of Japan'—this is the imperialist propaganda for the coming year which is seeping into the minds of the American people day by day. Does the 'Anti-Japanese' agitation of the Party counteract this poisonous delusion or does

It is the aim of the present lines to indicate—if only in its general outlines—the composition of the political world situation today, as it has resulted from the fundamental contradictions of decay capitalism, complicated and sharpened by the severe commercial, industrial and financial crisis. The following, hastily sketched reflections, far from embracing all countries and all questions, are to be the subject of serious further, collective treatment.

1. The Spanish Revolution has created the general political premises for the immediate struggle for power of the proletariat. The syndicalist traditions of the Spanish proletariat have at once revealed themselves as one of the most important obstacles in the way of the development of the revolution. The Comintern was caught unawares by the events. The Communist party, totally impotent at the beginning of the revolution, occupied a false position on all the fundamental questions. The Spanish experiences have shown—that a frightful instrument of the disorganization of the revolutionary consciousness of the advanced workers, the present Comintern leadership represents! The extraordinary delay of the proletarian vanguard lagging behind the events, the politically dispersed character of the heroic struggles of the laboring masses, the actual assurances of reciprocity between anarcho-syndicalism and social democracy—these are the fundamental political conditions that made it possible for the republican bourgeoisie, in league with the social democracy, to establish an apparatus of repression, and by dealing the insurgent masses blow for blow, to concentrate a considerable amount of political power in the hands of the government.

By this example, we see that Fascism does not at all represent the only means of the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the revolutionary masses. The regime existing in Spain today corresponds best to the conception of the Kerenskiad, that is, the last or "the one before the last" "left" government, which the bourgeoisie can only set up in its struggle against the revolution. But this kind of government does not necessarily signify weakness and prostration. In the absence of a strong revolutionary party of the proletariat, a combination of semi-reforms, left phrases and gestures still more to the left, and of reprisals can prove to be of much more effective service to the bourgeoisie than Fascism.

Needless to say, the Spanish revolution has not yet concluded. It has not solved its most elementary tasks (the agrarian, the church and the national questions) and is still far from having exhausted the revolutionary resources of the masses. More than it has already given, the bourgeois revolution will not be able to give. With regard to the proletarian revolution, however, the present international situation in Spain may be characterized as pre-revolutionary, but scarcely more than that. It is quite probable that the offensive development of the Spanish revolution will take on a more or less protracted character. In this manner, the historical process opens up, as it were, a new credit account for Spanish Communism.

2. The situation in England can likewise be termed with a certain degree of justification, as pre-revolutionary, provided it is strictly agreed, that a period covering several years of partial ebbs and tides can elapse between the pre-revolutionary and the immediately revolutionary situation. The economic situation in England has reached extreme acuteness. Still, the political super-structure of this arch-conservative country extraordinary lags behind the changes in the economic basis. Before taking recourse to new political forms and methods, all the classes of the English nation are attempting time and again to ransack the old store-rooms, to turn the old clothes of their grandfathers and greatmothers inside out. The fact remains, that despite the dreadful national decline there does not exist in England as yet, either a revolutionary party of any significance or its antipode—the Fascist party. Thanks to these circumstances, the bourgeoisie has had the opportunity of mobilizing the majority of the people under the "national" banner, that is, under the most hollow of all possible slogans.

It contribute to it? In the event of war with Japan the Communists will be disarmed if the American imperialists can say: "You were more eager than we were; you demanded the expulsion of the Japanese diplomats while we were still striving for peace."

"The enemy is in our own country!"—this is the revolutionary slogan of Liebknecht and Lenin, the guiding line of the proletarian struggle against imperialist war. Those who forget this for one moment are already on the toboggan to social patriotism. The proletariat in every country has to wage its own specific fight against its own imperialists and work for their defeat. The central task of the American Communists in the question of war is the systematic exposure of the policy of American imperialism which masks the most monstrous imperialist designs with the phrases of pacifism. The fire of the Communists must be concentrated mainly on this Hoover policy if it is to serve the interests of the proletariat. The anti-Japanese slogan contradicts this task, confuses and disorganizes the struggle and even contains the germ of chauvinist deviations. The slogan should be withdrawn before it does further harm.

—J. P. C.

The World Crisis and Its Revolutionary Implications

By LEON TROTSKY

In the pre-revolutionary situation, the most dull-witted of conservatism had acquired tremendous political predominance. It will in all probability take more than one month, perhaps more than one year, for the political super-structure to become adapted to the real economic and international situation of the country.

There is no ground for assuming that the collapse of the "national" bloc—and such a collapse is inevitable in the relatively near future—will lead directly to the proletarian revolution (it is a matter of course, that there can be no other revolution in England) or to the triumph of "Fascism". On the contrary, it may be assumed with much greater probability that on her path to the revolutionary solution, England will go through a lengthy period of the radical democratic and social-pacifist demagoguery of the Lloyd-Georgiad and of Labourism. These can therefore be no doubt that England's historical development will grant British Communism ample time to transform itself into the genuine party of the proletariat at the moment it will be confronted with the solution. From this, however, it does not at all follow that we can afford to continue losing time with disastrous experiments and Centrist zig-zags. In the present world situation, time is the most precious of all materials.

3. France, which the sages of the Comintern had placed a year and a half or two years ago in the foremost ranks of the revolutionary "upsurge", is in actuality the most conservative country, not only of Europe, but perhaps of the entire world. The relative stability of the capitalist regime in France has its roots, to a large extent, in its backwardness. The crisis has less telling effects on it than on other countries. On the financial field, Paris even attempts to vie with New York. The present financial "prosperity" of the French bourgeoisie has its direct source in the robbery of Versailles. But it is precisely the Versailles peace itself that contains the chief threat to the entire regime of the French republic. Between the size of the population, the productive forces and the national income of France on the one hand, and her present international position on the other, there is a crying contradiction which must inevitably lead to an explosion. To maintain her short-lived hegemony, "nationalist" as well as radical-socialist France is forced to depend upon the support in the entire world, of the most reactionary forces, of the most archaic forms of exploitation, of the abominable Rumanian clique, of the decadent Pilsudski regime, of the dictatorship of the Yugoslavian military; to uphold the dismemberment of the German nation (Germany and Austria), to defend the Polish corridor in East Prussia, to aid Japanese intervention in Manchuria, to spur the Japanese military clique against the U. S. S. R., to come forward as the chief enemy of the liberation movement of the colonial peoples, etc. The contradiction between France's secondary role in world economy and her immense privileges and prebendations in world politics will become more distinct every month, will heap dangers upon dangers, upset her internal stability, promote restlessness and discontent among the masses of the people and create ever deeper political rearrangements. These processes will undoubtedly become manifest as early as the next parliamentary elections.

On the other hand, however, all indications compel us to assume that, if no great events take place outside of the country (the victory of the revolution in Germany or the reverse: the victory of Fascism), the development of the internal relationships in France itself will, in the next period, take a relatively "normal" course which will open up for Communism the opportunity of utilizing a considerable period of preparation in order to consolidate itself prior to the advent of the pre-revolutionary and revolutionary situation.

4. In the United States, the most powerful country of capital, the present crisis has laid bare frightful social contradictions with striking forcefulness. After an unprecedented period of prosperity which amazed the whole world with its fireworks of millions and billions, the United States at once entered a period of unemployment for millions of people, of the most appalling physical destitution for the toilers. Such a gigantic social convulsion cannot fail to leave its traces on the political development of the country. Today it is still hard to ascertain, at least from the distance, any measure of important radicalization in the American working masses. It may be assumed that the masses themselves have been so startled by the catastrophic upheaval in the conjuncture, so stunned and crushed by unemployment or by the fear of unemployment, that they have not as yet been able to draw even the most elementary political conclusions from the calamity that has befallen them. This requires a certain amount of time. But the conclusions will be drawn. The tremendous economic crisis, which has taken on the character of a social crisis, will inevitably be converted into a crisis of the political consciousness of the American working class. It is quite possible that the revolutionary radicalization of the broadest layers of workers will reveal itself, not in the period of the greatest decline in the conjuncture, but on the contrary, during the turn toward revival and upswing. In either case, the present crisis will open up a new epoch in the life of the American proletariat and of the people as a whole. Serious regrouping and clashes among the ruling

parties are to be expected, as well as new attempts to create a third party, etc. With the first signs of a rise in the conjuncture, the trade union movement will acutely sense the necessity of tearing itself loose from the claws of the despicable A. F. of L. bureaucracy. At the same time, unlimited possibilities will unfold themselves for Communism.

In the past, America has known more than one stormy outburst of revolutionary or semi-revolutionary mass movements. Every time they died out quickly, because America at every time entered a new phase of economic upswing and also because the movements themselves were characterized by crass empiricism and theoretical helplessness. These two conditions belong to the past. A new economic upswing (and one cannot consider it excluded in advance) will have to be based, not on the internal "equilibrium", but on the present chaos of world economy. American capitalism will enter an epoch of monstrous imperialism, of an uninterrupted growth of armaments, of intervention in the affairs of the entire world, of military conflicts and convulsions. On the other hand, in the form of Communism the masses of the American proletariat possess—rather, could possess, provided with a correct policy—no longer the old melange of empiricism, mysticism and quackery, but a scientifically grounded, up-to-date doctrine. These radical changes permit us to predict with certainty that the inevitable and relatively rapid, revolutionary transformation of the American proletariat will no more be the former, easily extinguishable "bonfire", but the beginning of a veritable revolutionary conflagration. In America, Communism can face its great future with confidence.

5. The Czarist adventure in Manchuria led to the Russo-Japanese war; the war—to the 1905 revolution. The present Japanese adventure in Manchuria can lead to revolution in Japan.

At the beginning of the century, the feudal-military regime of that country could still successfully serve the interests of the young Japanese capitalism. But in the course of the last quarter of a century, capitalist development has brought extraordinary decomposition into the old social and political forms. Since that time, Japan has more than once been on the brink of revolution. But the latter lacked a strong revolutionary class to fulfill the tasks imposed on it by the developments. The Manchurian adventure may accelerate the revolutionary catastrophe of the Japanese regime.

Present day China, no matter how entangled it may be by the dictatorship of the Kuo Min Tang cliques, greatly differs from the China which Japan, following the European powers, despoiled in the past. China has not the strength to drive out the Japanese expeditionary forces immediately, but the national consciousness and activity of the Chinese people have grown enormously. Hundreds of thousands, millions of Chinese have gone through military training. The Chinese will always improvise new armies. The Japanese will feel themselves besieged. The railroads will be of far greater service for war than for economic purposes. More and more new troops will have to be sent out. The Manchurian expedition spreading out will begin to exhaust Japan's economic organism, increase the discontent inside the country, sharpen the contradictions and thereby, accelerate the revolutionary crisis.

6. In China, the necessity of a determined defense against the imperialist invasion will also bring with it serious internal, political consequences. The Kuo Min Tang regime arose out of the national revolutionary mass movement, which was exploited and strangled by the bourgeois militarists (with the aid of the Stalinist bureaucracy). Precisely for this reason, the present regime, shaky and full of contradictions, is incapable of initiating a revolutionary war. The necessity of a defense against the Japanese invaders will turn more and more against the Kuo Min Tang regime and nourish the revolutionary sentiments of the masses. With a correct policy, the proletarian vanguard can, under these conditions, make up for all that was so tragically lost in the course of the years 1924-1927.

7. The present events in Manchuria prove particularly how naive those gentlemen were, who demanded of the Soviet Union the simple return of the Chinese Eastern Railroad to China. That would have meant surrendering it voluntarily to Japan, in whose hands the railroad would have become a weapon against China as well as against the U. S. S. R. If anything at all had hitherto prevented the Japanese military cliques from intervention in Manchuria and if anything may still hold them within the boundaries of caution today, it is the fact that the Chinese Eastern Railroad is the property of the Soviets.

8. Cannot the Manchurian adventure of the Japanese, nevertheless, lead to war with the U. S. S. R.? It is understood, this is not excluded even with the wisest and most cautious policy on the part of the Soviet government. The internal contradictions of feudal-capitalist Japan have obviously unbalanced her government. There is no lack of instigators (France). And from the historical experiences of Czarism in the Far East, we know what an unbalanced military-bureaucratic monarchy is capable of.

The struggle unfolding in the Far East is, it is understood, carried on for the sake of the railroads, but over

the fate of all of China. In this gigantic historical struggle, the Soviet government cannot be neutral, take the same position with regard to China as to Japan. It is duty-bound to stand completely and fully on the side of the Chinese people. Only the unflinching loyalty of the Soviet government to the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples can really protect the Soviet Union on the Eastern frontier against Japan, England, France, the United States.

Under what forms the Soviet government will support the struggle of the Chinese people in the coming period, depends upon the concrete historical circumstances. If it had been insane to surrender the Chinese Eastern Railroad voluntarily to Japan before, then it would be just as insane to subordinate the entire policy in the Far East to the problem of the Chinese Eastern Railroad. There are many indications that the behavior of the Japanese military clique in this question bears a consciously provocative character. Directly behind this provocation, stands ruling France. The aim of the provocation is to tie the hands of the Soviet Union in the East. All the more firmness and far-sightedness is required on the part of the Soviet government.

The fundamental conditions of the East: its immense expanse, its countless human masses, its economic backwardness—give these processes their slow, their drawn out and crawling character. In any case, there is no threat of an immediate and acute danger to the existence of the Soviet Union from the Far East. During the coming period, the main events will develop in Europe. Here, great opportunities may arise, but from the same source also, great dangers threaten. For the present, only Japan has tied its hands in the Far East. The Soviet Union must, for the present, keep its hands free.

—L. TROTSKY.

From ("Germany—The Key to the International Situation.")

German Opposition at Work

(Continued from page 3)
issued now for material reasons). The pamphlets "Against National Communism", "Shall Fascism Really Be Victorious?" and "How Can National Socialism Be Defeated?" have all appeared in a second edition. The latest pamphlets have all appeared editions of 15,000, and have been completely sold out. The present sphere of influence of the Left Opposition will allow us to advance to editions of 25,000. This is a significant step forward.

Due to the reasons mentioned above, the Permanent Revolution could not, at first, appear more than once a month. We had to overcome certain pessimistic sentiments against a more regular appearance. Nevertheless, we have succeeded in issuing the paper as a semi-monthly ever since January 1. That is an unquestionable success for the organization, although this result is by no means up to the mark of political necessity. We are campaigning for a weekly at present.

The successes achieved are the fruits of a systematic work of preparation, which brought about the most effective utilization and application of the forces of which we disposed. We must emphasize that all our work was carried on without any material assistance from the outside. In view of the fact that there are more than 6,000,000 unemployed in Germany today, these material efforts are even worthy of a much higher evaluation. Without overlooking any of the shortcomings that still persist, it is, nevertheless, undeniable, that the German Opposition has overcome the stage of sectarianism and that it is on the road to becoming one of the most active sections in the International Left Opposition.

—R. WELL.

CLASS IN MARXISM

It is not yet too late to join the class in Marxism taught by comrade Swaback every Thursday evening at eight o'clock, at our headquarters, 84 E. 10th St. Comrades and sympathizers are invited to attend. The subject matter already covered included discussion of "Class Struggles in France, the 18th Brumaire, the Communist Manifesto, the Gotha Program."

Some of the remaining sessions, and they are more than half, will be devoted to analysis and discussion of the dispute with the anarchists, the dispute with the Utopians, historical materialism, and dialectics. We repeat: it is not yet too late to join this class. The fee is small. The next session is Thursday, March 24th.

BACK NUMBERS OF "MILITANT" WANTED

We are preparing files of the Militant for binding. We plan to bind in one volume all the issues from Vol. 1, No. 1 to Volume IV No. 12, the last issue of the semi-monthly Militant. We are missing the following numbers: Vol. 1, No. 1, November 15, 1928. Vol. 2, No. 4, Feb. 18th 1929; Vol. 3, No. 31; Oct. 1, 1930; Vol. 4, No. 2, January 15th, 1931. Vol. 4, No. 4, February 15th 1931. Vol. 4, No. 10, May 15th, 1931. Just as soon as we receive these numbers we will be able to proceed with our binding plans and offer the bound volumes for sale.

THE MILITANT

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th St., N. Y.

EDITORIAL BOARD

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WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



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Rebel Miners in Action!

New Movement in the Anthracite Growing Rapidly

Strikes are once again spreading through the coal fields. In the Pennsylvania anthracite region a large number of the black towering breakers are shut down as thousands of men have left the collieries. It is what is called an insurgent strike. The combination, of an insurgent movement and a powerful strike, has thrown both alarm and fear into the whole of the enemy camp. As it gained day by day during its first week it met the most terrific opposition from the united forces of the operators, the state cossacks and the United Mine Workers officials.

So far this opposition has not been able to stem the tide. While the state troopers are massed in the territory ruthlessly breaking up "insurgent" meetings and making wholesale arrests, more collieries join the movement.

First of all this strike is caused by the terrible unemployment, the widespread starvation and the operators demands that the collieries sign separate agreements with loss of conditions. Out of the little more than 100,000 miners in the territory at least 60,000 have remained unemployed ever since the crisis began, though largely as a result of increasing mechanization, speed-up and closing down of what is called unprofitable mines. But this is only one side of the picture. On the other hand the strike is an outright revolt movement against the corrupt administration of the U. M. W. One need but recall a few incidents which make up this recent history of rebellion.

Vote Stealing and Convention Packing

At the last elections held in district 1, the opposition slate headed by Maloney undoubtedly carried the majority vote; but to no avail. It was counted out. At the district convention following, this opposition again asserted itself but was squelched with strong arm methods. There is the one incident at the Silver Creek colliery near Pottsville in district 9 where on Feb. 21 a meeting attended by about 3,000 miners unanimously went on record to demand equalization of work, condemned their officials and demanded a special district convention. To these incidents can be added the last U. M. W. convention at Indianapolis where a packed audience steamed rolled every demand and every grievance of the membership. This is, of course, nothing new in the history of the United Mine Workers under the Lewis regime but the constantly accumulating conflicts between the membership interests and the reaction of the officialdom is rapidly approaching a breaking point.

The outstanding demand of the anthracite rebel movement is the one for equalization of work. It particularly reflects the needs growing out of the acute unemployment conditions but it falls short of a program that can fully unite the employed with the unemployed. The movement itself is by no means a Left wing movement. It still harbors much confusion. Its leadership is not at all ready to break with the corrupt traditions of the union bureaucracy let alone to endeavor actually to found the movement on a class basis. But that only demonstrates the need of, and the possibility for real Left wing permeation.

Mine Strikes Elsewhere

We said before that strikes are again spreading through the coal fields and we can add that yet more are in prospect. The anthracite at this moment is merely the most outstanding case. In the Hocking Valley soft coal territory of Ohio a number of mine tipples have been idle since February 1st. Now this strike is also taking on bigger proportions, with more miners walking out in protest against wage cuts. As an indication of how drastic these cuts were one need but cite the example of the Hanna coal company announcing a reduction from \$4.30 to \$3.20 a day.

In both of these instances, in the anthracite and in the Hocking Valley, the coal miners are fighting a determined battle. The most splendid militancy is displayed on the picket lines. There has been no lack of perfidious efforts to undermine and to split their ranks. That is the job which the operators have assigned to their agents in the union office swivel chairs. But their other weapon is being wielded just as freely. In Pennsylvania the state troopers, in Ohio the national guard are applying the brute force to suppress the revolts.

Rumblings of New Revolts

Down in Eastern Kentucky and parts of Tennessee the coal miners have fought tenaciously against almost overwhelming odds. Yet, when a comparison is made the Northern oligarchs have been able to maintain themselves on an equal footing with the Southern bourgeois in staggering the odds. These recent Kentucky and Tennessee strikes remained entirely isolated and could not hold out when the full weight of the brutal enemy forces began to bear down upon them. These workers are now compelled to drift back again to take up whatever work is being handed out on the same old starvation conditions, or worse

Yet, how far this is from settling the issues becomes very apparent in the added rumblings of new revolts. Such are coming from Illinois. There the coal miners were from their recent opposition of the Edmonson rank and file movement again driven back into the folds of the U. M. W. It was a temporary setback but not a settling of the issues. By April first the Illinois miners' contract with the operators expires. The latter's efforts, to reduce the present wage scale are presented in the open, and in the Southern section it is just as openly conceded that the miners will resist. Thus there may be another spontaneous rebellion in the offing having also a double direction. For while the thieving office squabbles between John L. Lewis, for the International, and John H. Walker, for the district, are not at all settled it cannot be expected that either will sanction a strike. Not even one against a wage cut.

Revolts Localized—Not United

All in all, a look at the mine fields at this moment give ample evidence of signs of stifling worker resistance but as much proof almost of the terrible weakness: of almost numberless spontaneous rebellions and strikes, localized, confused and, while militantly fought, still lacking both perspective and organization. This is precisely as true for the Kentucky and other sections, under the leadership of the Left wing National Miners Union, as it is for the U. M. W. revolt movements; and, for that matter, also for other independent unions such as the West Virginia organization headed by Frank Keeney. One characteristic nevertheless practically all of these movements and strikes have in common, and an important characteristic, namely the fact that they represent the unanimous but sadly divided efforts of the rank and file to direct their struggle equally against the operators and their corrupt agents of the U. M. W. bureaucracy. That alone should indicate the growing condition. (Continued on page 4)

The Workers' United Front in Canada

Due to the extremely difficult conditions under which the labor movement is forced to work in Canada at present, a delay of reports on events there, is inevitable. The article we publish below, although belated, is extremely interesting and instructive. It should serve to stimulate a more active solidarity with our Canadian fellow-revolutionists as well as emulation of their splendid efforts for united working class action.—Ed.

The last maneuver of the Comintern's strategy in the "Third Period" was the policy of antagonistic struggle against both the leadership and membership of the social-democratic and reformist labor movement, because Stalin postulated that they were the Left wing of Fascism. Logically, therefore, they became "social-Fascists". This has now been smuggled away, and the latest policy is a united front with the workers, but not with their organizations or leaders, which means their united front still remains a slogan on paper, the Party still maintaining its isolation from the masses.

While the Daily Worker merrily dazes itself with denunciations of the Opposition, and maintains an absolute silence on the Canadian Party and its illegality, it remained to one of the smallest and weakest sections of the Comintern, the Communist Party of Canada, to establish a policy of the United Front in reality, of all sections of the labor movement. It seems destined in the realm of the revolutionary political movement that the weakest link in the chain is the one to break onto new historical ground.

The series of events leading to the arrest of the eight leaders and to the outlawing of the C. P. in Ontario have already been recounted in *The Militant*. The Canadian Labor Defense League,

The decree depriving comrade Trotsky and three members of his family of Soviet citizenship rights and condemning them to perpetual exile, is not only an act of vengeance, it is also an act of impotence.

That Stalin was preparing such an act some time ago has been clear ever since last fall. His notorious letter to the editorial board of the magazine *Proletarian Revolution* served no other purpose than that of preparing a new wave of reprisals. The exceptional law against comrade Trotsky is only the practical fruit of the "theoretical" campaign.

What are the causes that drove Stalin to take such a step? They must have been very serious ones, for the entire disadvantage of raising a new campaign against "Trotskyism" is quite evident.

The principal cause is the fact that Stalin's position has been greatly undermined. To the bourgeois papers it appears that the last conference of the Russian party was the apogee of Stalinist strength. In reality, the conference bore the character of a masquerade designed to dissimulate the weakness of Stalin's position. What do these oaths of personal loyalty to Stalin, which have of late become obligatory, actually signify? They signify that Stalin and his limited clique no longer can count, not only on the party—which they have strangled—but even on the apparatus. Whoever speaks today simply of the Central Committee—is thereby regarded as a concealed Oppositionist by Stalin. Only those who speak of the "Central Committee under the leadership of Stalin" are safe. This formula signifies that if the Central Committee breaks with Stalin, the undersigned, who subscribes to this formula, pledges himself to be for Stalin and against the Central Committee. Precisely in the same manner, at the conference of the Moscow organization, the oath was prepared for the Moscow Committee "with Kaganovich at its head". The personal regime has not

only dispensed with the veil of the party but even with that of the apparatus. It has stripped itself bare. It is hard to decide upon so dangerous a measure except in the case where nothing else remains to be done.

The approaching crisis of the apparatus cannot help giving an impetus to the reawakening of the party. Therein lies the danger for the Stalin clique. This clique manifests the greatest suspicion with regard to everything that aims at a reawakening, a revival, a regeneration of the party. The reawakened proletarian nucleus of the party cannot at present find any other direction than that leading to the Left Opposition. Numerous symptoms are already becoming manifest. *Pravda* was obliged to publish several symptomatic facts in the pre-conference period.

The essence of the matter is that the authority of the Left Opposition grows parallel with the decline of the authority of the Stalinist clique. Despite the fact that Stalinism holds the masses in check, they do not nevertheless stop thinking. The fundamental facts in the struggle of the Left Opposition against the Stalinist bureaucracy remain fresh in everyone's memory. The apparatus at least knows and recalls the documents and the facts. It is precisely because it is well informed that the apparatus is disintegrating. It sees that Stalin has taken an organically incorrect path in all the major questions. Stalin's policy in the German question could only deliver the fatal blow to whatever was left of his authority. Stalin supported the participation of the Communists in the Fascist Referendum and was the author of the capitulationist formula "first the Fascists—then we".

In his pamphlet *What Next?* (Vital Questions for the German Working Class) comrade Trotsky wrote several weeks ago: "At the last conference of the Party, that is, at the conference of the Stalinist apparatus 'Trotskyism', three or four times before that crushed and buried, was declared the 'vanguard of the bourgeois counter-revolution'. This hardly intelligible and politically altogether terrifying decision lifts the curtain on several plans of an entirely practical order adopted by Stalin in the field of personal despotism. It is not for nothing that Lenin issued a warning" (Continued on page 3)

OPEN FORUM

AMERICA'S ATTEMPTS TO GET OUT OF THE CRISIS

Lecture by

AL GLOTZER

of the Communist League of America (Opposition)

The capitalist position: wage cuts, speed-up, mass lay-offs, war.

The Communist solution: the abolition of capitalism, the erection of a classless society; as steps leading to this: the six hour day—five day week with no reduction in pay, unemployment insurance; long term large scale credits to the Soviet Union.

on
FRIDAY, APRIL 1, 1932

at the
Labor Temple

14th Street and Second Avenue

at 8 P. M.

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

ADMISSION: 25 Cents

Unemployed Workers Admitted Free

Auspices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

WHAT NEXT? -- by Leon Trotsky

The following is the introduction to comrade Trotsky's new work on Germany. The first chapter will appear in *THE MILITANT* next week.—Ed.

Capitalism in Russia proved to be the weakest link in the chain of imperialism, because of its extreme backwardness. In the present crisis, German capitalism reveals itself as the weakest link for the diametrically opposite reason: precisely because it is the most advanced capitalist system, conditioned in its development by the insoluble European dilemma. As the productive forces of Germany become geared more and more highly, the more dynamic power they gather, the more they are strangled within the state system of Europe—a system that is akin to the "system" of cages within an impoverished provincial zoo. At every turn in the conjuncture of events German capitalism is thrown up against those problems which it

had attempted to solve by means of war. Acting through the Hohenzollern government, the German bourgeoisie girded itself to "organize Europe". Acting through the régime of Brüning-Curtius it attempted . . . to form a customs union with Austria. It is to such a pathetic level that its problems, potentialities and perspectives have been reduced! But even the customs union was not to be attained. As the witch's house in fairy tales, so the entire European system has for its foundation a pair of hen's legs. The great and salutary hegemony of France is in danger of toppling over, should a few million Austrians unite with Germany.

For Europe, in general, and primarily for Germany no advance is possible along the capitalist road. The necessary resolution of the present crisis to be achieved by the automatic interplay of the forces of capitalism itself—on the bones of the workers—would

(Continued on page 4)

The «Revolt» in Congress

An Indication of Radical Changes in Bourgeois Politics

The stormy and more or less spontaneous opposition of the representatives in congress of the petty bourgeoisie to the new revenue bill has found a loud echo in the country at large. The House line-up on the revenue bill reveals a pretty thoroughgoing disruption of the old party lines. Democrats and Republicans of the middle class type joined hands in fighting against a big bourgeoisie coalition of these same parties, whose chief objective at the present is to put over a tax measure—a direct sales tax ranging from 2.25 to 5 percent—to balance the budget at the expense of the lower and middle classes. The official machines of both traditional bourgeois parties united in a defense of the money bags and revealed the absolute uselessness of maintaining their separation. Both showed that they represent one and the same class—the big bourgeoisie. The dispute on the sales tax crystallized in a not unexpected and fairly deep rift in the political make-up of present day capitalist America.

The increasing difficulties of balancing the government budget, due to the rapid decline of foreign and domestic trade brought about by the prolonged world crisis, was bound to pose the problem sharply: at whose expense? The official party machines, after shedding a tear over the "financial principles" they had to drop, very quickly came to an agreement not to disturb big business with this problem, since, they argued, that would only cripple its investment power and thereby prolong the crisis. They thereupon came forward with an innovation in American methods of taxation: the sales tax. The whole burden of making up for the budget deficit was in this manner to be shifted to the smaller business men, and indirectly to the consumer as such. It could not help rousing the already impoverished petty bourgeois to action.

In congress itself, the perturbation of the small business men opened up great possibilities for the demagogues of such notorious tribunes of the people as representative La Guardia, who rallied an opposition of Democrats and Republicans against the machine coalition in a sortie on the revenue bill. The La Guardia opposition has already achieved several parliamentary successes. It has managed to muster a majority for two measures to counter the sales tax proposal, passing on a surtax for incomes of over \$500,000 ranging up to 65 per cent on Friday, March 18 and on an increase in the estate tax up to a maximum of 45 per cent, applicable to net estates of more than \$10,000,000 on Tuesday last. In addition, the opposition has defeated a measure relieving corporations paying taxes to foreign governments of regular taxation. La Guardia is talking radical, speaking of "conscripting wealth", etc. (The parliamentary movement has in addition, received wide-spread support from a great number of petty bourgeois organizations, which, according to one paper, include some 50,000,000 people.)

To get a picture of the petty bourgeois character of this movement, here are a few of the organizations that have rallied behind the congress opposition: The Farm Bureau Federation, the National Grange and Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union, the National Consumers' League, the National Association of Retail Grocers and other retailers' organizations; the Railroad Brotherhoods;

the People's Lobby headed by Professor John Dewey, etc. The scope of this movement is not to be underestimated. It signifies the first large scale attempt to give a political form in the America of the present epoch, to the differentiation within the ranks of the bourgeoisie. As was to be expected, the American reformists, the A. F. of L., find a prominent place in this movement of the Left wing of the bourgeoisie class. La Guardia, by the way, in his statements replying to his big bourgeois opponents, such as the Democratic House leader, leaves the door wide open for the participation of the labor misleaders through a flirtation with some social reforms.

It is an old axiom for Marxist revolutionaries, that the petty bourgeoisie cannot lead an independent political life. It can go only with the big bourgeoisie or with the proletariat—the two chief contenders for power under the present system of society. Where La Guardia and the other leaders of the current movement intend to go is indicated by the former's answer to Rainey's—"Democratic" House leader's—charge that the actions of the House opposition are a move in the direction of Communism. La Guardia replied that it is precisely in order to serve as a bulwark against Communism that the House opposition is carrying on its policy. There is no doubt that within a relatively short time, this "revolt" too will be harnessed to the cart of capitalism as a whole. With the prolongation of the crisis, the growing misery of the middle classes, it is not excluded that the bourgeois regime will seek a new support for itself in a popular movement of petty bourgeois reform such as this. The events around the revenue bill will serve to raise false hopes in the petty bourgeoisie for a way out of its plight. The fading away of these hopes may well give way to despair and political reaction in the form of an American type of Fascist movement. In the meantime, the road is open for activities of a large scope on the part of the petty bourgeois demagogues. Their political transformation, the crystallization of these demagogues into distinct political types is bound to follow in short order.

For the Communists, this differentiation within the ranks of the bourgeoisie represents a perspective for rapid growth, provided a correct policy is pursued. The half-measures of the petty bourgeoisie and the reformists, once they are carried out, are bound to show up all their weakness, all their hopelessness, with especial clarity. It is in practice that the masses learn most quickly. By a clear and intransigent propagation of the working class issue out of the capitalist dilemma, by a correct utilization of the conflicts bound to develop in the future within the enemy camp, by pressing the demagogues to the wall, by forcing them to take a definite position, the Communists will be able to consolidate the more decisive sections of the masses and in the first place, the increasing sections of class conscious workers' around their banner. To hammer out such a policy of revolutionary advance, to prepare the American masses for revolutionary action, it is, however, necessary to clear away all the eclectic confusionism of Stalinist theory and to bring the Communist movement back to the path of Marxism-Leninism.—S. G.

The Raids on Hitler's Nazis in Prussia

As could be foreseen, the outcome of the presidential elections in Germany was attended by a feverish mustering of forces on part of the Fascists. The alleged purpose of the Hitlerite maneuvers is, of course, the protection of the people from "red savagery". In reality, Hitler and his hordes are arming not only to crush the Communist vanguard, but to seize the power and to subjugate the working class organizations as a whole.

The movements of the Nazis were brought to light by raids made on their Prussian local groups upon the initiative of the social democratic Minister of the Interior in the Prussian government, Karl Severing. Documents, outlining the line of action to be taken by the Fascist locals, were seized in these raids. Their plan of action was conceived under the form of auxiliary troops aiding the police against Communist uprisings. Anyone familiar with the situation knows that this "plan" is nothing more than a ruse, that in actuality, it was a matter of a general mobilization of the Fascist forces for decisive and independent action. Severing, who carried out these raids, knew this very well. He knew that he could not count on any support for his measure from the federal government. And he did not get any. The bourgeoisie values its Fascist whip too dearly to really mean to impair it.

In this light, Severing's move was nothing more than an impotent gesture

intended to soothe the disturbance within the ranks of the social democratic following. That is about all the "iron front" of the reformists amounts to. The social demagogue, through Severing, once again revealed itself as the prostrate and again Left wing of the bourgeoisie, capable only of leading the workers to the slaughter.

A working class movement, united against Fascism and prepared for struggle, would not have tolerated such a treacherous and deceptive maneuver as Severing's. Within a united front movement, in which the Communists are at their posts, in which the revolutionary party represents the driving force of the proletariat in action, such a gesture would not be tolerated. It would be exposed on the spot before the eyes of all. It would form a step in the consolidation of revolutionary influence within the working class, that is, in the preparation of the proletariat for a decisive contest for power with the class enemy.

This is the crime of the Stalinist leadership of the German Communist Party—that it allows the social democrats to retain their positions within the working class at a time like the present. The Stalinists propound the idea that the Fascists cannot be defeated if the social democrats are not defeated first. This is quite true. But it is precisely the other Stalinist idea, which makes Fascists out of the social democrats ("social Fascists") and confuses the issue for the workers, that prevents the Com-

(Continued on page 4)

Statement of Gerry Allard

Oppositionist Answers Stalinist Slanders

It is evident that the Stalinists in their campaign against the members of the Left Opposition, know no limit in their fight to perpetrate their erroneous policies. Neither are they familiar with the most elementary line of ethics conforming with the principles of a revolutionist. The recent charges against me, alleging that I testified in the courts of the capitalist class against active fighters of the class struggle are crude fabrications that cannot stand the least speck of substantiation.

Needless to say, the charges are of the most serious kind. For a fighter in the class war to be charged with open conspiracy with the enemies of the working class in attempting to frame up militant workers and send them to prison, is by far the most contemptible betrayal for which there can never be any pardon. Agent provocateur Leopold of the Canadian Royal Mounted Police is one species of a scoundrel that will be jotted down in the memorandum book of the revolutionary working class. I hurl back in the teeth of the Gebers and Tashes that the allegations are so rotten and lying that it must contaminate the very tongue that irresponsibly frothed these contemptible charges.

Differences with the Party

Seven workers, members of the Communist Party, have been jailed, indicted and released on bond pending trial, simply because they were active in the fight for the advancement of the interest of the Illinois coal miners. They propagated militantly, the idea that the National Miners Union was the only capable organization that could successfully lead the miners in the struggle against the operators. They appealed to the miners to spread their wild cat strike and to transform it into a national struggle. For these reasons, along with the general program of the Party, they are to be imprisoned for long years, unless the masses of coal miners and the entire American labor movement come to their defense. The attack against these seven Communist workers is a direct attack against the Illinois coal miners and the American labor movement. In the course of the Illinois miners' fight, especially during the "Rank and File" movement in Illinois, I differed very seriously with their policies. I followed the general line of the L. O. in the St. Louis convention where the Left Opposition played a prominent part. The convention rejected the policies of the Left Opposition; nevertheless, we were still a part of that movement and throughout the whole movement we have in a minority position. The pressure of the Left wing forces made the rank and file movement split from both branches of the reactionary miners union. The Party pursued an erroneous policy of sectarianism, trailing behind the whole movement. It was my firm opinion in accepting a minority position in this mass movement that events would confirm the correctness of Communist leadership. The party refused this line. It branded every one officially connected with the rank and file movement as fakers. The rank and file were men fresh from the picks. Even if we knew that the rank and file leadership would eventually mislead the miners movement, due to their short sightedness and lack of understanding the laws of the class struggle; it is not enough just to sit back and say, "I told you so!" My understanding of the correct Communist position is to remain with the masses and show them HOW.

In the unemployment movement starting even before the state hunger march, I was active in the work of the unemployed workers. I was elected at a united front conference a member of the state committee. By chance it developed that sympathizers of the Left Opposition had a majority on the committee. The Party, failing to control the movement they had started, began very neatly to sabotage. Later on, in Bloomington, Illinois, I again was elected by the unemployed workers there on the committee. Some of the Party organizers began to cooperate and as a result BLOOMINGTON WAS THE ONLY TOWN IN THE WHOLE HUNGER MARCH THAT RESPONDED WITH A MASS RECEPTION FOR THE HUNGER ARMY. It developed into one of the best down state units of the whole Illinois unemployment movement. This was not enough, the Party began to start the attack against

me. A secretary was imported to handle the whole situation. No one ever heard of him. He immediately began to take charge with my whole heard cooperation. It was not a week later he had run away with pennies of the unemployed workers of Bloomington and had stolen a check from the boss that I was working for. I had been in the Party for 8 years and there had never been a speck of irregularities along technical lines, but yet the great "leaders" import an agent that virtually ruins months of tedious work to organize a district that had never known Communist organization before.

These are a few of the detail matters that have caused the Party to be sharply antagonistic towards me. These things along with the fact that I am an applicant for membership in the C. L. A. (Opposition).

My recent activities in the miners' convention at Indianapolis and Springfield have also come under the criticisms of the Party. In this manner, I have been in contact with scores of miners and naturally correctness of policy gains sympathy in due time. The Party therefore has planned a campaign to annihilate me. They plan to frame up charges whereby they can force the League to bring pressure down on me. Anything to discredit Allard will be alright, as long as they get him out of the way. These are the only reasons that I can find for the inventions that they are continuously fabricating about my personal conduct as well as political activities. They have ceased to make it a political struggle by indulging in the personal character of their dissenters.

April the 1st a mass protest meeting has been called by sympathizers and opponents of the criminal syndicalist laws. I have been asked to speak and to possibly act as chairman of this meeting. I unhesitatingly accepted the offer as in line with every revolutionary's duty. This meeting will proclaim to the enemies of the miners that we intend to break the terror that is taking place in Franklin County and the right for workers to assemble and hold speeches.

—GERRY ALLARD.

«The Militant» Needs YOUR Help Now!

With this issue of *The Militant* the subscription drive will be one third over. It is a logical time to review what has already been accomplished and say what remains to be done.

The standing of new and renewed subscriptions, and new bundle orders is as follows: New York—12; Minneapolis—2; Chicago—1; St. Louis—1; Miscellaneous—11; New bundle orders—Chicago—2, Newark—1.

This is a small increase over last week's report. Thus far the drive can be characterized by the contradiction between the technique of the drive which has been theoretically worked out and its results. We are aware of the low level of the labor movement generally, of the Communist movement, too, and the enormous impoverishment of workers, but we are equally aware of the inducements offered subscribers and the absolute necessity for increasing the circulation of *The Militant*.

We must put *The Militant* on a sound financial basis. First of all we must increase its circulation and thereby its political influence. We must stress and stress again that comrade Trotsky's writings appear in it; that with each new subscription or renewal, the subscriber, especially the new subscriber, may add to his library one of the earlier works of comrade Trotsky, viz.: with each \$2.00 subscription or renewal, for one year of fifty-two issues, a free paper bound copy of *The Permanent Revolution*, or a free one year subscription to *Young Spartacus*; with each \$1.00 subscription or renewal for a half year of twenty-six issues, a free copy of the *Strategy of the World Revolution*; with each 50c trial subscription of thirteen issues a free copy of any of our 10c pamphlets. These premiums apply, only during the period of the drive which ends on June 1st.

During the period of the drive only we also offer a special subscription rate of 25c for eight issues. (There are no literature premiums with these subscriptions. This offer should be a very great inducement to subscription getters. Surely almost any class-conscious worker who is not totally unemployed can afford 25c for a two months' subscription. This offer should result immediately in a large increase in subscriptions.

In addition to getting new subscriptions we must renew expired and expiring subscriptions or each new subscription will be balanced by an expiring one in which case we will have a financial credit and political debit.

It is also absolutely necessary for us to increase the news stand and book store sale. Stands which will carry *The Militant* must be shown their advantage; the paper appears regularly; their profit is 2c per copy; for unsold copies they receive full credit by simply clipping

Pocket Book Workers Prepare for Strike

It is nine months since the S. P. fakers in the pocketbook Workers Union put over their treacherous agreement, in spite of the fact that the workers voted against it. The Right wing misleaders gave away all union conditions — more than the employers demanded, and with on fight. As a result, the union remains today in the most deplorable condition three months before the agreement expires.

After this rotten agreement was signed, a rank and file movement sprang up under the leadership of the T. U. U. L., as the workers revolted and ousted the administration before their term expired. New elections took place which left the administration badly divided. The rebel Left wing won 14 delegates to the Joint Board, the Right wing elected 16. The rank and file committee elected two of the three business agents, but the Rights elected a manager, secretary-treasurer, two organizers, and one business agent, which gave them a small majority over the rebels. Members were wondering how this divided administration would work. They know that more than half of the administration in control now are the old guard of the Wolinsky, Ship-lakoff gang which were forced out of office a few years ago. They are corrupted and discredited by the membership. How can these two groups work together? Especially when the union faces such serious problems as making the employers live up to the agreement of last June; restoring order and discipline in the union shops; solving the problem of the shops moving out of town; the growth of scab shops; and above all; preparing and mobilizing the workers for a struggle when the agreement expires; and the winning back of the lost conditions which the last administration gave to the employers, without a fight.

At the same time the unemployment situation increases daily in great numbers as a result of which we have today out of 4,500 members, 2,500 unemployed

workers. The rest are working only part time. The employers took and are taking advantage of this situation. They do not live up even to the rotten agreement they signed. They reduce wages constantly. They have introduced the speed-up system. Workers are abused and insulted by their bosses and foremen, when they do work a day or two a week. Inside manufacturers give their work to contractors in non-union shops and let their workers starve, which is against the agreement they signed. This is the condition under which the pocket-book workers slave today.

How is it possible that the employers could get away and not live up to the agreement at a time when there is an "important" machinery in the industry?

First, there is the reorganization clause we have had since the last agreement, which was forced on the workers by the betrayers. This clause is a club in the hands of the employers, over the heads of the workers. Under this reorganization clause the employers have a right to discharge ten per cent of the workers during the year, which means five per cent every six months. The employers used this clause as a whip over the workers. It was possible for the employers to speed up the workers, because each worker feared that he would be the one to be discharged when reorganization came around, after the season was over. The employers used another scheme. A few days before reorganization took place, they called the workers into their office and told them if they would take a reduction in wages, they would not be sent away. The workers knowing that there are over 2,500 workers unemployed and that they can't get another job, accepted reductions in wages which amounted to 10, 20 and 30 percent.

Second: the present administration which is known to the workers as the "Fraternal Club" gang, gave the employers a free hand and collaborated with them to bring down wages and undermine the conditions of the workers.

After the employers reduced the wages of the workers, they called the union to a conference and demanded another reduction in wages of 15 percent. The administration was willing to give a 10 percent reduction of wages providing the employers renewed the agreement expiring in June for another year. When the manager reported this offer to a general membership meeting, the workers rejected it. It was decided not to renew the agreement so long as there is the reorganization clause in it, but that the union should prepare and mobilize the workers for a struggle, when the agreement expires. A few weeks later the administration called another membership meeting. At this meeting the "Fraternal Club" administration terrorized the membership and maneuvered to reconsider the decision of the previous meeting. After a lengthy and heated discussion, the "Fraternal Club" gang forced a reconsideration of the decision of the previous meeting. They were victorious once more. All they need is more such victories and the members will do with them what they have done with the last administration. When the administration won their victory this gave them the power to negotiate a new agreement on the basis of a 10 percent cut in wages including the clause of reorganization which the membership so bitterly opposed at the first meeting.

Then our misleaders at the next conference with the Industrial Council proposed to the employers a 10 per cent reduction in wages provided the manufacturers, in turn, prolong the agreement for another year. The bosses politely rejected the offer. They know they can get from the "Fraternal Club" administration 30 per cent in June. This shows how the employers used our practical leaders in an effort to help them destroy the union.

Now when the Right wing leadership have exposed themselves as working hand in hand with the bosses, the rank and file committee have a great opportunity to win over the majority of the workers providing they pursue a correct and clear policy. The numerous blunders of the party and the T. U. U. L. must be avoided by the rank and file committee in the Pocketbook Workers Union.

In June our agreement expires. The bosses, as it looks, have decided to destroy our organization which took so many years of bitter struggle to build. At this moment the rank and file committee have a great task to perform. There are only ten weeks left till June. The rank and file committee must carry on agitation and education and prepare the workers for a militant struggle and for the following demands:

- (1) A 40 hour, five day week which is necessary in order to relieve the unemployment situation and bring jobs to an additional few hundred workers.
- (2) Unemployment Insurance must be revised and should be paid by the manufacturers only. At present the workers pay from their meagre earnings their part of the fund. The only one who benefits by the unemployment fund is the faker, Dr. Hendin, who was rewarded by the misleaders for last year's "good" settlement. He is still getting his \$75 a week while the unemployed workers are starving.
- (3) The rank and file committee will have to see to it that militant picketing should take place in order to stop all the scab ships during the first few days of the strike.
- (4) This strike will have to be conducted in a militant fashion not only against the employers but also against the misleaders who are agents of the bosses.

—N. DAVIS.

Farmer-Laborites in Minneapolis, Minn.

A new page in Farmer-Labor history has been written. Anderson, the Farmer-Labor mayor of Minneapolis has come out with a new proposal on unemployment. Coming so soon after the forcible breaking up of the February 4th Unemployment Mass meeting on Bridge St., in which six workers were arrested and convicted of "disorderly conduct", the solution offered by the mayor should not be surprising to the workers of this city. In a press statement to the *Minneapolis Journal* of March 7th, Mayor Anderson proposes to alleviate the depression and cut down the expenses of local administration by conscripting workers now receiving charity to do city work such as clearing snow, road repair, etc., for nothing, that is, in return for groceries. This, he claims, would in some measure repay the city for the charity they now dispense.

In examining this proposal, we see that this is nothing more than an attack on the present public works wage scale, and is a measure which the Chamber of Commerce and the organized bosses capitol should draw some political conclusions from this step taken by the Farmer-Laborite, and examine more closely its connection with the general program of the open-shoppers of this city. The radical pre-election speeches, the lengthy promises to alleviate the lot of the workers, have lost some of their appeal in the light of the actual deeds of the F. L. P. administration. The workers of Minneapolis are looking more and more cynically upon a state and city machinery which has consistently acted in collusion with the Chamber of Commerce. Its role as a democratic cloak for vicious attacks of the bosses has become clear to all thinking workers.

This situation is exceptionally favorable for the Communists. Workers are now beginning to understand the correctness of Communist candidates opposing the reformists, and no longer reproach us for "splitting the labor vote". The workers of Minnesota have no interest in the capitalist parties including the Farmer-Labor Party. The coming elections will show more clearly than ever the growing strength and appeal of Communism for the mass of workers in this state.

—SARA AVRIN.

Left Opposition Activities in the Middle West

The three days of comrade Glotzer's stay in Minneapolis were crammed full of events fruitful for the Left Opposition. The central propaganda meeting was the debate with A. C. Townley of Nonpartisan League fame. Ileraded as a fire-eating champion of economic and political reforms, the audience of 150 who gathered at the Labor Lyceum were surprised and amused to hear this exponent of rural radicalism relate a series of stories and anecdotes; entertaining in themselves, but having little to do with the subject at hand: "The Cause and Cure of the Present Economic Crisis." It is needless to say that Townley's series of parables on capitalism and numerous thrusts at the Hoover administration could not stand up against comrade Glotzer's clear-cut Marxian analysis of capitalist crises and the prescription of the proletarian revolution as the solution. Following the meeting a quantity of literature was sold.

A crowd of about the same size heard comrade Glotzer in the afternoon at the Communist League headquarters on "Where is Europe Going?" Here a more serious tone prevailed since the speaker dealt with the burning political world problems of the day. Both these meetings were marked by intelligent questions and enthusiastic discussion. Party members were present, and registered their disappointment in finding no counter-revolutionary content to the meetings by a "dignified" silence. Walter Frank, however, did come forward with his own peculiar brand of the theory of socialism in one country that classes could be abolished in Russia alone which forced the speaker to publicly set him right. A number of "German" pamphlets were sold at this meeting.

A third public meeting was held with about 100 University of Minnesota students at Burton Hall who attentively received comrade Trotsky's views on the present world situation. In this case, however, the University authorities discriminated against the sale of Left Opposition literature. A campus detective showed his way through the crowd of students lined up to buy, and brusquely ordered the literature off the grounds. We protested the reactionary organizations are allowed to sell pamphlets, that even the Party sold literature in the same hall when Norman Tallentire and Sender Garlin spoke to the University students. To no avail. His instructions were specific. No Trotskyist pamphlets will be sold. With typical stupidity, a Party nitwit, too timid to take the floor in the meeting, nevertheless loudly proclaimed outside to some students how the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites were in league with the University authorities. Several turned away in disgust.

A group of 12 young workers and students assembled on Saturday afternoon, and after listening to comrade Glotzer's message on the tasks of American Communist youth, decided to launch a Spartacus Youth Club in Minneapolis. A committee on preamble and by-laws was elected and a date set for the first meeting of the club; Saturday, March 19th

2:30 P. M. at the Labor Lyceum, 6th Ave. North and Irving. Indications point towards the development of an active revolutionary youth force in Minneapolis.

An account of comrade Glotzer's stay would not be complete without mention of the banquet in his honor held for the benefit of our publishing activities. After a modest lunch, there ensued some lively entertainment, featuring the much heralded *Militant Quartet* as well as one of the "Heavenly Discourse" skits entitled "Denver Prays For Rain". Here the laurels must be handed to the Dunne boys, Grant and Miles, as well as to Bill Curran for their dramatic and musical contributions. Glotzer spoke on his visit with Trotsky and the work of the League and brought a rousing collection for Left Opposition publications.

A special organization of the Minneapolis branch was held with comrade Glotzer Monday night where he reported on the work of the European and Chinese sections of the Left Opposition and the International Secretariat. The practical tasks of the Minneapolis League in the coming period were laid out and discussed.

The net financial result of these meetings was a bit over fifty dollars. The political results are positive; organizational, excellent, Minneapolis is looking forward to the next national tour.

Opposition Greeks Answer «Empros»

The "Empros", the Greek organ of the Stalinists in America is carrying on a one sided struggle against the *National Herald* but overlooking the necessary exposure of the *Atlantis*.

In our *Manifestos* last November we attacked this one sidedness and we warned the Greek workers of this faulty and dangerous procedure of the Greek Stalinists, which they are still pursuing in spite of the protests by many party members and sympathizers.

In the current issue of *Communists* we took up the slanders of the standardized type which was the only reply the Stalinists could give to our criticism of their failing. We told the Greek workers that the real supporters of the *Empros* are not the Stalinists who direct its policies at present but all the workers and especially the Left Oppositionists who fought within the ranks of the party before they were expelled. We still fight for its correct orientation on the questions of the class struggle and remind the Stalinists that they are not the private owners of the *Empros*. We demanded again that they must attack the *Atlantis* the royalist and pseudo-labor paper, in a more bitter way because this sheet exploits the radicalization of the Greek workers. It is doing its utmost to prevent them from joining the fighting ranks of the Communists. The Stalinists refused to attack the *Atlantis* believing naively that they can utilize this paper in their struggle against the *National Herald*. But they were sadly disappointed and surprised when this royalist sheet refused to write a single line in defense of comrade Christides, the business manager of the *Empros*, when he was arrested.

The *Atlantis* is a class conscious bourgeois newspaper and in case of choice naturally will support the *National Herald*. This the Stalinists could not understand, unfortunately, not for themselves alone, but for the working class, which expects leadership from the columns of the *Empros*. The titles of the exposures against the *National Herald* were written in the typical liberal-American fashion which misleads and confuses. It strengthens the conceptions of bourgeois justice, and at the same time strengthens the patriotic traditions of the ideal Greek State. How otherwise can be characterized the titles: *Tatamis before the Hellenic Justice*.

Upon the arrest of comrade Christides the Stalinists issued a manifesto appealing to the Greeks of America as if the Greeks in America were all members of the working class they forget that whenever the Greek workers, whether food workers furriers or of any other trade, attempted to reduce their 12-14 hours workday or 7 day week, the Greek bosses did not hesitate to use gangsters or any other conceivable medium of strike breaking against these very Hellenes.

A Communist paper should always expose every lackey of the capitalist class the *National Herald* and any other organization or individual of the capitalist class is firmly united with the entire structure of their system. Whole precious columns of a Communist paper are devoted to prove that according to the rules of the Greek orthodox Church the editor of the *National Herald* should not be allowed to maintain his priesthood and to prove that other priests violated this. All these may sound incredible but still they are facts in spite of their paradox. We fear it will continue until the Greek party members as well as the entire party membership demand vigorously in a real Bolshevik manner to get an account from these bureaucrats.

The Greek Bureau of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will not allow itself to become the football of the *National Herald* or of any such bourgeois agency as the Stalinists became the instruments of *Atlantis*. They will continue to follow the Marxist-Leninist line and will not compromise with any kind of capitalist lackey.

In the *Communists* we have urged every worker to support the *Empros* which is in peril from the attacks of the capitalists.

New York Classes

The first three lectures of comrade Shachtman's series in the *History of the Communist International* have proved so successful that if the present successive increase in attendance continues. It will be necessary to take a larger hall. The attendance now is over fifty.

The fourth lecture, to be held on Wednesday, March 30th, will deal with "The Struggle for the Conquest of the Masses"—the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921. Workers attending this lecture would do well to prepare for it by reading comrade Trotsky's *Strategy of the World Revolution* advertised elsewhere in *The Militant*.

SWABECK'S CLASS IN MARXISM

The class taught by comrade Swabek in Marxism continues its instructive application of the teachings of Marx and Engels to the fundamental problems of the revolutionary movement of today. The class meets regularly every Thursday evening at 8 p. m. in our headquarters at 84 East 10th St.

The class is still open. The remaining sessions can be taken by registering at once.

MINNEAPOLIS WORKERS OPEN FORUM

Every Sunday at 3 P. M.
1530 East Franklin (at Bloomington)
SUBJECT FOR APRIL 3rd
"RESULTS OF THE MINNESOTA FARMER LABOR CONVENTION"
Lecture by V. R. Dunne
Admission Free. Everybody Welcome
QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION
Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition) Minneapolis Branch

«Soviet's Challenge» at the Acme Theatre

The Acme Theatre, 14th Street and Union Square, is now presenting the Soviet film, "Soviet Challenge", an extraordinary and exclusive showing of a picture not seen here before. The picture is based on "The 5th Year" and was produced in the U. S. S. R. by Proletkino. The film shows the progress and achievements in the Soviet Union. On the same program the Acme Theatre will present an added feature, "Songs of The Cossacks" This is the first time this singing picture of the Cossacks has been shown here.

A special feature of "Soviet's Challenge" shows Trotsky at work.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Statement on the Recent Decree Depriving Comrade Trotsky of Soviet Citizenship

(Continued from page 1)

against the nomination of Stalin to the post of General Secretary: 'this cook will serve us a peppery dish'. . . This cook has not yet exhausted the culinary science completely.

"This prediction of Lenin's is being verified anew. The decree of expatriation was another—and not the last—poisoned dish from the Stalinist kitchen."

The decree is the product of wrath and weakness. The choice of names in the list of those expatriated is dictated by the necessity of a political amalgam. The Thermidorians have always combined the named of their revolutionary adversaries with those of the representatives of the counter-revolutionaries, in their reprisals. The names of Don, Abramovich, Potresov and the others are obviously dragged in by the hair. It is a matter of creating a combine that would be compromising to the name of Trotsky. The necessity of an amalgam is dictated by the very nature of Centralism which cannot help having enemies from the right and the left and which sets itself the task of throwing all into the same pot in order to mask its Centralist character. At the same time the Stalinists continue to fill up the places of deportation. The colonies of Bolshevik exiles in Siberia and Central Asia are constantly growing. Those confined in the solitaires, after serving their time, have been condemned to supplementary confinement. Stalin does not want them to leave the solitaires alive. Only a few weeks ago the old Bolshevik Tsukidze, a member of the Party since 1905, was finished off by a series of ignominious Thermidorian acts. This sick old Bolshevik, instead of being transferred to a place in which more favorable conditions for her state of health exist, as she was promised, was deported to Akomfusk, the worst spot in Central Asia. In reply to her protests, she was beaten. Our unflinching comrade could not resist his maltreatment more than a few

months and succumbed. Stalin killed her as he killed Zinadze, Blumkin, and many other revolutionary Bolsheviks. Rakovsky is tied down to Barnoul, in which the harsh climate is practically destroying the health of the old fighter. He is gravely ill. The terror against Rakovsky, besides having general political causes, also has a personal motive. Stalin nurtures an old hatred against Rakovsky which is based on the fact that to the same degree to which Stalin is the incarnation of bureaucratic brutality and disloyalty, Rakovsky is the image of genuine revolutionary magnanimity.

The decree of expatriation against Trotsky and his family has an additional purpose and is linked with the terrorist designs of the White Guards against Trotsky. The Soviet government, which issued the news of a planned assassination by Turkul in the Rote Fahne, attaches an extremely great importance to the information furnished by the G. P. U., which is evidenced by the fact that it addresses itself officially to the Secretariat of the League of Nations, advising it of the danger threatening Lithuania on the part of the same White Guard terrorists. Although he has at his disposal data of such an importance and such concrete facts, Stalin has nevertheless not brought them to the attention of comrade Trotsky, nor to his friends up to the present; neither with regard to the character of the terrorist organization, its composition, its connections, nor its methods, etc. Only by being aware of all these circumstances can the militants of the Left Opposition, in the extremely unfavorable conditions of their exile, take the necessary preventative measures. Comrade Trotsky's companions-in-arms have more than once addressed these demands to the representatives of Stalin abroad. No information, no aid has been given to them. In other

words, the Stalinist clique is concealing from Trotsky and his friends all the concrete data which it possesses concerning the planned assassination of Trotsky.

In juridical language, this manner of action is called—in case there is no direct complicity—concealing evidence. Stalin understands that very well. His personal responsibility is only too clear. Seeking for some way out, he came upon the idea of expatriating comrade Trotsky. Stalin believes that if he withdraws comrade Trotsky's Soviet passport, he will thereby diminish his own responsibility in the case of a successful attempt on the part of the white terrorists. In that case, it will not be a matter of a Soviet citizen! This miserable refuge will not be of any avail, just as all the other measures of a similar nature.

This decree, born of wrath and impotence, may cause comrade Trotsky and his family personal difficulties. But it will not change the fact, that today just as on October 25, 1917, Trotsky remains, together with Lenin, the founder of the Soviet Republic and the leader of the October revolution; that he was the organizer of the victory of the Red Army and that he is today the outstanding fighter for the proletarian revolution; while Stalin is only the candidate for the post of grave digger of the proletarian dictatorship.

Nor will this prevent what is inevitable, the downfall of the dictatorship of the degenerated Stalinist clique. This downfall is inevitable. It will not be the preparation for the downfall of the proletarian dictatorship, as the enemy class hopes, but on the contrary, for the degeneration and the bloom of proletarian democracy. It signifies the regeneration of the Comintern. It has become the indispensable premise for the success of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. and for the development of the international revolution.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

The Working Class United Front Against Reaction in Canada

(Continued from page 1)

opted this resolution; since then the United Farmers of Alberta and the United Farmers of Saskatchewan at their last conventions, and the provincial convention of the Alberta Trades and Labor Councils have also taken this resolution up. In spite of the sabotage by the labor bureaucrats, the mass pressure from the rank and file forced them to take definite action. A notice was also sent out calling an Eastern Canada Emergency Conference in Hamilton, Ontario, for February 6th and 7th, to plan further a program of work. The call specifically stated that the invitation was issued to every body and person in sympathy with the views of the Conference, regardless of political belief or affiliation.

Comrade J. Silver was sent to the Hamilton Conference as the representative of the local Toronto Conference, comrade Panitch represented an auxiliary organization, and comrade Green went as the direct official delegate of the Toronto branch of the Left Opposition; all our comrades were seated.

In spite of the short time and lack of preparation in calling the Conference, it opened with 283 delegates representing 166 organizations, and 117 individuals. The Liberals, as usual, were prominent by their absence. Of the 19 trade unions represented, over half were A. F. of L. locals. The other delegates were from various auxiliary organizations, unemployed associations, language and cultural bodies, I. L. P., etc. Comrade Silver was elected on the resolutions committee and took an active part in the deliberations on that body; comrade Panitch was appointed to the Advisory Committee. The eight arrested leaders, then still out on bail awaiting the result of their appeal, were enthusiastically greeted and appointed as honorary Presidium members.

A. E. Smith presented the political report, giving an outline of the crisis, the reasons for the severe reaction in Canada, and cited the figures of the Class Terror in Canada in 1931, when 720 workers were arrested with 155 convictions; 78 workers were beaten and wounded, 3 miners brutally killed in Estevan, and 96 demonstrations and meetings smashed. The war danger was given emphasis, and a set of organizational proposals were adopted which called for the further broadening of the united front. Tim Buck and Tom Ewen, two of the arrested leaders, in their discussions, emphasized again and again that the Conference was not a Communist organization, but a movement embracing all labor body and liberal elements who agreed with its aims of fighting for free speech and assembly, and the repeal of Section 98. Buck also stated that the pressure of the masses may even force the A. F. of L. to take action, and render them also liable to Section 98.

Perspectives

Due to the bankruptcy of the Stalinist policies, loss of membership, prestige, etc., the Party was forced to adopt the Leninist principle of the United Front. This is a vindication of the program of the Left Opposition. The course taken in this conference is an involuntary ad-

mission that their previous strategy was one of isolation, and that to influence the masses, it is necessary to go into their organizations.

The Conference was but a beginning in this development. To embrace a larger number of workers within the movement is now the main task. Without clarity in principle and theory, there can be no stable movement, and the adoption of the principle of the united front has shown what can be accomplished.

Our comrades in the various organizations must see that this movement is not allowed to drift away, but to bring it into further contact with the masses.

—S. GREEN.

Hail the Fourteenth Anniversary of the Red Army!

On the occasion of the fourteenth anniversary of the founding of the Red Army, we reprint below an account of the event by Victor Serge and several of the first Soviet documents bearing on the subject. Victor Serge is the translator of the French edition of the complete works of Lenin. He is a Franco-Russian Communist of long standing and a member of the Left Opposition. The chapter printed below forms part of his work *Year I of the Russian Revolution* (in French) and is of especial interest at present in view of the Stalinist distortions of revolutionary history in general and that of the Red Army in particular. The Red Army, in the organization of which comrade Trotsky took the leading part, was created as the army of the International revolution. Today, on the fourteenth anniversary of its foundation, with the sharpening of the class conflicts and the immensity of social struggles of an international scope, it is especially well to remember this. Long live the Red Army, the army of the world proletariat!

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BIRTH OF THE RED ARMY

Finland, the Baltic countries, the Ukraine are occupied by the Austrians and the Germans. The Turks are entering Caucasus, at that time "independent". The British are occupying the Baku. The Rumanians are seizing Bessarabia. The Japanese are landing at Vladivostok (April 6). The revolution is surrounded in a circle of iron and fire. It needs an army. (This army must be created from the void.)

On January 2 (15), while negotiations are going on at Brest-Litovsk, a decree is issued on the establishment of a Red Army of volunteers.

The Red general staff—whatever has remained of the former general staff—calls upon the local Soviets to show their initiative by constituting new corps, the battalion of 150 men to be adopted as the unit. This appeal did not go unanswered. The real Red Army was to be created later, under the cover formed for it by these first improvised units. A Supreme Army Council was formed on

For the Unity of Spanish Communism

An Open Letter of the Spanish Left Opposition Addressed to all Communists

Comrades:

With the publication of the "Open Letter" of the Communist International to the C. P. S., the profound crisis which has been hovering over Spanish Communism as a consequence of the fundamental errors committed by the national leadership with the full acquiescence of the International has broken out into the open. A whole series of mistakes are stigmatized in this document, mistakes that the Spanish Left Opposition was the first to point out at a time when the correction of these mistakes would have marked a victorious advance of the revolution. Only when the mistakes blossoming within the party grow to their full length does the International, which defended and supported these erroneous policies and approved those responsible for them so resolutely, decide to put forward its criticism under the pressure of the rank and file and in the face of evident symptoms of the demoralization of the party, symptoms which are manifesting themselves in their full force. Two days before the publication of the "Open Letter", simple militants who had the courage to bring up criticisms less severe than that of the International in their units—were expelled from the party with the sanction of international organisms. The present crisis was not produced by a logical development of the organization, that is to say, by means of a free discussion within the party, but was fabricated artificially: imposed by the International bureaucracy.

It is logical that the leadership of the International, those most responsible for the mistakes of the Spanish leadership, are doing everything in their power to cover up the catastrophic consequences of the policy pursued in Spain. Historically, the damage caused by these political mistakes is very difficult to make good. When the rhythm of the revolution starts its process of decline, the bureaucracy of the International poses the question of the reorganization of the party. The International bureaucracy gave its assent, its support to everything that deprived the Spanish proletariat of its revolutionary party in the culminating period of the revolution. More than that, the International covered with the cloak of its authority the split in the ranks of Spanish Communism maintained by the official leadership of the party. Practically, the C. I. and the Spanish leadership, the Bullejos-Trilla-Pumarega combine, were the liquidators of the immediate perspectives opened up for the Spanish proletariat by the Fourteenth of April.

In the "Open Letter" of the Communist International are reproduced the same criticisms that, since the beginning

of the Spanish revolution, were formulated by the Opposition, and for which it was insulted with the worst sort of epithets. The following accusations are made against the leadership: inability to adapt itself to the masses; sectarian narrowness; anarchistic tendencies; false analysis of the political situation; issuance of slogans incomprehensible to the masses and failure of realizing a serious will to put them into practice; a false conception of the role of the Soviets; failure to understand the meaning of the shop committees; clique control; strangulation of the expression of the rank and file; the split policy in the National Confederation of Labor. The Spanish Left Opposition believes and declares a new change of policy, imposed upon the party in a bureaucratic manner, would not have been brought about without the frank exposure of the mistakes that we have practiced. In this respect, the Opposition sees in these facts a new victory of its defense of revolutionary Marxism, applied to the Spanish revolution and the role of the party.

The Communist Left Opposition, in registering this brilliant victory of its point of view, is obliged to show to all proletarian Communists that the "Open Letter" is a direct result, although a belated one, of our criticisms. This shows clearly that even though we have been expelled from the party, our collaboration with it was undeniably a fruitful one. It would be still greater if the Opposition were allowed to occupy the place that belongs to it within the ranks of the party. It goes to show once more, that if the internal regime were one of free and democratic discussion, which is indispensable to every revolutionary proletarian organization, the criticism would be far less acute than under the present state of division, and the correction of the mistakes would take place more rapidly and more effectively, and would be immeasurably less painful. But the International bureaucracy fears the revolutionary truth and therefore persists in keeping the Bolshevik-Leninists within the ranks of the Opposition, estranged from the party.

The "Open Letter" takes special pains to cover up those mistakes committed by the Spanish party, that derive not from the lack of political understanding on the part of the national leadership, but from the theory that dominates the present course of the International—Stalinism. The root of the evil lies in the whole series of eclectic conceptions that the Stalinist school has introduced into Communism since the death of Lenin. The defeats of the Chinese, the German, the Bulgarian and now, the Spanish revolution are the consequences of the wrong tactics that derives from the disastrous article known as Stalinism.

What solutions are proposed in this "Open Letter"? The whole document is remarkable for its absolute lack of concrete solutions. It does not even propose as a definite condition, the demonstrative elimination of the direct authors of these political crimes which are denounced within it. These leaders served the International bureaucracy too faithfully and are altogether too disposed to continue serving it, for the latter to get rid of them. The solution of the problems is left to the congress of the Party, which is to meet in March, so as to give a certain democratic appearance to the bureaucratic maneuvers that are now being prepared.

The leadership of the Spanish party with the consent of the International expelled all its political opponents, the most capable militants of the party, within the last few months and accused them of the horrible crime of not withholding their criticism of the adventurist policies pursued by this leadership. The leadership was, in this manner, able to maintain the condition of monolithic tranquility. A pogrom atmosphere was created within the party, an atmosphere of terrorism against all independently thinking militants and of a systematic persecution against all sincere militants that disagreed with these methods of the leadership. In the face of the impossibility of any sort of criticism and in the face of the reign of persecution, many old militants left the party. The bureaucratization of the units killed off all their internal political life. The leaders were more interested in upholding the personal prestige of the secretary of the unit than in upholding the political line of the worker-Communists active in the units. The active militants, fearing expulsion from the party, curtailed their own opinions and did not follow the dictates of their conscience. The militants were robotized; what was asked of them was not discipline, but blind obedience.

It is in such a situation that the party convention is being prepared, which can be denounced in advance as a bureaucratic maneuver, with the aim of placating the fermentation within the ranks, resulting from the latest political mistakes of the leadership. Yet, this very International leadership is forced to admit that the party is disorganized and that it is absolutely necessary to reorganize it immediately. The development of events has clearly shown that the Left Opposition was correct and that it was the only one to foresee the policy corresponding to the needs of the party at every step in the revolution. All our activities and all our writings are the proof for this. Once more, the historic necessity of the existence of the Opposition has been justified, on a national as well as on an international scale. Nevertheless, instead of readmitting all the Oppositionists expelled for their opinions into the party, the "Open Letter" demands that the party carry on an "energetic" struggle against "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism". For the purpose of struggling against "Trotskyism", a whole factory of slanders and calumnies against the Opposition and its most outstanding militants will start to function within a short time. It will take recourse to verbal and journalistic violence at first and later on, even to physical violence. In this manner, the party bureaucracy will expiate for the mistakes it has committed, mistakes fatal for the destiny of the Spanish proletariat.

The Communist party will not be able to take the road it must take, if it does not begin its reorganization by completely eliminating the whole leading clique of adventurers which have led to the present situation. These inept and incapable leaders, veritable illiterates in so far as revolutionary Marxism is concerned, are those who are morally responsible for the defeat of the Spanish revolution. All the worker-Communists who love their party must demand the political condemnation of Bullejos and Co. The latter, with a stroke of remarkable political cynicism, are trying to evade responsibility for the debacle by resorting to accusations against the rank and file of the party, who are guilty merely of the crime of being too patient. The Communist workers will not consent any longer to have all the blame for the mistakes which are exclusively due to the party "leaders", cast upon their heads. The national bureaucrats have learned from their international allies the consistent method of submitting the rank and file to a most abominable dictatorship and of casting responsibility for the failures on their shoulders. There is one more thing that the Left Opposition cannot conceal. The present leadership of any other leading body arising from the party itself will not be able to restore its political welfare if it is going to apply to the Spanish movements the internationally disastrous methods of Stalinism. The Spanish revolution is another proof for the world proletariat of how Stalinism leads directly to defeat. This is precisely what the hired Stalinists in Spain are attempting to dissimulate before the working masses.

(Continued on page 4)

(To be Continued)

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Rakovsky on the Five Year Plan

(Continued from last issue)

Just as quality of production sets a limit to the increase in the intensity of labor so the limit to increased intensity in the utilization of equipment is bound up with the problem of the working personnel. Great reserves can be made available for the further use of the old basic capital by making use of more shifts—by transfer to the 24 hour shift. The clarification of the question of the working personnel is not here our problem, everyone who follows this question, cannot but know that this problem cannot be solved in the near future and that, therefore, the reserves available by the increase of shifts can be utilized only to a very small degree. The question of the working personnel arises also, of course in connection with new enterprises but we will not take up this matter in this connection. Here it is important for us to show that the shortage of working personnel bound up with the impossibility of a further "loading" of the existing personnel creates a barrier for the further increase in the quantitative indices by this means.

The third factor lies beyond industry itself although it is closely bound up with it. It is the shortage of agricultural raw materials for light industry. Due to shortage of raw materials the volume of production in light industry fell in two months (May and June) by nearly 30%. During these two months the plan was only slightly over 50% fulfilled. The volume of production in the Fats Industry decreased in April by 15.5%, in May by 15.7%, in June by 38.6% of the figures for May, which means that it practically nearly ceased production. Production in the Food Industry decreased in April by 15.5%, in May by 12.9%, in June by 23.7%. The situation in the Sugar Industry, which was practically at a halt in June, is absolutely catastrophic. For the last year only 42.8% of the production capacity of the sugar industry was realized. From these figures alone we see that we deal not only with individual breaks in certain branches but with a sharp decline of production nearly in the whole light

The Raids on Nazis in Prussia

(Continued from page 1)

munists not only from defeating both the social democrats and the Fascists, but even from preparing the defense of the working class from ruthless extermination at the hands of Hitler's bands. Therein lies the great danger in Germany.

The only way the Fascists can be defeated is by uniting the forces of the proletariat for action. The only way the social democratic influence can be wiped out from the working class movement is by recognizing their actual role by forcing them into a united front on the basis of a struggle against Fascism, by showing to the workers in the course of united action that the impotent and servile policies of the social democracy can only pave the way for Fascism.

The Severing incident is a striking lesson in proof of this. Severing and the social democrats say they want to fight Fascism. Here they had a chance. Did Severing, who had ground enough from the material confiscated in the raids, proceed to outlaw and disrupt the Nazi organizations? He did not. Service creature that he is, he feared to come into conflict with the federal government, with the Hindenburg-Bruening-Groener regime, which is consciously aiding the Fascists. In a united front movement with the organizations which Severing and his ilk are leading, the Communists could press the social democratic traitors and cowards to the wall. They would be forced to show their color. A Severing could be forced to break with the bourgeoisie — which is unwilling — or be driven out of the movement, in an instance like the present. In any case, the social democracy would lose its identity rapidly and be wiped out. The working class would be solidified and readied for revolutionary action.

The Fascists are concentrating all their efforts on the situation in Prussia. They are waiting for the Landtag (Diet) elections next month before they strike. That is their strategy. They mean to start out with a seizure of power in this central German province first. It is in Prussia that the social democracy has its stronghold. There is not much time to lose. If the Fascists are to be repulsed, if the working class is to avoid defeat, if the Communist movement is to avoid disaster, a complete reorientation of the policy of the German Communist Party must take place. The confusion of "social Fascism" must be cleared up. The Marxist appraisal of the situation given by comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition must be transposed into the flesh and blood of the German Communists.

industry with a complete suspension in certain branches. Even if the industry itself were in no degree at fault in this matter, the fact of the matter would remain and would have to be reckoned with. In truth, industry is not at fault. We see here the effects which we have warned against several times previously: the delay in the development of industry became the cause for the delay in the development of agriculture.

The above article rightly ascribes the basic causes for the shortage in agricultural raw materials to the following: (1) incorrect price policy; (2) incorrect regulating of the distribution of manufactured goods to producers of agricultural raw materials; (3) the lagging behind of the fertilizer industries. During the current year only 25% of the demand for fertilizers was satisfied. (4) Acute shortage of machines for the cultivation of technical cultures and a nearly complete absence of harvesting machines, due to which the sowing and first plowing of the majority of technical cultures is done by primitive hand method.

All these are direct results of the lagging behind of industry. The study of the question of quantitative indices in connection with the above mentioned factors permits us to make the following fundamental conclusions: (1) the official figures of quantitative growth represent just a statistical fiction due to the ignoring of the quality of production. Only by taking quality into account can we obtain comparable quantity indices. (2) In so far as a quantitative growth actually took place it was based to a decisive degree of the use of a greater number of workers and on the increase of the intensity of labor. (3) In using this method of increase in quantity which contains in itself the conditions leading to its failure and does not at all guarantee the further growth of quantity indices, thus we reach a limit beyond which the further use of this method can give only negative results for the national economy. And this method has now been used to the utmost. (4) The question of the further growth of quantity indices and even of maintaining the level already acquired is directly bound up with the problem of giving industry a new materio-technical base.

This question is decided by the amount of accumulation and capital building of which we will treat further on.

—CHRISTIAN G. RAKOVSKY.

Barnaul, July-August 1930

"The above constitutes the last instalment of one chapter of a larger work by comrade Rakovsky. The condition of exile and ruthless physical persecution imposed upon our comrade by the Stalin clique make for the belated publication of his work by the Left Opposition press. At the present time, the whereabouts of comrade Rakovsky are not even known. The repression of the Stalinist against this valiant revolutionary leader have been particularly vicious. The last that has been heard of him is that he was in a frightful and alarming state of health and that no consideration was to be expected of the regime. No revolutionist will forget this crime of Stalinism.—Ed.

Hail the Red Army

(Continued from page 1)

The recruitment campaign had very good but inadequate results. On April 1, Petrograd offered 25,000 volunteers, Moscow—more than 15,000. 106,000 volunteers reported in six weeks.

—From "L'An I. de la Revolution Russe"

A DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS

Petrograd, January 15, 1918

The old army was a class instrument of the bourgeoisie for the oppression of the working class. The seizure of power by the laboring class and the class of those who possess nothing has made the creation of a new army necessary. This new army will have the task of protecting the Soviet power and of constituting the base on which the regular army will be transformed into a power founded on the arming of the whole people; furthermore, the new army will serve to support the Socialist revolution that is approaching in Europe.

I.

In the execution of the preceding, the Council of People's Commissars has decided to organize the new army on the following basis and under the name "Red Workers' and Peasants' Army".

1. The red workers' and peasants' army is composed of the most conscious and best organized elements of the working class.

2. Every citizen of the Russian republic over 18 years of age can enter its ranks. All those may enter the Red Army, who are prepared to put their forces and their life at the service of the defense of the conquests of October.

Rebel Miners in Action!

(Continued from page 1)

sciousness among the coal miners to the treacherous role of these officials and their growing readiness to combat them. In other words it offers the increasing opportunities for the Left wing to find the common base for these movements and through them to unite for the common immediate objectives.

Of such steps there is no sign whatever. The official Communist Party which is the potential force to give this direction is, when considering this as the essential task, failing just as miserably as the other confused and opportunist groups. The National Miners Union, which it leads, has not yet at any time pursued a policy genuinely aiming at uniting the rebellious movements. It has thereby, in the same manner as the other groupings, been hemmed in within the localizing barriers of each separate struggle, confining itself purely to the spontaneous movement of the workers themselves, lacking perspective, failing actually to organize and losing ground so that it still commands only a few scattered, small and ill-functioning locals. Under such conditions the militancy it displays, the working class and revolutionary propaganda it spreads, becomes entirely too much negated.

A National Perspective for a United Front

While the series of localized spontaneous miners struggles from the past to the present have certainly served to advance the miners to higher levels of experience and consciousness they have most often in their direct implication resulted in defeats and weakening of their organization. The John L. Lewis administration pursued that method as a deliberate policy to serve the operators. But it should have taught us all that when local strikes are so often defeated the object must be the national extension. With the present trend of the struggle, directed, and of necessity so, equally against the U. M. W. official treachery, the national objective must, of course, stand out so much more clearly.

But this is only one side of the question. The other is the need of the actual unification of the rebel movements. Here lies the real task for the revolutionary forces, for the official Communist Party. To talk about establishing "independent leadership" in these struggles, as it does, or to talk about furnishing a program for them without taking into account this burning question of the necessity of a speedy united front of the rebel movements becomes pure nonsense. To proceed to build committees of independent leadership within them endeavoring to struggle independently and in opposition to them is wrong. It is particularly erroneous to endeavor to build the National Miners Union within these rebel movements of the U. M. W. What is needed there is a Left wing of these movements, firmly established, working as part of, and with the movements, criticizing and fighting against opportunist leaders, and working in the closest possible co-operation with the Left wing forces in the National Miners Union. Proceeding from such a basis it should not become an all too difficult task to build a united front in reality of these various movements struggling in common for the common immediate objectives: to dislodge the influence and control of the Lewis machine and for better working conditions. In such a united front movement the Communists would certainly play the main role of leadership provided they pursue Communist policies. They could thus become a much more important factor in uniting the working class against the common enemy.

—A. S.

of the Soviet power and of socialism. For entrance into the Red Army, the following recommendations are necessary: those of the military committee or those of the civil organizations who depend upon the Soviet power, those of the party or the trade unions—more strictly speaking, the recommendations of two members of one of these organizations. In case an entire division enters the Red Army, collective recommendations and a nominal vote are necessary.

II.

1. The families of members of the Red workers' and peasants' army are supported by the state and receive a monthly subsidy of 50 rubles.

2. The invalid members of the families of soldiers, who have previously been supported by the soldiers, will continue to receive aid according to the local statutes and according to the regulations of the local Soviet.

III.

The Council of People's Commissars is the supreme directing organism of the Red workers' and peasants' army. The immediate conduct of the army and its administration are concentrated in the Military Commissariat and particularly in the all-Russian collegium.

WHAT NEXT? -- by Leon Trotsky

(Continued from page 1)

signify only the resurrection of all the contradictions on the very next successive stage, only in still more acute and concentrated form.

In terms of world economy, Europe is on the downward trend. Already the forehead of Europe is plastered beyond removal with American labels: the Dawes plan, the Young Plan, Hoover's moratorium. Europe is placed thoroughly on American rations.

The decay of capitalism results in social and cultural decomposition. The road is barred for further methodical differentiation within the nation, for the further growth of the proletariat at the expense of the diminution of intermediate classes. Further prolongation of the crisis can bring in its trail only the pauperization of the petty bourgeoisie and the transformation of ever increasing groups of workers into the lumpenproletariat. In its most acute form, it is this threat that grips advanced capitalist Germany by the throat.

The rottenest portion of putrefying capitalist Europe is the social democratic bureaucracy. It entered upon its historical journey under the banner of Marx and Engels. For its goal it placed the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie. The powerful upsurge of capitalism caught it up and dragged it in its wake. In the name of reform, the social democracy betrayed the revolution, at first by its actions and later by its very words. Kautsky, forsooth, for a long time still defended the phraseology of revolution, making it serve as a handmaiden to the requirements of reformism. Bernstein, on the contrary, demanded the renunciation of revolution: for capitalism was entering the period of peaceful development without crises, and without wars. A paragon of prophets! Apparently, between Kautsky and Bernstein there was an irreconcilable divergence. Actually, however, they symmetrically complemented one another as the right and left boots on the feet of reformism.

The war came. The social democracy supported the war in the name of future prosperity. Instead of prosperity decay set in. Then the problem resolved itself no longer in concluding from the inadequacy of capitalism the inevitability of revolution; nor was it one of reconciling the workers with capitalism by means of reforms. The new policies of the social democracy now consisted in making society safe for the bourgeoisie at the cost of sacrificing reforms.

But even this was not the last stage of degeneracy. The present crisis that is convulsing capitalism obliged the social democracy to sacrifice the fruits achieved after protracted economic and political struggles and thus to reduce the German workers to the plane of existence of their fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers. There is no historical spectacle more tragic and at the same time more repulsive than the fetid disintegration of reformism amid the wreckage of all its conquests and hopes. The theater is raving in its straining for modernism. Let it stage more often Hauptmann's "The Weavers": this most modern of modern dramas. But the director of the theater must not forget to reserve the dress circle for the leaders of the social democracy.

Incidentally, however, these leaders are in no mood for the theater: they have reached the utmost limits of their adaptability. There is a level beneath which the working class of Germany cannot drop willingly or for any length of time. Moreover, the bourgeois régime, fighting for its existence, is in no mood to recognize this level. The emergency decrees of Brüning are only the beginning, only feelers to get the lay of the land. Brüning's régime rests upon the cowardly and perfidious support of the social democratic bureaucracy which in its turn depends upon the sullen, half-hearted support of a section of the proletariat. The system based on bureaucratic decrees is unstable, unreliable, temporary. Capitalism requires another, more decisive policy. The support of the social democracy with its one eye ever cocked on its own workers, is not only insufficient for its purposes, but has already become irksome. The period of half-way measures has passed. In order to try to find a way out, the bourgeoisie must absolutely rid itself of the pressure exerted by the workers' organizations, these must needs be eliminated, destroyed, utterly crushed.

At this juncture, the historic role of Fascism begins. It sets on its feet those classes that are immediately above the proletariat and who are ever in dread of being forced down into its ranks; it organizes and militarizes them at the expense of finance capital, under the cover of the official government, and it directs them to the extirpation of proletarian organizations, from the most revolutionary to the most conservative.

Fascism is not merely a system of reprisals, of brutal force, and of police terror. Fascism is a particular governmental system based on the uprooting of all elements of proletarian democracy within bourgeois society. The task of Fascism lies not only in destroying the Communist advance guard but in holding the entire class in a state of forced disunity. To this end the physical annihilation of the most revolutionary section of the workers does not suffice. It is also necessary to smash all independent and voluntary organizations, to demolish all the defensive bulwarks of the proletariat, and to uproot whatever has been achieved during three quarters of a century by the social democracy and the trade unions. For, in the last analysis, the Communist party also bases itself on these achievements.

The social democracy has prepared all the conditions necessary for the triumph of Fascism. But by this fact it has also prepared the stage for its own political liquidation. It is absolutely correct to place on the social democrats the responsibility for the emergency legislation of Brüning as well as for the impending danger of Fascist savagery. It is absolute balderdash to identify social democracy with Fascism.

By its policies during the revolution of 1848, the liberal bourgeoisie prepared the stage for the triumph of counter revolution, which in turn emasculated liberalism. Marx and Engels lashed the German liberal bourgeoisie no less sharply than Lassalle did, and their criticism was more profound than his. But when the Lassalleans dumped the feudal counter-revolution together with the liberal bourgeoisie into "one reactionary mass", Marx and Engels were justly outraged by this false ultra-radicalism. The erroneous position of the Lassalleans turned them on several occasions into involuntary aids of the monarchy, despite the general progressive nature of their work, which was infinitely more important and consequential than the achievements of liberalism.

The theory of "social Fascism" reproduces the basic error of the Lassalleans on a new historical background. After dumping National Socialists and social democrats into one Fascist pile, the Stalinist bureaucracy flies headlong into such activities as backing the Hitler referendum; which in its own fashion is in no wise superior to Lassalle's alliances with Bismarck.

In the present phase, German Communism in its struggle against the social democracy must lean on two inseparable facts: (a) the political responsibility of the social democracy for the strength of Fascism; (b) absolute irreconcilability between Fascism and those workers' organizations on which the social democracy itself depends.

The contradictions within German capitalism have at present reached such a state of tension that an explosion is inevitable. The adaptability of the social democracy has reached that limit beyond which lies self-annihilation. The mistakes of the Stalinist bureaucracy have reached that limit beyond which lies catastrophe. Such is the three-fold formula that characterizes the situation in Germany. Everything is now poised on the razor edge of a knife.

When of necessity one must follow conditions in Germany through newspapers that arrive almost a week late; when one must allow another week before manuscripts may bridge the gap between Constantinople and Berlin; after which additional weeks must pass before the pamphlet reaches its public, involuntarily the question arises, "Won't it be altogether too late? And each time one answers oneself: No! The armies that are drawn up for battle are too colossal that one need fear a simultaneous settlement of the issue at the speed of greased lightning. The strength of facts will make itself heard more imperiously of the German proletariat has not been drained. Its powers have not as yet been brought into play. The logic of facts will make itself heard more imperiously with every passing day. And this justifies the author's attempt to add what he has to say even if it is delayed a few weeks, i. e., an entire historical period.

The Stalinist bureaucracy came to the conclusion that it would be able to complete its labors more peacefully were the author of these pages confined in Prinkipo. It obtained from the government of Herman Mueller, the social democrat, a refusal or a visa for... "a menshevik": in this instance the united front was established without any wavering or delay. Today, in official Soviet publications, the Stalinists are broadcasting the news that I am "defending" Brüning's government in accordance with an agreement made with the social democracy, which in return is pulling strings to allow me the right of entry into Germany. Instead of becoming indignant over such viciousness, I permit myself to laugh at its stupidity. But I must cut short my laughter, for time is pressing.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the course of events will demonstrate the correctness of our position. But in what manner will history demonstrate its proof: Through the catastrophe of the Stalinist faction, or through the victory of Marxist policies?

Therein lies at present the crux of the entire question. [This question is the question of the fate of the German nation, and not of its fate alone.]

The problems that are analyzed in this pamphlet did not originate yesterday. It is nine years now since the leadership of the Comintern has busied itself with the revaluation of values and with disorganizing the advance guard of the international proletariat by means of tactical convulsions which in their totality fall under the label of "the general line". The Russian Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) was formed not only because of Russian problems but also because of international ones. Among these, the problems of the revolutionary development in Germany occupied by no means the last place. Sharp divergences on this subject date back from 1923. During the succeeding years the author of these pages spoke more than once on these debatable questions. A considerable portion of my critical works has been published in German. The present pamphlet is in its turn a contribution to the theoretical and political work of the Left Opposition. Much that is mentioned hereafter only in passing was in its time submitted to detailed analysis. Therefore I must needs refer my readers for particulars to my books, *THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMINTERN—A Criticism of Fundamentals*, *THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION*, *THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION*, etc. Now, at the time when these divergences appear before everybody in the light of a great historical task, it is possible to estimate their origins much better and more profoundly. For the serious revolutionary, for the true Marxist such a study is absolutely essential. Ecclectics live by means of episodic thoughts and improvisations that originate under the impact of events. Marxist cadres capable of leading the proletarian revolution are trained only by the continual and successive working out of problems and disputes.

PRINKIPO, January 27, 1932

—L. TROTSKY.

THE MILITANT

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ACME THEATRE

Marine Workers on Trial

The trial of the three marine workers, which was interrupted for a week on account of the illness of Assistant District Attorney Capozzoli, was resumed Monday in the court of General Sessions No. 1 before Judge Allen. With six witnesses for the prosecution already examined, the contents of the state are already before the jury. The great conspiracy announced last November, with such a fireworks of publicity and cries of the red terror, is taking on the character of a farce at the trial. The gigantic "dynamite plot" to "blow up the shipping" in the New York harbor has dwindled down in the actual testimony to the claim that the defendants were responsible in some way or another for a leak about the size of a quarter which was discovered in the bottom of a worn out sand and gravel barge.

The first witness was John Schimmel, night watchman on the barge "Anthony", owned by the O'Boyle Transportation Company, a non-union concern and complainant in the case. Schimmel testified that on November 4, 1931, at about one o'clock in the morning, he heard a noise that brought him on deck to investigate. Finding nothing there, he went to the hold of the boat and discovered a small hole through which water was entering. He also claimed that a man, whom he now "identifies" as Bunker, called to him from the pier to which the boat was moored and asked him if he had a place to sleep that night. On cross examination it was brought out that the only light on the boat was a kerosene lamp on the cabin 70 or 80 feet from the place where he was standing. There were no lights on the pier, and the only street lights were more than 500 feet away. In addition to these difficulties in the way of positive identification under the circumstances, it was brought out in cross-examination that Schimmel was both hard at hearing and afflicted with poor eyesight. It was also shown that he was a non-union man, working for a \$1 a day. He was once a member of the Tidewater Boatmen's Union, he said, but admitted he had been "always in trouble with them" and thought "unions were no good".

The next witness, named Murphy, a "runner" for O'Boyle testified that he went on board the good ship "Anthony" about 2 A. M. on November 4th and went into the hold to examine the leak. He found it stuffed up with some material. He also said there was some water in the hold, although on cross-examination, he admitted that he had inspected the boat on the previous day found water in the hold on that occasion. This witness also "found" a battery and some wires and an old alarm clock, which were put in evidence as the instruments with which the shipping in the harbor was to be blown up.

The testimony of Schimmel, the dollar a day hero who had positively identified Bunker, was further discredited by the cross examination of Scarr, of the U. S. Weather Bureau, New York District. As Scarr testified that at 2 A. M. on the day in question, there was a waning moon, and that a shadow cast by a person standing in front of the moon, as it was established the man whom Schimmel "identified" as Bunker stood, would be hard to recognize.

John Hickey, the manager of the O'Boyle Transportation Company, who has been one of the leading fighters against the union in the harbor, gave a touching display of innocence and of disinterestedness in the labor side of the case. It was brought out, on cross-examination, that he has acted as a State's witness in many cases. He "didn't know" if he had any union men in his employ, but admitted that he paid less than the union scale. He didn't know anything about the unions on the water front. "The police," he said, "should know about them." He had never been heard of by the I. T. B. U. before.

This man, who gets a salary of \$4500 a year for his efficiency as a union smasher, admitted on cross-examination that he gave money to Hoyle, who is regarded as the provocateur in the case. The cross examination of defense attorney Peter L. F. Sabbatino and the bizzare explanations of the witness on this point, evoked a lot of merriment in the court room. Hickey, who has never been known as a spendthrift, got a fit of magnanimity on the day that the defendants were arraigned. Hoyle, he said, asked him for a quarter for cigarettes. But big-hearted Hickey opened his pocketbook and handed him a bill, with the remark—so he said—"share it with the other boys."—the union men whom he is trying to railroad.

The next witness was Lieutenant Leonard of the Harbor Police Squad. He admitted, by way of confirmation, you might say, of Hickey's contention that the union was no way involved—that the headquarters of the I. T. B. U. had been raided, a police padlock put on the door, and the files taken to police headquarters. Leonard knew, he said, that the defendants were union men but "didn't know anything about the Tidewater Boatmen's union or any other union on the water front."

Further ignorance of any connection of unionism with the prosecution was exhibited by detective Boile, who said

he examined Hoyle "in a little room" at the police station and "got a statement from him." Boile knew nothing whatever about unions on the water front, he said, and had never heard of the I. T. B. U., nor of the defendants.

As *The Militant* goes to press the trial is still in progress, and is expected to continue for at least another week. The Marine Workers' Defense Committee is appealing for financial support for the expenses of the legal defense. The Communist League, which is affiliated with the Defense Committee, decided at its last meeting to concentrate its activities in the next ten days on the raising of funds for the defense. The address of the Marine Defense Committee is 82 East 10th St., to which contributions should be sent.

In case of actual danger, the social democracy banks not on the "Iron Front" but on the Prussian police. It is reckoning without its host! The fact that the police was originally recruited in large numbers from among social democratic workers is absolutely meaningless. Consciousness is determined by environment even in this instance. The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state, is a bourgeois cop, not a worker. Of late years these policemen have had to do much more fighting with revolutionary workers than with Nazi students. Such training does not fail to leave its effects. And above all: every policeman knows that though governments may change, the police remains.

In its new-year's issue, the theoretical organ of the social democracy, "Das Freie Wort" (what a wretched sheet!), prints an article in which the policy of "toleration", is expounded in its highest sense. Hitler, it appears, can never come into power against the police and the Reichswehr. Now, according to the constitution, the Reichswehr is under the command of the president of the Republic. Therefore Fascism, it follows, is not dangerous so long as a president faithful to the constitution remains at the head of the government. Bruening's régime must be supported until the presidential elections so that a constitutional president may then be elected, through an alliance with the parliamentary bourgeoisie; and thereby Hitler's road to power will be blocked for another seven years. The above is, as given, the literal context of the article. A mass party, leading millions (toward socialism!) holds that the question as to which class will come to power in present day Germany, which is shaken to

*The article is signed with the modest initials E. H. They should be engraved for posterity. Generations of workers have not labored in vain. Great revolutionary thinkers and fighters did not journey over this earth without leaving their mark. E. H. exists, stays on his job, and points the way to the German proletariat.

Evil tongues would have it that E. H. is closely related to E. Hellmann, who so besmirched himself during the war by the most sordid kind of chauvinism. Impossible! What such a lucid head . . . ?

Open Letter to the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R.

With inevitable delay I learn from Pravda of your decision of February 20, 1932, depriving me and the members of my family sharing with me expulsion, exile and work of the rights of Soviet citizenship and forbidding our entry to the U. S. S. R. Wherein my "counter-revolutionary" activity lies, the decision does not say. If we should discount the polemical rituals against "Trotskyism", there were cited in my supposed activity only two instances of my supposed activity which could have been characterized as counter-revolutionary—had they actually occurred.

Pravda of July 2, 1931, carried with corresponding commentaries, a photostatic reproduction of the first page of the Polish newspaper Kurier Podzenny containing an article supposedly by me and directed against the Soviet Union. It is understood that none of you doubted for a moment that this article presents a forgery of a filthy sheet, well-known for its falsifications. The same newspaper shortly thereafter forged documents against Galician (Ukrainian) revolutionaries. Even the bourgeois press, such

OPEN FORUM

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

Lecture by
ARNE SWABECK

FRIDAY, APRIL 8, 1932
at the
Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue
at 8 P. M.

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION
ADMISSION: 25 Cents
Unemployed Workers Admitted Free
Sponsors: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

The six-to-one decision of the Alabama Supreme Court upholding the death sentences of seven of the nine Scottsboro prisoners is a class verdict. It is necessary only briefly to review the case to prove this and to give the lie to the N. A. A. C. P. saboteurs, the socialists and their liberal supporters like the New Republic, all of whom have claimed that the verdict of guilty and sentence of death were the result of the hatred stirred up by the agitation of the Communists.

The nine Negro boys on their way to look for work were taken off a freight train and charged with stealing a ride. But, upon the subsequent discovery on the train of two white girls, the charge was changed forthwith to rape, which, in Alabama, is a capital crime.

The intention of the Southern bourgeois to dispatch the boys with all possible expedition was clearly revealed by the arrangements made for and conduct of the trial. It was held on fair day in a court house surrounded by a lynch mob, held in check by promises from the militia that verdicts of guilty would be speedily forthcoming. The task of the prosecution was made easier by the collaboration of the N. A. A. C. P. "defense" lawyer who produced no witnesses and refused to ask for an acquittal. The trial required only three days. The verdict was guilty. The sentence was death by electrocution. The entire elapsed time between arrest and conviction was only fifteen days.

The decision of the Supreme Court upholds this verdict and sentence. It affirms that the trial was fair and impartial. It says that the militia which fraternized with the mob while it marched around the court house singing the Star Spangled Banner and stopping only to cheer the verdict of guilty " . . . was notice to everybody that the strong arm of the State was there to assure the accused of a lawful trial."

The six robed and dignified justices found no ground for reversal in the speed of the trial, basing themselves on the precedent created in the speedy trial and execution of Czolgosz, the assassin of McKinley. It is true, they argue, that in the Scottsboro case, no one was assassinated (they intend to accomplish this en masse on May 13th); but, they say, " . . . we are of the opinion that some things may happen to one worse than death and if the evidence is to be believed one of these things happened to this defenseless woman, Victoria Price . . ."

The verdict of the Supreme Court speaks the intention of the capitalist class to make a significant example of these boys; to warn the super-exploited, suppressed Negro masses of a similar fate for all who aspire to political, economic and social equality, and dare to struggle for it. It is the familiar answer of the capitalist class to all working class protest—the frame-up. The verdict is a class verdict. The case is a working class issue.

To this class verdict the working class must reply by a united, fighting, mass movement. The working class must close its ranks. It must say to the capitalist class that it will not permit nine of its members to be electrocuted. Through this case the white and black masses must begin to achieve the unity indispensable for the overthrow of capitalism.

The class verdict must be answered by a class fight. For this the I. L. D. and C. P. must break through the shell of their isolation. They must go to the masses with the proposal to unite on this issue. The logic of the situation leads with irresistible force to the tactic of the united front of working class organizations.

To rely upon a president is only to rely upon "the government". Faced with the impending clash between the proletariat and the Fascist petty bourgeoisie—two camps which together comprise the crushing majority of the German nation—these Marxists from the "Vorwärts" yelp for the night watchman to come to their aid, "Help! Government exert pressure!" (Staat, greif zu!). Which means, "Bruening, please don't force us to defend ourselves with the might of workers' organizations, for this will only arouse the entire proletariat; and then the movement will rise above the bald-pates, or our party leadership: beginning as anti-Fascists, it will end Communist."

The effect which the appeals of the social democracy produce on the state apparatus, on the judges, the Reichswehr and the police cannot fail to be just the opposite to the one desired. The most "loyal" functionary, the most "neutral", the least bound to the social democracy can reason only thus: "Millions are behind the social democrats; enormous resources are in their hands: the press, the parliament, the municipalities; their own hides are at stake; in the struggle against the Fascists they are assured of the support

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Hearst's Program and the Petty Bourgeoisie

The middle bourgeoisie is pressed between the two great contending classes of today, the capitalist and working classes. It is finding its position more precarious as the contradictions between socialized production and capitalist appropriation increase. The deepening crisis is causing them to move, and at present they are running around in circles. American capitalism is concentrating and centralizing the industrial and financial structure to a "higher" level. This squeezes the middle-class to a greater degree between the embryo battle formations of the capitalists and the workers.

One phase of the middle-class reaction to this development is expressed through the Hearst program. The Hearst papers advocate 15 points as their program for America. It clearly reflects the contradictions of the middle class and at the same time shows that the imperialist offensive pulls in its wake this chain of papers for its own ends. The few sugar-coated measures turn out to be walls which the reformers hope to erect between the Communist forces and the working class. The burden, in preventing the building of these walls, rests upon the Communist Party by means of a correct Marxian struggle for immediate demands as against a reformist policy.

Wants Cheap, Efficient Government

Four of the fifteen measures are advocated for the purpose of obtaining a more centralized, cheap, efficient Government. They call for proportional representation in the United States Senate which would give the middle class and small industrialist a better hand at fighting the monopolies and trusts. They advocate the abolition of the electoral college. They want to end the lame duck sessions so that the new president and congress can sit right after elections. They want the modification of the Volstead Act. These measures would centralize, cheapen and make more efficient the Government apparatus. Where on the one hand, the demand for proportional representation in Congress is intended to satisfy the big capitalists, the modification of the Volstead Act, on the other hand, is designed for the workers in order to catch their votes. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy and a large section of the workers are swept behind the middle class attempt to stem the tide by these measures.

The Middle Class Demands

One plank, "Honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none," is the worn-out attempt to pull the results of the productive forces of American capitalism back into the national boundaries. This plank is hopelessly reactionary and utopian. It can only stir up the nationalism of the exploiting rulers, playing upon the "patriotism" of the working class and middle class youth, and paying the way for a nationalism that develops into dangerous proportion as the crises deepen—dangerous against the working class.

The middle class is not so dumb that they do not see the effects of the crises and trend of imperialism against the workers. And, knowing that an aroused and class-conscious working class may tip over the boat and spill all the profits, they move certain measures as reforms. These reforms have the purpose of creating, instead of a class-conscious proletariat, a contented and docile, American working class. They propose such things as a thirteen month calendar, with all holidays falling on Saturday, and a five day week. But if all holidays fall on a Saturday it will cut from under the five day week. The middle class needs a docile class in order to reap profits in all their avenues of exploitation. They want a Secretary of Education, and Federal control of education. All in all, reforms from the top in order to head off the pressure of the workers from below. Far sighted middle class politicians see the writing on the wall that the blind Stalinists cannot see. The slogan for the Six Hour day and the Five Day week with no reduction of pay—a class slogan of first magnitude for immediate demands, that can be turned against the capitalist class and cement together a larger section of our own class—has been snatched up and exploited by the middle class reformers because the Stalinists don't understand the differences between a revolutionary struggle for immediate demands and a reformist utilization of them.

Jingoism Breaks Through

Three of the measures are outright jingoist planks, natural sequences of Hearst's past Mexican campaign and his present Japanese campaign. Hearst wants the French and English West Indies as part payments of debts. He

Minneapolis Attention

The Militant and Left Opposition literature can be procured at the following downtown newsstands:

Engelson News Co.
234 2nd Ave., S.

Oleisky's Newsstand
Washington at Hennepin

Shindler's Newsstand
Hennepin, at 6th St.

ATTENTION, MINNEAPOLIS SUBSCRIBERS!

All Minneapolis readers of *The Militant*, especially those whose subscriptions have expired, may expect a visit from one of our Militant builders team who are not after subs and renewals. If your sub has not yet expired, they will supply you with the name and address of a needy worker who will benefit by a sub. Will you cooperate with our committee?

—CARL COWLEY, Secy.

wants the Nicaragua Canal to be started at once for commerce and defense. He wants the army, navy and aviation under a Secretary of National Defense. An unbroken bridge spans Pacificism, Jingoism and Imperialism. Each serves its purpose in a different way, but all for the same end.

A Dangerous Stalinist Slogan

In the workers ranks also opportunism makes strange bed-fellows. The Social Democratic leaders played their role in this evolution in 1914. In America where pacifism wants the United States to boycott Japan for her present acts in China, the Stalinists want us to expel the Japanese representatives in America. It is true the Stalinists have not travelled the road as far as the Social Democrats did in the last war, but it was just such a way that led the Social Democrats on the path to social-patriotism—by seeing the worst imperialist, not at home, but across the border. The Marxists fight against all imperialists but FIRST and at all times against "their own". It is our special and political task to unmask the treacherous and despicable role of American Imperialism in the Far East, in the League of Nations, in the disarmament conference and at home.

One measure of the Hearst program calls for a five billion federal loan for public works. This measure, as well as others, has enabled him to corral large numbers of workers. Hearst is against the Bankers' role in the form of the two billion dollar credit pool, and he is against a dole (social insurance) for the workers; but he wants a dole of five billion that would be divided among the exploiters with a goodly share going to the middle class and a few crumbs for the workers.

Anti-Working Class Program

The three remaining planks we have not yet spoken of are so clearly anti-working class measures that even the blind could recognize them. Hearst wants a federal tax and excise tax to replace the income tax. True, workers must keep their eyes on the point of production and not devote too much time to beating down the cost of living. They must keep their eyes on the relation of forces between the classes. But the capitalist class can use the lever of taxes and prices and currency manipulations to further worsen the workers' conditions. And at this stage, the sales tax, just like inflation, will take its toll among the workers.

Hearst wants selective immigration and deportation of "undesirable" aliens, etc. Yes, Hearst is longing for the "good old just", for the docile American born worker, who was satisfied with a "full dinner pail". The Hearst program only shows some of the many contradictions of the middle class. In resisting the encroachments of the big capitalists they make a gesture toward the workers. In fear of the militancy of the working class, they support the most reactionary measures. Between these two great classes, the workers and the capitalists, the middle class is fighting for its life.

The stronger the pressure from either side the greater the contradiction in their camp. The Hearst program is aiming both ways, but ends—as all centre forces must end—by helping the strongest forces in the struggle; and since capitalism and imperialism is at present on the offensive, the independent middle class action, in its own special way, works against the proletariat.

—HUGO OHLEER.

Second Month of Militant Drive

As we turn the corner to speed down the second third of the drive there begins to loom before us—June 1st—on which date the drive closes. And behind June 1st looms darkly the period of the summer recession. Against their inexorable approach we are able to record this week some progress over last week's report. The standing of new and renewed subs, and new bundle orders is as follows: New York—17; Minneapolis—5; Boston—4; Chicago—3; St. Louis—1; Newark—1; Philadelphia—1; Misc.—12; New bundle orders: Chicago—2; Newark—1.

The staff of Militant builders is now a little larger and reads as follows: A. Konikov—4; J. Carter—1; W. Curran—1; C. Cowley—1; Zalmanoff—1; L. Basky—1; R. Sacharow—1.

What our comrades and sympathizers must realize is the necessity, the absolute and sheer necessity, of building the circulation of *The Militant*. On Sept. 29, 1931 comrade Trotsky in sending greetings to El Soviet wrote, "The resolution does not wait. Woe to those that lag behind. With all my heart I wish you may not prove to be lagging behind." Great struggles are preparing in the U. S. The German situation is developing toward a decisive historical moment. In Spain further revolutionary struggles are inevitable. We must not, dare not lag behind.

We must strive with all our power to reach a wider and ever wider circle of Left wing and working class militants. We must penetrate with *The Militant* deeper into the party and its auxiliaries, into all working class organizations. The technique for doing this is worked out: literature premiums, combined subscription, rates, special rates for bundle orders, a special 25c sub for eight issues, and free mass distributions postpaid to the distributor.

Now, in addition to these inducements we are able to offer a political inducement which in conjunction with the others should be decisive for subscriber and subscription getter alike. We refer to the series of extracts from comrade Trotsky's new work on Germany, *What Next?* appearing in *The Militant*.

Among the Drug Clerks

Is the leadership of the T. U. U. L., and especially, of the Medical Workers Union aware that a Drug Clerk's Union was recently organized under the guardianship of the A. F. of L. reactionaries, and is already counting close to 400 members in its ranks?

I read the *Daily Worker* every day, but I failed to "discover" in its news columns any mention of the existence of such an organization as the Drug Clerk's Union.

Was it printed in such infinitely small type that only a microscope of an appreciable magnifying power could detect its presence? Is it against the principles of Communist theory and practice to divulge news concerning reactionary and reformist trade unions? Or are these "leaders" so preoccupied with building socialism in one country, that such trifles are apt to escape their "vigilant eye"? This "infantile disorder" of ignoring reactionary trade unions, which had afflicted German Communism in its infancy and against which Lenin had so vehemently fought, has since Lenin's death relapsed and appeared again in a different form, but pathologically identical. It has appeared in the form of "social fascism" "united front from below only" and other consequential complications. These acute infantile disorders have, under the personal supervision of "Doc" Stalin, developed into a gangrenous sore permeating the blood stream of the fighting organ of the proletariat with the toxins of "social fascism" and other related toxins and thus isolating it from the living body—the working masses.

It is obvious that a trade union policy flowing from such an attitude towards reactionary and reformist trade unions is fatal to the vanguard and the revolutionary movement. The terrible consequences of such a policy are being daily registered on the pages of the history of not only the American revolutionary movement but of that in all countries where Stalinists are in the leadership.

The medical workers union has, not long ago, made an attempt to organize the drug clerks. It failed. Has this fact ever been disclosed in the official party press? No. Why not?

Is not there anything at all for the revolutionary unions to learn from such an attempt?

The mere fact that the dreadful situation of the drug clerk and the chaotic condition in the pharmaceutical industry has never been analyzed and a program of action has never been discussed, in the party press, is sufficient evidence that the attempt at the organization of the drug clerks by the Medical Workers Union was unprepared, without a clear perspective and program. Hence its failure. This error is, of course, not new in the annals of the Stalinist leadership. From this point of view, one might excuse them for being silent—but what about the drug clerks who are driven by this error into the A. F. of L. camp where certain defeat awaits them?

Among other things the *Daily Worker* should throw open its columns for an all-sided discussion of the drug clerk problem. A program of action flowing from the actual conditions existing in the pharmaceutical industry and not from the heads of the leaders of the Medical Workers Industrial Union to be worked out for the revolutionary drug clerks inside A. F. of L. drug clerk union.

—J. D.

MINNEAPOLIS STANDING

The rival Militant builders teams of Minneapolis (whom we will call Rangatanz vs. Ringtails) have both held their secret meetings and outlined their plans of action. Both plans are suspiciously alike, and there is mutual recrimination about every scout getting reports, etc. The rules of the contest provide that subs for all Left Opposition organs count as points, the unit being the dollar. All subs, after being reported to the team captains, who keep a record, goes through the hands of comrade Coover, the branch treasurer. He counts and credits the points and sends them in.

At this writing, the standing of the teams is roughly: Team I: Dunn, captain—5 points; Team II: Curran, captain—7 points. This does not include two new newstands secured by Team II.

On the Waterfront

It would be quite proper, though unnecessary, to attempt to describe or analyze the general conditions—unemployment, hunger and wage cuts—on New York's waterfront separately from those of other sections of the city or apart from conditions in other basic industries. But they are not much different from anywhere else, and when one reads in the leading article of the only revolutionary workers' paper on the waterfront, the *Marine Workers' Voice*, that the sailors and longshoremen are not suffering as much as their fellow workers in other basic industries, then surely one is inclined to take notice of it and to look around for evidence for such a statement.

The same Ray B. Hudson, who "with other 'delegates' to the Soviet Union last fall was repeatedly embarrassed by Russian workers with the question: 'Who elected you?' and who upon further investigation was forced to admit that the 'delegates' were not at all elected but rather 'selected' (his own admission in the *Daily Worker* of March 26) has the nerve to step out and insult the seamen by saying that the American marine worker is exempt from general suffering and has not felt the crisis as acutely as the other workers! To quote him in the semi-yearly *Voice* (March-April issue): "... it is of importance to note that no general wage cut has been made in the marine industry. The marine workers have felt the effects of the crisis less than any workers in all the basic industries. Seamen, despite the great unemployment, are relatively better off."

It may be true that Hudson himself still carries some of the weight he said he piled on during his latest visit to the Soviet Union. And it is quite true that he has since held a soft job in the National Office of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, but how can that be taken as an indication of the prosperity of the seamen as a whole?

Before his departure for the Soviet Union, Hudson was made to run around the piers and docks as port organizer and he saw the conditions at a closer range. At that time he could not find words strong enough to depict the misery and starvation of the seamen. Now he accepts the chair left vacant by Mink, who, by the way, taking his turn at "delegating" to the Soviet Union and despite the fact that the crisis has become deeper during the last year and the suffering more acute, the swivel chairs in the National Office have been replenished with new padding and the radiator has been put into condition.

But the unemployed seamen themselves know that they are not much better off than other workers, that the crisis has not diminished any since Hudson's return from the U. S. S. R. They know that war has been cut generally and even more generally than had been expected. They know that graft and bribery in getting jobs are commonplace, that insults and exploitation in the Seamen's Church Institute and the company offices are just as sharp and as heavy as in the shore industries. They also know that the seaman has to wait in a long line before he can register at the office window—often all day, before he is given his flop ticket, that the distances from South Ferry to the "Muni", to the "Gold Dust" or to the Brooklyn "X" are still as hard to tramp with worn-out shoes and socks as ever. They also know that the seaman often has to spend the night in freight wagons and dark doorways, just as the jobless uptown. So why these misstatements, this "exceptionalism" for the seamen?

"The seamen are relatively better off than other workers". Are the officials of the M. W. I. U. waiting for things to become desperate before they make a real move to organize the waterfront proletariat?

Such a "watchful waiting" policy has been in evidence for many months. Despite the fact that an effort at organization is seemingly being made in the columns of the *Daily Worker* in the form of editorials and resolutions, the actual fact is that the Union has never shown less activity and has never been so disorganized as at the present moment.

Two years ago, when the first convention was held and the Union formed, a splendid start was made. A good basis was at hand. A real representative body of seamen was willing to sacrifice time and energy in building the Union, but it seems the party leadership did its best to keep it from making headway. Many splendid possibilities for the organization of the movement were thrown away. Everything of importance was left to "further consideration" and all kinds of results were promised by the incoming committees, but the ultra-mechanical control by the party leadership and the incompetency of its appointees on the National Committee have throttled the activities of the Union until it has become almost a wreck.

The leading element and the active membership in the Union have melted away like snow in the springtime. The policy of alienating and driving away new elements, promising militants, has been going on in full force. The party and the appointed officials in the Union are afraid and suspicious of any new members who show leadership qualities and gain support from the membership. Such members are soon "disciplined" to remote parts of the U. S. A. For quite a long time local secretary Johannesen was functioning as the driving force on the waterfront. He visited incoming ships and spoke regularly at the open air meetings and Union Square demonstrations, everybody liked his straight forwardness before the membership and his fearlessness in dealing with appointed function-

aries. Suddenly he was transferred to Duluth, to take charge of the paper local there, but the party had a hard time to get the New York membership to agree to the transfer.

Only recently Karl Koster was unexpectedly sent to Boston after he had won the real support and cooperation of all the rank and file members of the Union. He had just broken all records in individual efforts of personally lining up new members aboard the various ships in New York harbor, for the Union than any one else. A short while after his arrival, the hall in Boston was closed by the authorities. According to reports, Koster, unable to get permission to return to the New York legal, has been forced to panhandle in the streets of Boston. H. Harvey, the National Organizer, has turned miser, and the last we heard of him was that he was in jail in Pineville, Kentucky for union activities.

So the Union is leaderless and for that matter, also memberless. The defense corps around the stove or the element that takes care of the large kitchen family in the hall are hardly able to act even as speakers at open forums or as chairmen at membership meetings, let alone cope with real organizational work.

All this, at a time when the party has opened up new headquarters for its waterfront section. So far, it has reacted to the new instructions from the R. I. L. U. to build up the union only by sending delegates to the various conferences, more delegates to the First of May celebration in Moscow and still more delegates to the World Union Congress in Hamburg on May 20.

The Union will start functioning again only when the party bureaucrats are driven to the wall, when the party returns to the Leninist line, when inner-party democracy is reestablished. This alone will breathe the breath of life into the Marine Workers Industrial Union again and enable it to gather around the nucleus, the leading element of proletarian fighters who have been expelled or otherwise kept away from the movement. Then the conditions of existence themselves will drive the Marine Workers to unity and aggressive action.

At present, the marine workers should see to it that their rights as members of the revolutionary working class and of the revolutionary union are fully respected. Only by a freedom of criticism which makes possible a collective working out of our common problems, can the marine workers be brought into the line of march of their class, toward the conquest of power over capitalism.

—P. J.S.

N.Y. Auto Workers

No other industry has suffered as much from the economic depression as has the automobile industry, with its over 50 per cent of unemployment. The automobile manufacturers have taken full advantage of the situation and have cut the wages of the auto workers to the lowest level in the history of automobile production.

No organized effort has been made to resist the terrible exploitation of the automobile workers. The A. F. of L. has time and again passed resolutions to organize this field, but it remains unorganized. The only exception is New York City, where a small local is still struggling along.

On March 1st the automobile bosses in New York notified the union that the men must accept a 40 per cent wage cut or no contract would be signed. More than half the members of the union were out of work and there was no money in the treasury, but the men unanimously turned down the proposition and declared themselves ready for a struggle. A committee was elected to serve notice on the auto body manufacturers and was given full power to act.

When the committee met with the bosses it announced that the union would not accept the cut and that it was ready to fight it out. This had an immediate effect on the employers, and they agreed to talk the matter over, with a view to a compromise. After several days of bargaining a 20 percent wage cut was arrived at. Faced with agreeing to this or accepting open shop conditions, the committee felt compelled to accept and at last a two-year contract was signed by both parties.

Although the 20 percent cut was a setback for the union, it was an unavoidable compromise, remembering the 40 per cent cut that was first demanded, and the unsuccessful attempt of the manufacturers to destroy the union. It was the militancy of the union men that prevented the destruction of their organization. As matters now stand, there is still a nucleus for building up an auto workers' union that may some day be a power in the industry and not have to submit to compromises.

GADFLY

Resolution of the N.Y. Carpenters' Union

We have received the following resolution for publication. Further information is to follow:

WHEREAS—The negotiations for the coming agreement between the New York District Council of Carpenters and the employers are now taking place, and such an agreement must be in the interests of the carpenters, and

WHEREAS—The application of machinery and technical skill in the building industry in general and the woodworking industry in particular has for the past years permanently and disastrously reduced the necessary man-power, thereby necessitating a sharp reduction of working hours, and

WHEREAS—As a result of the application of such modern devices and also as a result of the present economic crisis thousands of men and women have been thrown out of work, and unemployment among the carpenters has reduced them to the point of actual starvation, and

WHEREAS—As a result of the present improper control of jobs by the Union our trade became so demoralized that the carpenters are suffering from such evils as overtime work that is detrimental to the interests of the members, the present system of stewards that has proven to be a failure, the present practice of hiring and firing which is conducted in a discriminatory way so that a selected few are steadily employed, leaving the rest of the men destitute and with no consideration as to the misery they have to face, and

WHEREAS—The above evils can be eliminated only by having a proper and centralized control of the jobs in the form of an Employment Bureau that controls the hiring of men and carries out the rotation of jobs, and that the proper control can be had only if a system of shop and job committees is established, and

WHEREAS—Because of these miserable conditions thousands who are unable to pay their dues are dropping out of the organization and immediate relief must be given to them to prevent a total disintegration of the Union, therefore be it

RESOLVED—That we, the membership of Carpenters' Local Union No. 2090, U. B. of C. & J. of A., assembled in special meeting on February 18, 1932, at 247 E. 84th Street, New York City, hereby go on record for the following:

- Proposals for an Agreement With the Employers**
1. Six-hour, five day week on the basis of \$1.65 per hour.
 2. Hiring of men to be done through the Union Employment Bureau.
 3. Recognition of the shop or job committee as the representative of the Union.
 4. Firing to be done only with the approval of said committee.
 5. No man shall work more than six hours a day.
 - (a) On overtime no man shall work more than 3 hours, which equals one day's pay.
 - (b) The above two points to apply unless no more men are available in the Employment Bureau.
 6. All overtime to be paid double.
 7. Only union work to be handled by union men.
 8. A guarantee bond to be deposited by the employers to insure compliance with the agreement.

Organizational and Relief Demands

1. Rotation of jobs.
2. In order to enforce the rotation of jobs, the Union shall establish an Employment Bureau for the whole district, the Bureau to be composed of rank and file committees elected from the locals.
3. Said Bureau to have a system of registration of all the members.
4. No man shall be permitted to work more hours than constitutes the union work-day.
5. On overtime no man shall be allowed to work more than half of the specified number of hours that constitutes the work-day, which equals a union day's pay.
6. Abolition of the right of the boss or foreman to hire and fire.
7. In order to fight the present speed-up system and other evils in the shops and on the jobs, shop and job committees to be elected instead of the present system of stewards appointed by the business-agents.
8. Firing to be done only with the consent of the shop or job committee, which shall be under the supervision of the Employment Bureau.
9. A one-year term for District Council Officers and Business Agents.
10. Referendum vote on agreements, election of District Council Officers, and District Council By-Laws and trade rules.
11. All officers and functionaries of our Union to be subjected to recall by a majority vote of the members.
12. Annulment of those small locals that cannot keep up themselves, and the reduction of the salaries of the officers to the union scale of wages of the carpenters in order to effect savings in expenses.
13. All unemployed members to be exempt from paying of dues, and the locals to be exempt from paying the per-capita taxes for their unemployed members.
14. To demand Federal Unemployment Insurance, and be it further

RESOLVED—That in case the employers do not accept the above proposals for the agreement, a strike shall be declared, and be it further

RESOLVED—That a copy of this resolution be sent to the District Council demanding immediate adoption and enforcement of same, and be it further

RESOLVED—That the above program be spread in all the locals in the District for their consideration and endorsement.

IN HONOR OF M. WINCHEWSKY

From workers of Minneapolis, we have received the following resolution in honor of the deceased Jewish poet, Morris Winchewsky. The resolution (addressed to Mrs. Morris Winchewsky and family) reads:

"We, the assembled in the Labor Lyceum at an open forum Sunday, March 20th, representing the I. W. O., the Independent Workmen's Circle, the Workmen's Circle express the deepest sympathy for the loss of your beloved husband, friend and fighter for the revolutionary struggle, Morris Winchewsky, and we pledge to continue his fight in the future.

(Signed by the Committee)

S. ZALMANOFF
M. KATES FINCK

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

For Communist Unity

An Open Letter of the Spanish Left Opposition

(Continued from last issue)

The revolutionary working class cannot do without this indispensable weapon in the revolution—the Communist party. The congress which has been called must be made a congress of the unification and organization of all the forces of Spanish Communism and not the bureaucratic force that the national and international leaders intend to make of it. In the light of events, it has been proved that the policy proposed by the Opposition is the only one capable of leading the party to victory. All sincere Communists will consider the unification of all the forces of Spanish Communism and the readmission of all the comrades expelled for their opposition views into the unified party, a prerequisite for any further action on part of the party. Such a unification can only take place through the convocation of a congress on the basis of a democratic discussion of all the problems regarding the labor movement and the Spanish revolution and on the basis of the submission of the minority to the majority and will thereby lay the ground for a mass Communist party which will be able to cope with the tasks imposed by the situation. The historic needs of the present hour demand this imperiously. In this sense, the Communist Left Opposition will not fail in its duty. It is confident that the Spanish Communist workers will be convinced that there are no more devoted friends for the party than the members of the Left Opposition. Furthermore, the Opposition has not retracted and will not retract its determined effort to cooperate in the forefront ranks, in the reconstruction of the party and in the application of a correct and coherent policy.

The meet that is to be held at Sevilla, is called a congress of the masses. It would be much more appropriate to call it a congress of the bureaucrats. Despite the deftness with which the stage

is being set for this meet, despite the participation of so-called non-party workers' delegations, the congress will remain for every conscientious militant a bureaucratic farce that will only impede real revolutionary criticism. After more than five years of the dictatorship of the Bullojos-Trilla clique, a national congress is being prepared in less than twenty days. This in itself is a sufficiently eloquent fact. What the congress needs is the genuine participation of all those elements who during each stage of the Spanish revolution have pointed out to the party the correct slogans to be employed. These elements are precisely those who constitute the Communist Left Opposition, that is to say, the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists", against whom the grave diggers of Spanish Communism are at present directing their batteries. There can be no genuine reorganization of the party except on the basis of a unification. The reorganization on the basis of the bureaucrats, without any real internal democracy, cannot in any way solve the urgent problems that come up each day before the Spanish proletariat. What is required is the readmission and the regroupment of all Communists, members of the party or comrades expelled for their views.

There are innumerable reasons why we cannot have any confidence in the good intentions of the International and the Spanish party in respect to the correction of the political mistakes and the internal regime prevailing at the present moment. But, it is especially interesting that within this document (of the C. I.) the greatest tolerance is shown toward the "organization of sympathizers", the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc, the most confusionist and dangerous tendency in the Spanish labor movement, while the most fanatical intransigence is manifested toward the Left Opposition, which is the only one to point out with precision the policy to be pursued, and which has denounced the democratic and petty bourgeois character of the Maurin faction. Nevertheless, the Opposition is ready to give its determined aid to the conscious and sincere militants active in the party, in the work of completing the reconstruction of a genuine party which will be up to the level of its tasks.

As a concession to the unrest stirred up in the ranks, the International, in agreement with the Spanish leadership, has conceived the "Open Letter", which is based on quite correct, but incomplete criticisms. But it is not too much to expect both leaderships to do all in their power to make a dead letter of this document, although this will only disrupt the course of the Spanish revolution. It is the duty of all revolutionary workers who have not been contaminated by the bureaucratic virus to coordinate all their activities with the view of carrying out the turn in practice, with all its consequences, in spite of the national and international leaderships. It is necessary to open up immediately a broad discussion all over the party organizations. But this discussion will not have any actual effect if it does not allow for the active participation of all the members of the Left Opposition, who were the first ones to indicate the mistakes and to explain what the correct policy was, that had to be pursued. The Opposition demands to be heard by all the Spanish Communists and to be allowed to work together with them in the elaboration of our common tasks, to take part in the preparation of the congress of unification and reorganization. Every congress that will take place without the participation of the Left Opposition will be a pure maneuver of a bureaucratic character and will only prove that the leadership of the party fears more than anything to have to face the points of view of the Opposition before the great tribunal of the Communist proletariat.

Communists!

Fight in your units, in your sections, for a party congress that will be a real congress of the unification of the forces of Spanish Communism and not a congress of intrigues which passes one hundred-percent unanimous resolutions.

Demand that all comrades expelled from the party for differences of opinion, be readmitted into the party and permitted to participate in the preliminary work.

Demand that no irresponsible bureaucrat or adventurer be allowed to speak in your units of "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism" without extending an invitation to the Oppositionists to present our point of view.

Fight to have the party congress called only by a committee composed of the representatives of all the tendencies in the Spanish Communist movement.

Do not allow the expulsions that are being prepared behind your backs by the leaders to be carried out before the congress.

We are among the first founders of the party, we have gone through all the persecutions with it and we have the right to be heard before we are condemned.

Long live the Unification and Reorganization Congress of the Spanish Communist Party!

Long live the Unified Mass Communist Party of Spain!

—The Executive Committee of the Spanish Communist Left Opposition.

Trotsky's Open Letter to the C. E. C. of the U. S. S. R.

(Continued from page 1)

not remember which one it is, in the numerical order, you were forced to transform into a decree, directed supposedly against thirty-seven persons, including outside of members of my family, over 30 people who were dragged in exclusively for the purpose of political masking. You included in this list leaders of Menshevism expelled from the Soviet Union with my direct participation over ten years ago. Apparently it seemed to Stalin that this was a masterly move. In actuality the yellow threads stick out only too obviously. Pretending that only in 1932 it became clear to you just what kind of work Dan and Abramovich do, you place the President of the C. E. C. in a very uncomfortable position. You yourself cannot help realizing this, but also in this question you are forced to submit to the Stalinist bureaucracy which works ever more rudely, not troubling about the dignity of the highest organs of the Soviet power.

It is too repulsive for me to dwell on other traits and marks of Stalin's fabricated list: In the intentional interchange of names for the purposes of additional "effect" it represents a document of the same moral level as the two above-mentioned forgeries which served as preparations for it.

A Thermidorian Trick

You can connect the Left Opposition with Menshevism only in the order of a police alphabet. In the political order, your Centrism stands between the Left Opposition and Menshevism. No artifices will change that. The decision of February 20 represents a finished amalgam in the Thermidorian style. Centrism, oscillating between Marxism and national reformism, is forced—it cannot be otherwise—to combine and amalgamate its petty bourgeois enemies from the Right and its revolutionary opponents from the Left, in order to cover up by means of such an amalgam, its own emptiness. I wish to remind you that the first advice concerning the expulsion of the Left Oppositionists from the country, was given in print to Stalin by none other than Ustrialov. Your decision will go down in history with the Thermidorian stigma.

Stalin will tell you that it is not a question of "isolated" facts but that the decision is based on the whole counter-revolutionary activity of myself and of my family, in general, which needs no proofs. If this is so why was it necessary to resort to false documents and to introduce elements of an unworthy masquerade into the decision itself? He cannot wriggle out of this. The fact that after nine years of uninterrupted baiting—do not forget that the beginning of the struggle against "Trotskyism" coincided with the death of Lenin—you had to resort to borrowings from the filthy sheets of Polish and German chauvinism in order to pass this exceptional law against me and my family to hide under an amalgam—this fact alone discloses and strips bare to the bone the impotence of all the campaigns against "Trotskyism" and irreparably compromises your last creative act.

An Expression of Impotence

From the point of view of personal revenge—and this element as you well know, enters into all of Stalin's combinations—the decree completely failed to reach its aim. This time Stalin thrust himself out too far from behind the stage and carelessly revealed his real political and moral size. If he forced you to issue—not without timid resistance, I know—this unworthy decree of ostracism, it was only because the profound correctness of the Left Opposition was revealed on all questions without exception, domestic as well as international, on which we waged a struggle all these years. The seemingly aggressive gesture of Stalin is impotent and even pitiful self-defence.

The Opposition fought against the Stalinist faction for industrialization, for planning, for higher tempos of economy, against the stake on the kulak, for collectivization. From the year 1923 on, the Opposition demanded the preparation of a five year plan and itself indicated its basic elements. All the economic successes of the Soviet Union were theoretically and partially organizationally, prepared by the Left Opposition. Your president Kalinin, who supported Stalin from the Right against the Left Opposition, knows more about it than any one else. Yet, in April 1927, Stalin, in the struggle against me, with the support of Molotov, Kalinin, Voroshilov and others, declared that "we need the Dnieprostroys as a mujik needs a phonograph." In this formula is contained a whole historic philosophy. For the struggle against it and for its defeat, Rakovsky is chained down to Barnaul, hundreds and thousands of unbending revolutionaries fill the places of detention and exile, several Bolshevik-Leninists are shot.

(To be continued)

—L. TROTSKY.

Dance and Entertainment

for the benefit of the Imprisoned Marine Workers—Soderberg, Trajer and Bunker
Now on Trial
Saturday evening, April 9th
at 84 East 10th Street
Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition) New York Branch

New Tendencies in French Politics

World Crisis Reveals Long Latent Contradictions Between Social Classes

Paris, March 9, 1932.

The parliamentary elections are approaching. They are especially important, as they will take place in a period in which the equilibrium established at Versailles is about to topple over, in which a decisive solution is imminent in Germany, in which French imperialism stands at a turning point of its development. When the crisis had already been raging in a good many other countries, France still appeared to be spared from it. The bourgeois press attributed this to the ancient "French virtues" of order, harmony, etc. The socialists followed in its footsteps. A disenchantment became necessary shortly afterwards. With a somewhat different rhythm and with a different amplitude, the crisis spread over France.

But, many of the causes which made possible the great resistance to the crisis will tomorrow become the causes of a tremendous aggravation of the situation. In the first place, there is the existence of quite large intermediate classes, despite the fact that the war made France a highly industrialized nation. These intermediate classes—the peasantry in particular—formed an important domestic market. The tariff walls, rising like in England; the efforts of other nations, like Germany, to develop their own agriculture; the fall in prices have considerably diminished the resistance of the domestic market. On the other hand, the intermediate classes, their eyes turned to their prosperous past, constitute a curbing factor. French industry, which works for the export trade, having certain advantages in the period of "prosperity" through the low wages, has not pushed rationalization as far as Germany has. Thus, with the general decline, French industry is not in a very advantageous position to preserve its place in the world market. The colonial empire, though it is important, does not by far offer any resources similar to

those of the British empire. Finally, the reserves of one of the greatest French industries, the tourist industry, which has declined enormously despite the existence of the Colonial Expedition, are no doubt going to diminish even more in the future, depriving French capitalism of millions of francs.

The defeat of Germany and the achievements of the Versailles Treaty gave France a political importance internationally, entirely out of proportion with its economic strength. The crisis is revealing this contradiction more and more every day, and the French bourgeoisie, so proud of its stability in the past, is uneasily expecting dark days in the future. That is, in part, the reason for its desperate struggle for the maintenance of the Versailles Treaty, which is a diplomatic instrument of its past supremacy, as well as for the preservation of its military strength. On the other hand, it is redoubling its offensive against wages and it intends, by inflation or by some other modification of its financial system, to increase its exploitation of the laboring masses and to expropriate the intermediate classes.

These are as yet only its intentions, for the elections have not taken place. Serving as a sort of barometer, they permit us to judge with more or less precision, the realignments of the classes, the general orientation of the toiling masses and of the proletariat in view of the situation. In so far as they present a factor in the class struggle, they should permit the Communist party, with a correct analysis of the existing tendencies and with correct perspectives, to employ a tactic which will hasten the development of the masses in the direction of the Communist solution. There is already, indisputably, a trend toward the Left. At present it is being exploited by the Radical and the socialist parties in a broad campaign "for peace, for disarmament" and touches those masses who are disquieted by the Laval-Tardieu policy that is "isolating" France from the rest of the world and who are anxious to cast off the heavy burden of taxes imposed upon them by the expenses of the monstrous military apparatus of French imperialism. Just to what degree this leftward trend will be transformed into ballots, depends largely upon the events of the movement. The result of the presidential elections in Germany will play its part in one sense or another. But the fact remains that in any case, the leftward trend of the masses will clash with the imperious needs of the French bourgeoisie. This opens up perspectives for great class struggles. The "left" parties and the socialist party will be unable to keep their promises to the proletariat and the intermediate classes. But only to that degree to which the Communist party will be able to reach the hesitating masses and gain their attention, find a bridge to them, will their development take the revolutionary road when the bankruptcy of the other parties will become manifest in the eyes of all. If this does not take place, they will be derailed and used as a mass support for the maneuvers of the worst brand of reaction, of Fascism itself.

Germany After the Elections

(Continued from page 1)

and of taking the fate of Germany into its hands, but of one in which they had to decide upon either Hindenburg or Hitler. The lack of ability on the part of the C. P. G. to conduct an extra-parliamentary struggle aided the S. P. G. leaders to reduce the struggle against Fascism to the parliamentary field, to pose the question as: "Hindenburg or Hitler?", to carry out their policy of the "lesser evil".

The National Socialists also achieved a tremendous success. All the theories of the C. E. C. of the party, to the effect that Fascism has reached its high point, were overthrown. The *Rote Fahne* of September 16, 1930 wrote that the Nazis had reached the culmination point of their rise with the Reichstag elections. The election results prove that they have been able to penetrate into strong proletarian districts. That Hitler was not elected President of the Reich does not at all change the fact that the Fascist danger has become even more prominent. It has been clearly proven that the "Red Referendum" strategy of the C. P. G. leadership with all its programs of national and social liberation and all their variations, its "adaptation" of the phraseology of the Nazis, etc., have not been able to halt Fascism.

Why were the results so unfavorable for the Communists? If the objective conditions are favorable, what is the explanation for the defeat of the C. P. G.? The political line of the party stands to blunt contradiction to the political needs. This is revenge for the Stalinist theory that "social democracy and Fascism are twins", that everybody outside of the Communist ranks is a "social Fascist". Its trade union policy has isolated the party completely among the organized workers. The disastrous trade union course of the Stalinists enabled the treacherous trade union leaders to lead the members of the unions into the Hindenburg-Front. The "united front" tactics of the Thaelmann leadership has created the prerequisites for the establishment of the "iron front". The results in Saxony, where there is no Centre strength and where the other parties in the Hindenburg-Front are mere splinters, prove that the social democratic workers there, who have always stood to the left, have followed the slogans of the leadership entirely. It has been proven once more that reality bluntly contradicts the reports of the *Rote Fahne*: There is not any disintegration within the S. P. G. and the reformist unions, but rather a complete execution of the slogans of these organizations by their followers. The results show how the workers react to the slogan of the C. P. G., that the S. P. G. is the main enemy now. For them, the main enemy now is Fascism. Only the policy of the Stalinist party leadership gave the treacherous S. P. G. and trade union leaders the opportunity to arouse illusions among the workers that Hindenburg will be a dam against Fascism.

(Continued in Next Issue)

SPARETACUS—Y. P. S. L. DEBATE

"Can the Program of the Socialist Party Emancipate the American Workers?" is the subject for debate between the Young Peoples Socialist League and the Spartacus Youth Club which will take place Friday, May 6, 8:00 P. M. at the Labor Temple, 14th St., and 2nd Ave.

Germany After the Elections

(Continued from page 1)

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The Seventh Convention of the C. P. F.

Where is the party in this situation? What is its orientation? The Seventh Convention of the French party is going to take place in a few days, after a lapse of three years since the last convention. It will be devoted to the policy of the "third period". The balance of this policy is completely negative: loss of membership, loss of influence, deep-going disorganization. Several months ago, on the occasion of a turn, the leadership admitted all this quite unambiguously in documents, of which *The Militant* has published important extracts. Now, at the time of the convention, nothing of the sort is allowed. This time, it is necessary to "shut their mouths". One huge thesis is the only document presented by the leadership for pre-convention discussion. The entire activity of the past period is skimmed over in less than twenty lines. "Self-criticism" is reduced to its most barren expression. As a perspective for the future, nothing is offered that is not contained in the last general theses of the C. I. A few scanty phrases are devoted to Germany, the word "Fascism" does not even get any mention in them. Discussion has been as restricted as possible. The press has published a few resolutions of approval and several articles by leaders... against the comrades in the sections who dared to think on their own hook. Articles have appeared in *L'Humanite* in which party members are denounced as enemies. In order to remain within the Stalinist line, the French party bureaucrats are shouting about the "Trotskyist" danger, accusing everyone who opposes them as a "Trotskyist". A real campaign of terror was inaugurated in the Parisian region, where discontent is particularly great and where whole sections are hostile to the leadership, although no clearly different policy has been put forward. The leadership published the names of the more daring comrades in the press. It demanded publicly that only members approving the party policy without any reservations be elected as delegates. Expulsions are being prepared.

The convention will constitute a victory for the apparatus and a defeat for the party in which the crisis can only

continue to develop. The policy that has been pursued, is that of the C. I. It has turned its back to the united front, it is opposed to trade union unity. In the question of the elections, the vanguard of the working class is divided under the cover of the formula "class against class", by maintaining systematically the party's candidate on the second ballot even if that is to the advantage of the candidate of the reactionary parties as against the candidate of the socialist party. This so-called tactic of "class against class" repels the socialist workers, strengthens their parliamentary illusions and serves the reformist apparatus of the bourgeoisie. The continuation of this policy—another can hardly be expected from the convention—will only keep on accumulating defeat after defeat.

Progress for the Left Opposition

Nevertheless, there are some germs of regeneration in this situation. We have mentioned above the discontent in the Parisian region of the party. The criticism expressed has often been confused, narrow, but in most cases it was not a reflection of opportunist tendencies, but of healthy proletarian sentiments. For the first time in years, non-oppositionist militants have pushed their criticisms as far as the leadership of the C. I. Thus, one unit speaks against the "policy of Stalin"; other comrades speak of the "responsibility of the C. I." Some comrades refuse to vote against the "Trotskyists" as counter-revolutionists in Sections 3 and 15 of the Parisian region; in Section 4, others declare that "it is not sufficient to tell us that they are counter-revolutionists. It must be proven first." We only cite a few facts among many which the party press itself is publishing.

But all these are only transitory manifestations, very feeble and very instable ones. But a great unrest is taking place in the party. These are voted on, but no one takes any stock in them. A great deal of attention is being paid to what is said about the party, especially to what the Opposition has to say. In the meetings that we hold in various places, in the party meetings in which we participate, we find an entirely different atmosphere from that of last year. There are still many fanatics, of course. But, the majority of those attending wants to listen; they follow our words attentively, party members take part in heated discussions with us. We have been able to extend our contacts, to establish contacts with many party members and to gain sympathizers. In the provinces, we have also made contacts and our influence has grown considerably.

The Ligue Communiste (Left Opposition) has not, unfortunately, as yet been able to transform this gain of influence in an organizational way. We are suffering first of all, from a shortcoming that the French party itself has been inflicted with: the extremely weak conceptions of organizational forms. Then, there are our internal difficulties: we have not as yet benefited from a test of great struggles, so as to be able to distinguish between the various tendencies in the organization. These are the obstacles in the way of an active crystallization of the germs of regeneration within the party. The Ligue is at work, striving to overcome these obstacles.

—PIERRE FRANK.

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Beginning with this issue, *The Militant* will print a series of extracts from comrade Trotsky's forthcoming book on Germany.

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Fifty Years of Israel Amter

The hard life of the revolutionist is not without its compensations. The fret and travail of the struggle and the gray details of daily work are relieved from time to time by ceremonial affairs and jubilees at which, in contemplation of great men and great events of the past, the militant may refresh his soul and renew his inspiration. The anniversaries of the illustrious dead have been such occasions. But nowadays, with so many heroes still among us in the flesh, the birthdays of our living chiefs become occasions for official celebration. Not long ago the masses were invited to felicitate Stalin on his fiftieth birthday. And now, according to the reports in the *Daily Worker*, Israel Amter is about to reach the half century mark, and a great outpouring of spontaneous enthusiasm is to be given outlet at an official "mass celebration" of his birthday.

It is needless to say that we welcome this event, for we were converted long ago to the doctrine of "flowers for the living"—that is, if one feels flowery about them. And who could feel otherwise about Amter, who has done so much and isn't finished yet? It is probable that we will not get to the celebration. But anyway we will weave a garland of encomiums in the hope that it will not be entirely buried under the floral offerings.

The ceremonial articles and official greetings which have been printed so far review his life and deeds. We will follow the same pattern. And if we fill in some neglected details, it can be attributed to the fact that we write under less constraint than the others and therefore can speak more freely and sincerely.

One hero began his career as a piano player, and they say he was a good one. But the tunes he extracted from that classic instrument were nothing to the rhythms he produced when he began to play didoes with the Communist movement. Like the jazz composers in the musical field, he specialized in the bizarre and the unique. His self-expression, through the medium of the revolutionary movement, took a distinctively individualistic form. In all that he said and did he was strictly Amter, and nobody else.

Amter made his debut on the national stage of the Party at the first undrained attention by his fearless and untraced attention by his fearless and uncompromising demands for the propaganda of "armed insurrection", to be promoted by leaflets hurled into the midst of the masses from ambush. Soon after he appears, or rather one of his leaflets appears, in the strike of the Brooklyn Transit workers for a wage increase of 50 an hour. With that mastery of the dialectic which already distinguished him, he "linked up" this "everyday demand" of the unsuspecting street car men, with the final goal of their struggle, and called on them to rise, arms in hand, and capture the power-house.

Falling in this maneuver, because of the unreadiness of the workers, and the fact that the "third period" has not yet arrived, Amter made a slight strategic retreat; but only for the purpose of gathering strength for another leap. Keeping his plans to himself, he took the capitalist forces by surprise with a sudden leaflet in the Spring of 1921 entitled "May Day of Revolution". Due to a hitch somewhere, this leaflet didn't overthrow the class regime, but it did overthrow the Central Committee of the Party at a convention a few weeks later. All the members of the C. E. C. swore they had had nothing to do with the leaflet and knew nothing about it, but this did not save them. Amter's propaganda had set a movement in motion that could not be appeased without some sacrifices, and the heads even of the innocent had to fall.

Amter next appeared as one of the co-authors of the famous "Ford-Dubner" thesis, and leader of the "goose caucus". In this thesis our hero, disguised from his enemies by the pseudonym of Ford, advanced the idea that the illegal existence of the Party was a matter of principle, and that the advocacy of a legal organization in itself, a sign of counter-revolution—a subject in which he later specialized and took several degrees. In this affair Amter suffered a temporary setback, due to the Trotskyist influence then prevailing in the Comintern. His thesis was rejected, the movement was legalized, and Amter, defeated but not terrified, went into a temporary eclipse.

It was at this stage in his career that he began to display that remarkable adaptability that enabled him to keep alive politically in any weather. Unlike the illegal "leftists" who kept muttering about armed insurrection after the season had passed, Amter got in step with the times. The Farmer-Labor period had arrived, the Paper-Lovestone group of leaders came to the front and took the place of the wild men of the "goose caucus". Amter was one of those who saw the light. He not only joined

the Lovestone faction but became vociferous about it. For several years, right up to the day that the Comintern telegram against Lovestone arrived, Amter was a Lovestoneite in all things great and small.

But even after these years of habitation to the Lovestone formulae and the Lovestone politics he did not become rigid and doctrinaire about it. He retained his flexibility, and finally gave an exhibition of it that will always stand in the history of the party as an example for people who want to know how to change their opinions and change them quick. This was on the day the C. I. cablegram against Lovestone came. He awoke on that fateful morning as loyal and as red-hot a Lovestoneite as you could find with a search warrant. And went through a few morning chores of cursing Fosterites in a routine fashion. At twelve o'clock he received a copy of the telegram to the effect that Lovestone was no longer "kosher". One hour later he was hunting for Lovestoneites to expel from the Party, and was as thick with Foster as one liberty bond with another.

A man with such a political biography could not be denied recognition. He has a fitting place in the top circle of the hierarchy. His fiftieth birthday is a public event and deserves a public demonstration of some kind. We disagree with the official plans only on one point. Why should it be a "mass celebration"? Why not a mass trial?

Impressions of a National Tour

The tour just completed, which carried the writer through the most important industrial cities in the United States and the two most important centers in Canada allowed for some first hand observations regarding the effects of the deep crisis in Canadian as well as American capitalism. It enables one to draw beyond the confines of New York City, and to see the movement in those industrial centers where the American proletariat dominates—in those sections where the existence of the revolutionary movement is imperative, for the future.

That which strikes one immediately is the extent of the economic crisis. Its terrific sweep over the nerve-centers of the country, carrying in its wake misery for the masses. Miles of sidings are occupied by huge numbers of idle freight cars; small industrial towns with factories are silent. Smokeless chimneys! The largest cities have few factories at work. Thousands upon thousands of unemployed workers make up a weary trek. There is hunger while warehouses are filled with food. The vast numbers of jobless proletarians are not confined to any one town, or state. They are everywhere. Discussions with many workers from various sections of the country exhibit their state of bewilderedness. They do not yet comprehend the causes of the vicious crisis. But they are aware that there is something seriously wrong with the character of the system.

There are few movements of the workers. Aside from the attempts of the Communists no movements of struggle exist. Those struggles taking place are under the leadership of the Communist Party. The movements of the unemployed workers are organized by them. But they are still very weak and in many cases ineffectual. Through the policies of the Party these movements have become narrow. They are sectarian and thereby isolated. The tactic of the United Front, the best weapon through which to rally scores of workers is cast aside by the Party and is one of the main reasons for their failure to make greater headway. The unemployed Councils organized by the Party are choked by the heavy arms of bureaucracy and impede their growth. Yet it is significant that the Communists alone have the courage and will to organize the workers in defense of their interests and in a struggle against capitalism. This is apparent everywhere.

Certainly there are attempts of the reformists to counter the activity of the Party. This is to be expected. Whenever and wherever the Communists are active the reformists rise as a wall to prevent their growth and to canalize these movements. Father Cox arose to check the activity of the Communist Party among the unemployed workers. Similar movements exist in other towns. The Socialist Party is conspicuous in the west by its inactivity, more so, by its reformist preachings and aims.

In the face of impending struggles the bourgeoisie is preparing itself. The revolutionary workers must note keenly the developments in Canada. There, the answer of the government to the growing moods of struggle among the workers, as a result of the deep crisis, is shown in the resurrection of the infamous Article 98 of the Criminal Code. It was through this law that six members of the Central Committee of the Canadian Communist Party were arrested and sentenced to long jail terms. We arrived in Canada immediately after the sentence was confirmed and the comrades sent to Kingston. In the Province of Ontario the revolutionary movement

TAG DAY FOR MARINE DEFENSE

The Marine Workers' Defense Committee is organizing a Tag Day collection to provide funds for the legal defense of the three New York marine workers now on trial. The collection will take place on Saturday, April 9 and 10. All organizations cooperating in the Marine Defense Committee are called on to provide collectors. The Communist League, Spartacus Youth Club members must turn out in force, according to the decisions of these organizations. All members report to comrade H. Stone at Militant Headquarters for station assignments.

APRIL "Young Spartacus" OUT!

The April issue of *Young Spartacus* which is now out on sale, has a number of very interesting articles of particular interest to the youth as well as to adult workers. The character of the present issue is such that its wide distribution among the ranks of Communists and radical youth would be very valuable. Readers of the *Militant* should order bundles of the *Young Spartacus* and distribute or sell them.

The table of contents of the current issue is as follows:

Auto Workers Murdered
Results of German Elections
Trotsky Deprived of Citizenship by Stalin
Students Barred from Kentucky
Capitalism and Child Labor
Students Organize National Movement
Scotsboro Boys Condemned to Death

ing their property for meetings under the threat of arrest and revocation of license. The publication of revolutionary literature barring literature from the mails (The Freiheit, Party literature, Opposition literature is barred from entry) Those receiving literature are liable to arrest. Anyone arrested on a single one of the charges in this article is guilty until proven innocent. Civil employees are instructed to assume the role of spies and to open any suspicious packages and to forthwith inform the authorities. The American Party which has thus far remained more or less silent about the developments in the Canadian movement must take cognizance of them immediately and understand their significance. It is necessary for our Canadian movement to organize itself with the aim of circumventing the drive against it.

The massacre at Detroit and the planned drive against the Communists there; the attack against the Party in Chicago accompanied by frame-up charges of shooting policemen are beginnings of a definite attempt by the government to bring repressions to bear upon the Communists and the workers generally. Already these events have had deep repercussions among the other workers who are repelled by the brutality of Ford's gunmen.

The Left Opposition is gaining greater support. Our meetings had a larger attendance than previously. There is a definite increase of sympathy and support for our movement. In spite of the efforts of the Party bureaucrats to prevent successful meetings they proved more or less ineffectual. (The meetings will be discussed concretely in a forthcoming article). The workers felt keenly our viewpoint on the German situation, and the discussions at our meetings were of a particularly high level. In many cities, the presence of Party members, and of sympathizers with its line, helped to enliven the meetings through their participation in the discussions. Each meeting brought forth new viewpoints and questions. They helped all the more in clarifying our viewpoint on all questions confronting the International Communist Movement.

There was an obvious increase of interest in our press. This must be said particularly of *Unser Kampf*. It has created a deep impression on wide sections of the Jewish workers. References were made to recent articles in the *Freiheit* articles of so low a character that they could be written only by people who have received their political training on the staff of the *Jewish Daily Forward*. The Jewish workers are particularly incensed with the degenerated babble about the "counter-revolutionary Trotsky".

On the whole we can record a wider influence of the Left Opposition. We must strive in the coming year to increase our organizational strength to correspond to our political influence. There is still too wide a discrepancy between the two.

What is outstanding in the whole situation? The lack of organization of the American workers. The Communist Party is still very small. The great mass of workers are unorganized. But the effects of this crisis are resulting in deep changes in the whole character of the American proletariat. Changes are taking place in their whole ideology. These changes, to be sure, are slow. But they are genuine. The great mass of unemployed workers are still in a dazed state. The workers with jobs are in

WHAT NEXT? -- by Leon Trotsky

Chapter 1: The Role of the German Social Democracy

(Continued from page 1)

of the Communists; and even so these mighty gentlemen beg me a functionary, to save them from the attack of another party comprising millions whose leaders may become my bosses tomorrow; things must be pretty bad for the gentlemen of the social democracy, pretty bad for the gentlemen of the social democracy, functionary, to think about my own hide." And as a result, the "loyal", "neutral" functionary who vacillated yesterday, re-insures himself without fail, i. e., ties up with the National Socialists, to safeguard his own future. In this manner the reformists who have outlived their own day, work for the Fascists along bureaucratic lines.

The social democracy, the hanger-on of the bourgeoisie, is doomed to wretched ideological parasitism. One moment it catches up ideas of bourgeois economists, and the next, it tries to utilize bits of Marxism. After citing from my pamphlet the reasons against the participation of the Communist party in Hitler's referendum, Hilferding concludes: "Truly, there is nothing to add to these lines in order to explain the tactics of the social democracy as regards the Bruening government." Remmele and Thalheimer step forward, "Please take note, Hilferding relies on Trotsky." A Fascist yellow sheet steps forward in turn, "Trotsky is paid for this job by the promise of a visa." Next a Stalinist journalist comes to the fore and wires the communication of a Fascist paper to Moscow. The editorial board of the "Izvestia", which includes the unfortunate Radek, prints the telegram. This chain deserves only to be mentioned and passed by.

Let us return to more serious questions. If Hitler can afford himself the luxury of fighting against Bruening, it is only because the bourgeois régime as a whole leans for its support on the back of that half of the working class which is led by Hilferding and Company. If the social democracy had not put through its policy of class betrayal, then Hitler, not to mention the fact that he would have never attained his present power, would have been clutching at Bruening's government as a life saving anchor. If the Communists together with the social democracy had overthrown Bruening, that would have been a fact of the greatest political significance. The consequence, in any case, would have risen over the heads of the leaders of the social democracy. Hilferding attempts to find justification for his betrayal in our criticism, which demands that the Communists take Hilferding's betrayal into account as an accomplished fact.

Although Hilferding has "nothing to add" to Trotsky's words, he nevertheless does add something: The correlation of forces, he says, is such that even in the event of the united action of social democratic and Communist workers, there would be no possibility "by forcing the fight, to overthrow the enemy and to seize power." In this remark, glossed over in passing without any evidence, lies the very crux of the question. According to Hilferding in Germany today, where the proletariat composes the majority of the population and the deciding productive force of society, the united front of the social democracy and the Communist party could not place the power in the hands of the proletariat! When is the precise moment, then, that the power can pass into the hands of the proletariat? Prior to the war there was the perspective of the automatic growth of capitalism, of the growth of the proletariat, and of the equal growth of the social democracy. This process was cut short by the war, and no power in the world will restore it. The decay of capitalism means that the question of power must be decided on the basis of the now existing productive forces. By prolonging the agony of the capitalist regime, the social democracy leads only to the further decline of economic culture, to the disorganization of the proletariat, to social gangrene. No other perspectives lie ahead; tomorrow will be worse than today; the day after tomorrow worse than tomorrow. But the leaders of the social democracy no longer dare to look into the future. Theirs are all the vices of the ruling class doomed to destruction; they are light-minded, their will is paralyzed, they are given to blubbing over events and hoping for miracles. Come to think of it, Tarnow's economic researches fulfill now the same function as did once the consoling revelations of a Rasputin.

The social democrats together with the Communists would not be able to seize power. There he stands, the snobbish, educated, (gebildet) petty bourgeois, an utter coward, soaked from head to foot with distrust and contempt for the masses. The social democracy and the Communist party together hold about 40 per cent of the votes, despite the fact that the betrayals of the social democracy and the mistakes of the C. P. drive millions into the camp of indifference and even National Socialism. Once a fact, the joint action of these two parties alone, by opening before the masses new perspectives, would incommensurably increase the strength of the proletariat. But let us limit ourselves to 40 per cent. Has Bruening perhaps more, or Hitler? But there are only these three groups that can rule Germany: the proletariat, the center party or the Fascists. But a notion is firmly implanted in the heads of the educated petty bourgeois: for the representatives of capital to rule, 20 per cent of the votes suffice, because the bourgeoisie, you see, has the banks, the trusts, the syndicates, the railroads. True, our educated petty bourgeois made ready to "socialize" all these twelve years ago. But enough is too much!

struggle tears away all the covers from the actual relation of forces. During a direct and immediate struggle for power, the proletariat, unless paralyzed by sabotage from within, by Austro-Marxism and by all other forms of betrayal, develops a force incommensurably superior to its parliamentary expression. Let us recall once again the invaluable lessons of history. Even after the Bolsheviks had seized power, and firmly seized it, they had less than one third of the votes in the Constituent Assembly; together with the Left S. R.'s—less than 40 per cent. Yet despite a fearful economic collapse, despite the war, despite the betrayal of the European, and first of all of the German, social democracy, despite the post-war reaction of weariness, despite the growth of Thermidorian tendencies, the first workers' government stands on its feet fourteen years. And what can be said of Germany? At the moment the social democratic worker together with the Communist arises to seize power, the task will be nine-tenths completed.

Nevertheless, says Hilferding, had the social democracy voted against Bruening's government and thereby overthrown it, the consequence would have been the coming of the Fascists to power. That is the way, perhaps, the matter may appear on a parliamentary plane; but the matter itself does not rest on a parliamentary plane. The social democracy could refuse to support Bruening only in the event that it decided to enter upon the road of revolutionary struggle. Either support Bruening, or fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. No third course is given. The social democracy, by voting against Bruening, would change at once the correlation of forces—not on the parliamentary chess board, whose chess-pieces might surprisingly enough be found underneath the table—but on the arena of the revolutionary struggle of the classes. After such an about-face, the forces of the working class would increase not twofold but tenfold, for in the class struggle, the moral factor holds by no means the last place, particularly during great historical upheavals. Under the impact of this moral force, the masses of the people, one stratum after another, would be charged to the point of highest intensity. The proletariat would say to itself with assurance, that it alone was called to give a different and a higher direction to the life of this great nation. Disintegration and decomposition in Hitler's army would set in before the decisive battles. Battles of course could not be avoided; but with a firm resolution to fight to victory, by attacking boldly, victory might be achieved infinitely more easily than the most extreme revolutionary optimist now imagines.

Only a trifle is lacking for this: the about-face of the social democracy, its taking the road of revolution. To hope for a voluntary shift on the part of the leaders after the experiences of 1914-1922 would be the most ludicrous of all illusions. But the majority of social democratic workers—that is something else again; they can make the turn, and they will make it—it is only necessary to help them. And this turn will be not only against the bourgeois government, but against the upper layers of their own party.

At this point, our Austro-Marxist, who has "nothing to add" to our words, will try once more to bring against us citations from our own books: didn't we write point blank that the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy represent a chain of errors; didn't we stigmatize the participation of the Communist party in the Hitler referendum? We did write, we did stigmatize. But we wage battle with the Stalinist leadership in the Comintern precisely because it is incapable of breaking up the social democracy, of tearing the masses from under its influence, of freeing the locomotive of history from its rusty chain-brake. By its convulsions, its mistakes, its bureaucratic ultimatum, the Stalinist bureaucracy preserves the social democracy, permits it again and again to regain its foothold.

The Communist party is a proletarian, anti-bourgeois party, even if erroneously. The social democracy, though composed of workers, is entirely a bourgeois party, which under "normal conditions" is led quite expertly from the point of view of bourgeois aims, but which is good for nothing at all under the conditions of a social crisis. The leaders of the social democracy are themselves forced to recognize, though unwillingly, the bourgeois character of the party. Referring to the crisis and the unemployment situation, Tarnow mouths moth-eaten phrases about the "disgrace of capitalist civilization", quite in the manner of a protestant minister preaching on the sinfulness of wealth; referring to socialism, Tarnow talks after the manner of this same minister when the latter preaches about rewards beyond the grave; but when it comes to concrete questions, he assumes another tone: "If on September 14th, this spectre (unemployment) had not hovered over the ballot box, this day would have been written differently into the pages of German history. (Report at the Leipzig Congress)." The social democracy lost votes and seats because capitalism, on account of the crisis, had revealed its authentic visage. The crisis did not strengthen the party of "socialism", on the contrary, it weakened it, just as it depressed the trade turn-over, the resources of banks, the self-assurance of Hoover and Ford, the profits of the Prince of Monaco, etc. Today, one is obliged to look, not in bourgeois papers, but in social democratic press for the most optimistic evaluations of the conjuncture. Can more undebatable proofs of the bourgeois character

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Trade Relations with the U.S.S.R.

The New York Times of March 19th carried a Duranty dispatch, reporting a front page headline in *Izvestia*, "Rumors about intention of the United States to recognize the Soviet Union." The rumors are based upon statements emanating from London reading about as follows:

"It is stated here that certain circles in Washington feel that recognition of Russia may establish an equilibrium of forces in the Far East." And then, if these rumors should be confirmed, the first step would be "the sending of a commission to Russia to discuss a trade agreement."

While this dispatch occupied a rather obscure place Walter Duranty is nevertheless known as one of those reporters who keeps his ear to the ground and is "wonderfully" well informed. It should not be understood in this case to mean actual possibilities of recognition. One need not put much credence in such rumors. But Duranty has proven his sagacity in representing the Stalin views as something entirely palatable to the capitalist interests and particularly to guard these interests in presenting the views. However, for the moment that is beside the point. Let us rather dwell for an instant upon the two questions of importance raised in the dispatch.

American Imperialist Aggression

1. The question of possible recognition to establish an equilibrium of forces in the Far East.

2. The question of steps following a possible recognition to discuss a trade agreement with the Soviet Union.

On the first proposition. Does the interest of the United States and of the Soviet Union in the Far East coincide, or even remotely suggest that sort of an equilibrium? Of course not. While both are opposed to Japanese aggression in China obviously it is because of entirely different reasons. The Soviet Union is opposed to Japanese imperialism because it is a threat to its borders, but primarily because it is opposed to all imperialist aggression. The Soviet Union is the opponent of further partitioning in China and a friend and supporter of the revolutionary awakening of the Chinese masses. This is not at all the case of the United States. As far as this most powerful and most reactionary imperialist power is concerned it has one main object in view in attempting to counterbalance the Japanese aggression in China; namely, to, as far as possible, reserve this field for its own ruthless advance to the exclusion of all others. It has its eye on a future Chinese market, in order to climb out of the crisis on the knuckles and bones of the Chinese workers.

It is with this aim in view that the United States endeavors to appear in the hypocritical role of the friend of China—as a "defender" of a defenseless nation. Once more it is attempting to extend its imperialist domain under the mask of being a champion of peace, while feverishly preparing its armed forces for war.

"With this enormous difference of policy in the Far East of the United States and of the Soviet Union, how much more hypocritical must sound the rumors of recognition as a means of an equilibrium of forces. It is therefore much more necessary to call out to the American workers, and to the American Communist in particular, not to fall into the trap set by the pacifist "defender" of defenseless nations. The official American Communist Party has been carrying on a campaign of demonstrations against Japanese imperialism aggression in China. Naturally Communists are opposed to, and should fight against, the Japanese partitioning of China and the suppression of her people. But above all American Communists must tear this deceptive pacifist mask of the American imperialist aggressor. It is well for us to remember that the most powerful and most reactionary imperialist enemy is at home.

The Question of Soviet Trade Relations

The second important question intimated in the Duranty dispatch is the one of trade relations with the Soviet Union. Undoubtedly there are powerful American capitalist groups who turn their eyes toward the vast market in the Workers Republic; the same as there are powerful groups struggling against any relations whatever. In regard to the latter, we need only recall the recent demand made by a group of members of Congress for an embargo on all products of the Soviet Union. But to discuss this question it is necessary first of all to discard also in this instance any belief of possible overtures for trade relations as "peaceful overtures" even though they may here also carry the cover of a hypocritical mask of pacifism.

With the crisis growing in intensity it can be expected that the American imperialist will look for markets everywhere. Capitalism has no scruples. It will trade with the devil himself but will try to cheat him as all robbers do. In turning their eyes toward the Russian market these gentlemen do not for one minute fail to keep in mind their simultaneous effort to break down, if possible, its proletarian regime; to forge an armed ring around its borders. But

this is precisely one more reason why the American workers should not only recognize their common interest with their brothers of the Soviet Union but in a most effective way fight for the protection of these common interests. The Soviet Union is compelled to rely on trade with the capitalist world. It needs credits in an increasing measure to continue to build its industries.

Demand U. S. Credits to the Soviet Union
American trade with the Soviet Union grew rapidly up until the end of 1930. From a figure, both export and import included, of \$5,998,000 in 1923, to \$138,785,000 in 1930. Due to lack of credits from the United States this figure dropped in 1931 to a total of \$116,800,000. It stands to reason that only an extension of credits will again increase this figure.

Undoubtedly the first step for American workers to take to counter any mask of recognition as a cover for imperialist designs is to increasingly voice the demand for extension of large scale credits to the Soviet Union. Recently the official Communist party has become compelled to accept the Left Opposition slogan for such credits. But so far only in halfhearted manner. It should be made a live slogan.

It could be made so if the party would set to work seriously and begin an active campaign. We could well conceive of the first steps being taken through the calling of conferences throughout the country of all workers organizations, specifically including the A. F. of L. unions, and to place the proposals before them to demand the extension of credits. With

OPEN FORUM

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The Socialist Party Convention and
Its Left Wing
Lecture by
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unemployment pressing ever heavier upon the American workers, the prospect of increasing trade would be welcomed by them. A prospect of increasing trade with the Soviet Union, of American factories producing in increasing quantities for the Soviet market and of goods being shipped to help build the industry controlled by the workers there would have double effect here. It would powerfully emphasize the community of interests of the workers in both countries. It would thus also lay a more effective basis for actual working class defense of the Soviet Union in the present situation of ever growing war preparations. The Party should not delay in taking this step.

—A. S.

Stool-pigeon Discredited at Marine Trial

The trial of the three marine workers "Plot", in process at General Sessions Court, reveals clearly the frame-up character of the case and its intent to break the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union. The prosecution is determined to embroil the union in alleged dynamite and bombing activities. It is for this purpose that it has propped up as its main witness a shady individual by the name of Hoyle, a stool-pigeon who says he was a member of the Union and who has "confessed" to all sorts of fantastic accusations launched by the District Attorney.

Just to get a picture of the kind of evidence and witnesses the prosecution relies upon, it is significant to review the cross examination of this stool-pigeon by the defense. On the stand Hoyle confessed to breaking padlocks on the powder houses of the Trap Rock Co. He posed as a shrewd detective, hunting down dangerous criminals, yet admit doing the lion's share of the work of procuring the dynamite himself.

Upon the question of the defense attorney: "Did you know you were stealing dynamite?" he answered: "When I found out (!) that I was stealing dynamite, I made up my mind to follow it and see where it went." This in itself is enough to stigmatize the stool-pigeon.

Question by the defense attorney: "When you found out that Soderberg was after dynamite, did you then decide to

mislead him?"
Answer: Yes.
Question: "Did you notify the police?"
Answer: "No."

It must be remembered that the prosecution is building up its case exclusively on the evidence of this man. Upon further cross examination it was discovered that this same Hoyle was known in the army as a notorious liar and unreliable individual. On the stand Hoyle time and again contradicted himself as to his concepts of morality, etc. He told stories about a ride for dynamite in which persons participated whom he is unable to identify and whom the prosecution has never bothered to produce. The entire evidence of the stool-pigeon bore an indisputably shady character.

On Tuesday, April 5, Thomas Bunker, one of the defendants, took the stand, declared the whole "confession" of Hoyle a lie from beginning to end. Bunker said that he had not been at the time of the arrest of a member of any organization, but that he was a revolutionist and adhered to the necessity of changing the present system of society. As we go to press, Bunker is still under cross examination. A full report of the proceedings and the outcome of the trial will appear in *The Militant* next week. In the meantime money is urgently needed for the defense and all workers are requested to hurry with their contributions. Care of the Marine Workers Defense Committee, 82 East 10th St., N. Y. C.

Open Letter to the C. E. C. of the U. S. S. R. -- by LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from last issue)

On the international arena, the situation was not much different. This Opposition fought in 1923 against the capitulationist policies of Brandler who was supported on the Right by Stalin; against the Stalinist theory of worker-peasant parties; against the confinement of Chinese Communism within the iron cage of the Kuo Min Tang; against the bloc of the Politburo with the clique of British strike-breakers; against the whole opportunistic, ruinous, shameful, thoroughly treacherous policy of Stalin, who for several years supported the stirrup of Chiang Kai-Shek and exchanged portraits with him on the very eve of the day when Chiang Kai-Shek instituted the blood-bath of Shanghai. You yourselves are sufficiently acquainted with the facts and know that there is not a shadow of exaggeration in my words. It is not for nothing that the history of the Chinese revolution became a prohibited book in the Soviet Union: each page of it burns the fingers of the Stalinist clique.

Wherein does our "counter-revolutionary" activity lie? Among the hundreds of present day Stalinist theoreticians (hired by the day or by the piece) who squirm like worms in the wounds of the world proletariat, there are not a few volunteers willing to change white into black, or into any other color of the rainbow. They will not change historic facts, however, nor shake the foundations of Marxism. The Left Opposition has the right to be proud of its struggle against the Stalinist faction in the U. S. S. R., in Germany, in China, in England, in all parts of the world reached by the hand of the opportunistic apparatus.

Knocking its forehead against the kukulak; deceived in its calculations on friend Chiang Kai-Shek; receiving in-

stead of gratitude, a kick from the British trade-unions, who were rescued by it, the Stalinist bureaucracy made in 1928, a whirlwind turn of 180 degrees over our heads, only to plunge into a monstrous economic and political adventurism, the accounts of which are still to be settled.

And again the Left Oppositionists—the true and only Bolshevik-Leninists in the ranks of the international proletariat—quickly and decisively came out against the bureaucratic adventurism that is armed with the resources of the workers' government. We warned against the irresponsible conversion of the five year plan into a four-year one. Our warning has been fully confirmed. The artificial race, not prepared either theoretically, or practically, not only made it impossible to solve this rather sporting than economic problem, but deepened a series of disproportions which are now, in a purely mechanical fashion, driven into the foundation of the second five year plan. The Opposition warned against the hazardous playing with "complete collectivization" and with the idea "of the liquidation of classes" within the period of the first five year plan. Now "complete collectivization" is halted and "the liquidation of classes" during two or three intermediate stages is transferred to the new five year plan. Also in this form the problem remains a bureaucratic utopia. As a result of forced collectivization and the violation of basic economic proportions, the extremely difficult food and the general material conditions of the working class, remain, unfortunately, a reality.

The working class of Russia has the right to be proud of the truly great technical achievements, accomplished within the last few years. These achievements became possible only after the pressure of realities forced the bureau-

cracy, after some delay, to make the platform of the Left Opposition, although in perverted and twisted form, the basis of its work. The political consciousness of the workers has risen to new heights. Now no historic force can compel them to renounce the foundations laid by the October revolution and the methods of planned economy verified in actual work. They will crush anyone who tries to drag them back towards bourgeois democracy and capitalism.

But the same workers realize more and more clearly which one of the political groups was the real initiator of planned socialist construction and which one introduced into the economic work, first bureaucratic obstruction, then—the adventurist race with extinguished lights. The workers want to direct economy themselves and not merely to execute plans which the Stalinist bureaucracy makes behind their backs with the cooperation of damagers from the right or from the left. The anxiety of the workers, their dissatisfaction, their as yet mute protests—all this follows the line of criticism of the Left Opposition.

The strengthening of the economic foundation of the dictatorship the numerical growth of the proletariat and the growth of its self-consciousness, lead not to the strengthening but to the weakening of the political position of the bureaucracy. Its ranks begin to scatter. A small minority holds on even more strongly to Stalin as to an anchor of safety. The others look about in search of reassurance. The Bezedovskys, Agabekovs, Dmitrievskys, perverted careerists, clever scoundrels, hundred-per-cent swindlers—how many of them are there in the apparatus—cast about for the nearest fence over which to make a jump into the camp of the class enemy. The honest elements of the apparatus—fortunately, they are a majority—listen to the voices from below, compare

the stages passed and the discarded slogans of the years 1923-26-28-30-32,—all these zigzags of bureaucratic blindness, and convince themselves with horror that the Stalinist "general line" is a myth, an illusion, a hazy shadow of the vacillations of the apparatus itself. Thus opens up the chapter of making the settlement for the revision of the basis of scientific socialism, for the brazen violation of the party.

The mistakes and crimes of the bureaucracy for the nine years have not passed unpunished. The Stalinist system is nearing a decisive crisis. The episode with the "half-Trotskyist" Yaroslavsky would have seemed absolutely impossible a year, or a year and a half ago, when I wrote of the first "crack in the apparatus". Now this episode does not astonish anyone, on the contrary, it is accepted as an unmistakable symptom of a deeper process. The Stalinist apparatus has ceased to be the Stalinist apparatus. It has become a system of contradictions and breaks. As the workers become ever more impatient with the bossing of the bureaucracy, the apparatus becomes ever more distrustful of the leadership of Stalin; the two processes are connected with each other. The more fiercely, therefore, is the crowded Stalinist faction forced to fight for the retention of its leading positions.

You started the struggle against "Trotskyism" under the flag of "the old Bolshevik Guard". To the false pretense, invented by yourselves, of a one-man leadership on the part of Trotsky, you counterposed "the collective leadership of the Leninist Central Committee". What has remained of the collective leadership and what has remained of the Leninist Central Committee? The apparatus independent of the working class and of the party prepared the dictator-

(Continued on page 2)

Miners Resist New Onslaught

Unification of Rebel Movements Urgent Duty of Revolutionary Party

The insurgent strike of the anthracite coal miners of Districts number 1 and 9 has collapsed. The men who came out are again back at work, with no gains made, browbeaten into submission by the unholy trinity of the coal operators, the U. M. W. officials and the Pennsylvania state police. Those who have been picked as the victims and blacklisted, as a punishment for the insurgency, remain locked out. The thousands of unemployed who joined in the movement are left to shift for themselves and face the continued misery of starvation.

This strike brought out all the deep seated discontent coupled with the sterling spirit of rebellion which is saturating the mine fields. But the conscious expression and conscious direction required to face the overwhelming odds was not yet at hand. The strike was entirely spontaneous in character, its program and objective not clearly defined and its leadership did not in the least rise above that level. Therefore, while the beating back of this insurgent movement, obviously records another working class defeat, it is nevertheless one of these defeats harboring lessons which can become a preparation for future success.

The leaders of this strike were not at all conscious Left wingers, not to speak of being revolutionists. But they found themselves in conflict with the degenerated, corrupt union bureaucrats, and pressed forward by a bureaucracy chafing under growing exploitation. In that sense they expressed the rebellion of the rank and file. How ruthlessly the capitalist owners of industry proceed to break down any resistance, incipient or consciously expressed, is testified to by the fact that five of these strike leaders, undoubtedly with many rank and file members suffering the same fate, were blacklisted and dismissed by the companies immediately upon the return to work. And, of course, in the trial for murder of the Harlan, Ky. strikers is yet more eloquent and more brutal testimony for those who may still have doubts.

Strikes Growing in Other Fields

Badly scattered and isolated within local fields as the miners struggle now are, and have been for quite a long time, their fighting spirit nevertheless remains undaunted. In this we have again a picture of what has been repeated so often before. While the anthracite insurgent strike suffered its set-back, new strikes are developing and growing elsewhere. In that part of the central competitive field embracing Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, and at a few other points, approximately 75,000 miners went on strike on April first. It has been characterized by operators and U. M. W. officials alike as a sort of a truce rather than a strike. In many respects that is true. The operators insist upon a drastic wage reduction. This the miners are dead set against and ready to fight against, so much so, that the officials have not as yet dared to enter into a wage cut agreement and are therefore hiding their

time, hoping for better prospects to remain true to their role of being capitalist agents in the workers' ranks.

The "truce" as could be expected remains only so long that it benefits the operators. In Indiana, for example, it has already, at the time of this writing, been broken. The operators have issued an ultimatum to the miners and are attempting to operate with strike breakers. It is backed up by the promise of the governor of the state to have troops in readiness. Once more this verifies our contention that the capitalist exploiters can always rely upon the service of the government and its armed forces against the workers; whether or not they strike in the name of their official union or through an insurgent movement.

Serious clashes have already resulted in Indiana and likewise in Ohio. Scabs have suffered in the determined picketing of the striking miners not even protected by the tear gas bombs used by sheriffs' forces. It is therefore clear that this situation may hold very serious tests in store both in regard to the actual power of resistance of the rank and file miners and their ability to circumvent the officials' slimy maneuvers to accommodate the operators.

Can the Isolated Movements Be United?

A look at the mine fields today proves how complete the disarray destructive has been of the break-up and partitioning of the United Mine Workers and its corrupt officials. It has long ago ceased to be a nationally fighting unit. But should it remain so? That is the most important question. When viewing the latest isolated and localized strikes much food for thought is available for those workers who are ready to do some

serious thinking. And it is to those that we particularly address ourselves. Over a period of more than a year the miners have developed serious resistance to the capitalist onslaughts. The militancy displayed parallels their history of the past. This was manifested alike in the Pennsylvania-Ohio strikes last year of the N. M. U., in the anthracite insurgent strike, in the West Virginia strike, led by the Mastette progressive and in the Kentucky miners strikes. It is developing in this present strike. All of them remained localized and isolated without any efforts to unite them into one movement. The official party leadership in its conduct of mine strike policy is not at all exempt from this castigation. And yet, in this lies the real problem which is becoming an ever more pressing one. For effective resistance against the operators and for a serious fight against their servile tools holding office in the U. M. W. the unification of these scattered movements developing from different directions but essentially striving toward the same objective is the first command.

What Should the National Miners Union Do?

What can so far be expected from the official party leadership is indicated in the recent National Miners Union convention. There is no trace of measures being taken toward this essential unification. It is reported that this convention was put through the gymnastics of the usual "searching self-criticism." It discovered again the many weaknesses of "underestimation" and "shortcomings" of the rank and file, of course (!!)—which it summed up in "insufficient con-

(Continued on page 3)

Hitler Scoffs at Threat to «Outlaw» Nazis

The press this week reports an intended ban of the National Socialist organizations on the basis of the documents seized during the raids on Nazi headquarters in Prussia, some three weeks ago. It is significant that the rumors emanate from the Prussian ministry of the interior and not from the federal government. All that is possibly true in these rumors is the fact that the social democratic workers are bringing pressure upon the socialist Severing who heads the Prussian ministry of the Interior. So far Severing has only resorted to strong phrases. The federal government remains non-committal and Severing will not by himself act without the consent of the Brüning administration.

The documents seized reveal, however, broadly and precisely outlined plans on part of the Nazis for the seizure of power.

"Among the instructions to local Nazi chiefs," says the *New York Times* report, "was a document calling for the names of the police, municipal officials, pastors, public school teachers, leading

Freemasons and prominent Jews. Other documents contained mobilization plans calling for data on airports, their crews and the number and type of planes. . . . What most sorely tried the patience of Herr Severing was the recurring reference in the confiscated documents to the equipment and personnel of the Prussian police and the location of their stores of arms and ammunition, as well as to the measures prescribed for safeguarding the railway service."

This is enough to indicate with what thoroughness and how seriously the Nazis are preparing for the seizure of power with the aid of army and police officials. To the news that these documents were published and that a ban against his organizations is being planned, Hitler has replied very briefly: "Bah! Piffle!"

Hitler knows very well that he has nothing to fear in so far as the interference of the bourgeois government is concerned. He knows that he already has important positions in the administration apparatus. What Hitler does fear is united action on part of the working class. He knows that a united front of the working class movement alone would strike fear into the hearts of his following. That is why he is proceeding so carefully.

Hitler's strategy at the present moment is concentrated on getting some measure of popular success with which to follow up for the morale of his heterogeneous group to a decisive blow. That is one of the reasons for his "legalistic" policy. He is hoping for a sort of parliamentary victory in the Prussian elections as the proper moment to strike. It is most likely that he will continue along this line until the elections to the Prussian Diet next month. This is the element of greatest value in the present social struggle in Germany. The Fascist leaders are well aware of this.

The official party has appreciably modified its position of "strategic retreat" before Fascism. To a great extent, this has taken place under the pressure of the criticism of the Left Opposition. A further change along the same line is absolutely necessary. The united front of all workers' organizations in the fight against Fascism is imperative. No time is to be lost. The enemy is at the gates of the German proletariat. Stalinist confusionism must be brushed aside, if the proletariat of Germany and with it, the working class of the entire world, is not to suffer a defeat, the disastrous consequences of which can hardly be calculated in advance.

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DANCING

Saturday Evening, April 9th, at 8 P. M.

at 84 East 10th Street.
Auspices: Communist League of America
(Opposition) New York branch

Open Letter to the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R.

(Continued from page 1)

ship of Stalin independent of the apparatus. Now to pledge loyalty to the "Leninist Central Committee" would mean the same as openly to raise the banner of rebellion. The only acceptable formula of loyalty is an oath to the name of Stalin. Orator, propagandist, journalist, theoretician, pedagogue, sportsman—must include in his speech, article, or lecture, the phrase of the infallibility of the policy of the Central Committee "under the leadership of Stalin" which means of the infallibility of Stalin riding astride the Central Committee. This means that every party member and Soviet employee, from the president of the Council of Peoples' Commissars to a modest provincial clerk, must give openly, before the whole country an oath to the effect that in case of disagreement between the Central Committee and Stalin, he, the undersigned, will support Stalin against the C. C. To this level are now practically reduced the by-laws of the party and the Soviet constitution.

This sort of thing is going further and further. The official anniversary article on the Red Army (February 23) states that the "Communist Party" with its Leninist Central Committee headed by comrade Stalin is the leader of all the armed forces of the Soviet Union. This means that the Red Army is called upon to be loyal to the Soviets of the working masses, to the proletariat and its vanguard as long as Stalin will remain "at the head" of the party. This means that on the day when the party will no longer desire this costly leadership, the Red Army will have to support Stalin against the party. There can be no other meaning in the oath to the name of Stalin. This is a new stage in a systematic, planned, persistent preparation of bonapartism. Re-read history!

When you started the struggle within the party under the name of the struggle against "Trotskyism", you formed within the official Politburo a secret Politburo, or "the seven"—against me. You had your secret meetings, your discipline secret from the party, your secret code for communications with agents of the conspiracy in the provinces. The baiting of Trotsky and of "Trotskyism" went parallel with the stifling of the party's independence; one and the other were equally necessary for the triumph of bureaucracy.

Now similar work, although in caricatured, bonapartist form, is being performed on a new historic stage. Doubtlessly the narrow faction of Stalin has its own secret staff, its slogans and pass-words its agents and its codes; the conspiracy against the apparatus is pushed full speed ahead, while the apparatus is still in conspiracy against the party. The despotism of Stalin undermined from below hastens to assume ever more finished forms from above.

The party threatens to intervene in the conflict which has started between Stalin and the apparatus. It must intervene, lest the class enemy intervene. To help the party intervene powerfully is the aim of the Left Opposition. Of this very thing Stalin is in mortal fear. He wants to strangle the party completely before he settles with the apparatus. That is why the XVIIIth party conference was treated to a new campaign against "Trotskyism". That is why this conference was transformed into a roll-call of those loyal to Stalin. And that is why it was necessary to complete the conference by your decision of February 20th. The meaning of this policy is, that each new blow at the party is inseparable from a blow to "Trotskyism". In this lies the strength of the Opposition. In this lies the doom of Stalin.

You long ago substituted for inner-party democracy, "self-criticism". In the beginning it meant that one may criticize any one outside of the Central Committee. Later it means that one may criticize only those whom the C. C. orders to be criticized. Now it means that one may criticize any one but Stalin and must bait any member of the C. C. who does not swear by the name of Stalin. Above the party, above the apparatus, above criticism—stands Stalin. The law of his infallibility takes on a retroactive character. The history of the party is rebuilt around the Stalinist infallibility as around a new axis. Any one who has not succeeded in re-arranging himself, inevitably falls under the knife.

It was found necessary to turn a revolutionary party which bases itself on a scientific doctrine and a great tradition into a temple where Kaganovich, in the role of high priest, burns incense to the idol of eternal perfection. All that is lacking to complete the system is that the dogma of the immaculate conception be added to the dogma of infallibility.

Can there be anything more malignant, more debased and shameful than the introduction of supermonarchical authority into the party of the proletariat. Perhaps you do not know where it leads to: Re-read history. The dogma of lifetime infallibility is the most unquestionable, the most shameful expression

of the fact that Stalin's management is in irreconcilable contradiction with the economic, political and cultural development of Soviet democracy, and what is no less important—with the historical problems of the world proletarian vanguard.

Just think of it, only after one decade and a half since the October revolution there stands at the head of the Comintern, Mannilsky. You know this person no less than I do. None of us over took him seriously. During all critical moments he vacillated, was confused and retreated; always and ever he sought a master. In 1918 he declared in print that Trotsky saved Bolshevism from national limitedness. In 1923, once more in print, he called Lenin and Trotsky the creators of the theory and practice of the Communist International. You will say that he was motivated by personal reasons? I will not dispute it. But in that case he miscalculated. "The three" gave Mannilsky an ultimatum: either to start a campaign against Rakovsky who was universally respected, or to be crushed. You know Mannilsky: he chose the first. And now, frightful to think: Mannilsky is the leader of the Comintern!

The strategy of Marx and Lenin, the historical experience of Bolshevism, the great lessons of 1917—everything is distorted, maimed, slandered. Yesterday's mistakes of the bureaucracy are not disclosed and not refuted, are transformed into an obligatory tradition and on each turn of the road serve as traps and pitfalls. The leadership of the Comintern has become an organized sabotage of the international proletarian revolution. Its crimes are countless. And now before your very eyes is being prepared the most terrible of them all.

The theory of social Fascism in which the ignorance of Stalin is coupled with the irresponsibility of Mannilsky has become a noose around the neck of the German proletariat. Under the whip of the Stalinist clique the miserable, confused, frightened, terrified C. C. of the German Communist Party helps with all its might—cannot but help—the leaders of the German social democracy to betray the German working class for crucifixion by Hitler.

And do you think that the forged scrap of paper of February 20th will stop the developments of Bolshevik criticism? Stop us from the fulfillment of our duty? Frighten our adherents? Already in not less than twenty countries there are cadres of Bolsheviks who by right feel themselves to be the continuators of the Marxian tradition, of the school of Lenin, of the commandments of the October revolution. You will not shut them up!

Of course, Stalin has not had his last practical say. The arsenal of his means is known; Lenin weighed them and characterized them. But these means can now suffice only for personal revenge. The blows at the old intransigent fighter Rakovsky, the shooting of the "traitor" Blumkin and his substitution by the real Stalinist Agabekoff, the shooting at Bolsheviks interned in the solitaires, the small, very modest but unnoticeable aid to class enemies against a revolutionary opponent—these are the Stalinist arsenal will yet suffice. But not more than for this!

You know Stalin no less than I do. Many of you, in conversations with me or with persons near to me, evaluated Stalin more than once and without illusions. The strength of Stalin was always, not in himself but in the apparatus; or in himself in so far as he remained the complete incorporation of bureaucratic automatism. Separated from the apparatus, counterposed to the apparatus—Stalin is but an empty space. The man who was yesterday (the symbol of bureaucratic power, will be tomorrow in the eyes of all the symbol of bureaucratic bankruptcy. It is time to do away with the Stalinist myth. It is necessary to entrust oneself to the working class and its real, not fake party.

Read again the resolutions of the plenums of the Central Committee for the years 1926 and 1927, read again the statements of the Opposition, you have a fuller set of documents than I have. And you will be convinced again that the whole evolution of the party, of the apparatus, of the Stalinist clique were foretold by us, all the milestones were indicated before. The decomposition of the Stalinist system accedes with the exact observance of the manner indicated by the Opposition. Do you want to follow this road further? But there is no road further. Stalin has brought you to an impasse. You cannot come out on the road without liquidating Stalinism. You must trust to the working class, give the proletarian vanguard the possibility, through free criticism from top to bottom, to review the whole Soviet system and pitilessly cleanse it of the accumulated rubbish. It is time, finally, to fulfill the last urgent advice of Lenin: to remove Stalin.

In the work of the regeneration of the party and of Soviet democracy the Left Opposition is ready to take a direct part at any time. It can be trusted. It represents a selection of revolutionists, wholeheartedly devoted to the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a priceless heaven for the crushed, torn party, undermined from the top by careerism and servility.

Great problems are again being placed by history on the order of the day: in the Far East and especially in the centre of Europe, in Germany. When measures of great policy are needed Stalin flinches with petty police measures. The Opposition will step over the decision of February 20th as a worker on the way to work steps over a mud puddle.

Bolshevik-Leninists, forward! Prinkipo, March 1, 1932

—L. TROTSKY.

Opposition Branch Formed In Newark

Several weeks ago a branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) was organized in Newark, N. J. The branch is rather small, having only six members at the present time, but there is a growing sentiment for the Left Opposition among the Party members and the Communist sympathizers. This fact was amply demonstrated the first lecture arranged by the branch on Sunday afternoon, March 27th, at the Workers' Home, 37-16th Ave. A crowd of forty men and women gave their closest attention to the lecture, delivered by comrade Basky on the World Situation, the Problems and Tasks of the Communist Movement. The speaker gave a historical sketch of the origins and development of the Left Opposition since 1923 up to the present time, counterposing the Marxian program of the Left Opposition to the opportunist policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

A large number of questions were answered by the speaker with such an effect that some of the Party sympathizers made a statement that they came to the meeting with a hostile feeling to the Opposition but their feelings were quite reversed. After the meeting some of them declared their intention of joining the branch.

The lecture was followed by a meeting of the branch and a program was decided upon for further activity including a systematic sale of *The Militant*, and literature of the Left Opposition, a series of open air meetings during the summer, arrangements for other indoor lectures. A still more elaborate program is contemplated by the branch for the fall season, including the organization of an open forum.

Free Speech in the Party?

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

The Daily Worker Readers' Forum conducted by the Communist party each Sunday afternoon deserves honorable mention in permitting a hitherto unprecedented step forward in the form of democratic discussion, since the expulsion of the Left Opposition more than three years ago.

Militant Drive Yields Results

It is possible now to say that the drive is yielding results. It is enough to compare last week's standing with this week's report to see what a leap forward the drive has taken. To enable everyone to make this comparison easily we give below both figures. The figure immediately following the city is last week's figure, the second figure is this week's:

New York, last week—17, this week—26; Minneapolis—5-16; Chicago—3-7; Boston—4-4; St. Louis—1-1; Newark 1-1; Philadelphia—1-1; Montreal—0-1; Miscellaneous—12-15.

The drive seems to be developing into a contest between the New York and Minneapolis branches. Our other branches should not permit them to make it a contest between themselves but should make strenuous efforts to overcome their lead.

They can take a leaf from our Minneapolis branch. Comrade Coover in reporting eleven subs, says: "Minneapolis is off to a start on the drive and the other branches are going to have to step on it from now on or take a rubbing and this goes for the New York branch as well as the others. The score at the close of March is as follows: (each \$1 for subs counts as one point; 50c as a 1-2 point, etc.) Team 1: Myles B. Dunne, Capt.—Fannie Barach—6 1-2 points; V. Dunne—6 points; Sam Lessin—2 1-2 points; Chester Johnson—21-2 points; total for Team 1 on March 31st—17 1-2 points; Team 2: William Curran, Capt.—Carl Cowl—4 points; Carl Skoglund—2 points; Sam Zalmanoff—2 points. O. Coover—1 point; Total for Team 2 on March 31st—9 1-2 points.

Myles Dunne's Team 1 evened the score with the captain of Team 2, Wm. Curran, when they introduced one of the Team 2 members to turn over to a member of Team 1 money collected for a sub; and then to add insult to injury they outdistanced us during the first month of the sub drive by 8 points. All the Team 2 members swear vengeance and some of our heavy hitters are going to do some battling during the month of April. So Team 1 had better watch their step. Up to April 1st the total points scored by the Minneapolis branch is 17. Watch out New York! We are after you."

This is the spirit, Minneapolis. New York is on its toes, hitting on all six. It's ready to take on all challenges. It retorts that it can't be in on that banquet to be given by the losing team at the close of the drive. It means to come out on top of the heap on June 1st.

Sub getters can take a tip from a subscriber from Wauhan, Minn., who in taking advantage of the combined rate of \$2. for a year's subscription to both *The Militant* and *Young Spartacus*, writes: "Times continue very hard out here but one must have *The Militant* and it is hard to pass up a bargain like the present one in the drive." A word to the wise is sufficient.

Another encouraging sign is the increased number of 25c subs for 8 issues. Almost any worker who is not totally unemployed can afford a quarter for eight issues, especially now when interest in Germany is so keen and we are running extracts from comrade Trotsky's latest work on Germany—"What Next?" This is, of course, as good an inducement

The question under discussion last week was that of the war danger. The point of view of the official party was expressed by Norman Bersnick. Comrade Avrin, of the Left Opposition took issue with the speaker stressing the danger to the revolutionary vanguard and the U. S. S. R. emanating from the threat of a Fascist Germany. Comrade Avrin was given the floor three times during the discussion to present the point of view of the Left Opposition before the 300 workers who attended the forum.

This is a step forward in the development of a basis for clarification in the ranks of the party members and sympathizers on the differences between the Stalin faction and the Left Opposition under comrade Trotsky. We hope this form of clarification becomes a part of general party policy, because it is only in this way, in viewing and discussing the differences openly before the party that real clarity and cohesion can be obtained and training provided for firm revolutionary fighters.

—S. A.

Trotsky Meeting in Duluth

DULUTH, MINN.

In spite of definite threats of a "broken head" if he speaks Friday on "Trotsky", comrade Sam Bloomberg, well-known party member and a figure in the Winnipeg General Strikes of 1919, addressed a mass meeting of over 150 attentive workers Friday night in Moose Temple on the "Truth About Trotsky", thus breaking through a ring of slander and intrigue maintained by the Stalinists against the Left Opposition for over two years since the occasion when comrade Shachtman last spoke here. The meeting marks a forward step for the Opposition in a city having a militant class-struggle tradition like Duluth.

It was originally scheduled to be held at Camel Hall. But since that hall is also rented on a monthly basis by the Stalinists, the management was pressed into refusing to allow the hall for a Trotsky meeting. As is to be expected, this bureaucratic attempt to suppress the meeting aroused determination on the part of the workers to hear the point of view of the Left Opposition, and, in spite of a blizzard, made our meeting successful. A few party members and a number of T. U. C. L., F. S. U., I. W.

O. and ex-Party members were present, in spite of the party decision to boycott the meeting.

Comrade O'Rourke, the chairman, who is an old Duluth militant, a R. R. engineer, opened the meeting and introduced comrade Bloomberg. In an hour and a quarter speech, marked by brilliant analysis and conviction, Bloomberg told the story of Trotsky and the Left Opposition, the alleged "differences" with Lenin from 1903 on, the theory of socialism in one country, the role of the Left Opposition in bringing the Communist movement back on the base of Marxism-Leninism. "For years I was prejudiced and poisoned against the Left Opposition by the Stalinist press. It took me two years of study and practical observation to convince me that Trotsky is right and that the hope of the international Communist movement rests in the success of the Left Opposition." Bloomberg's declaration was well received.

O'Rourke then introduced comrade Carl Cowl, the secretary of the Minneapolis branch of the Communist League, who spoke on "Why the Centrist Bureaucracy Defeated the Left Opposition". Citing the defeats of the proletariat in Bulgaria (1923), Germany (1923) Estonia (1924) Great Britain (1926) China (1927) and the stabilization of capitalism connected with these catastrophes, together with the weariness engendered in the Russian proletariat after the heroic straining of forces in the years of the revolution and civil war, Cowl explained the new confidence placed in the petty bourgeois strata of the city and village and in the bourgeois elements of the state bureaucracy who gained considerable strength on the basis of the N. E. P. The centrist apparatus, supporting itself on these elements and exploiting the passivity of the proletariat, crushed the Left, revolutionary wing of the Party and revised the principles of Marxism-Leninism. He depicted the lying and disloyal campaign used to poison the minds of the party members. It is necessary to combat their lies with the truth, their disloyalty by comradely methods, their irresponsibility before the working class by serious work. He called on every member of the audience to hear the other side of the question by reading and subscribing to *The Militant* and *Unser Kampf* and *Young Spartacus* and the pamphlets on specific problems before the world working class. Further, those workers who are in agreement with the principles and aims of the Left Opposition, should not hesitate, but should join our ranks and help our cause.

Comrade Carl Skoglund, member of the National Committee of the Communist League, then took the floor on the German elections and gave an analysis of the dangerous and compromising position the Stalinists were leading the German party into. He explained precisely what Fascism is and the stupidity of the slogan: After Fascism—the Workers Dictatorship, which betrays and disarms the German working class in the primary struggle against Fascism. He revealed the figures in the recent elections and exposed the false analysis of "victory" for the Communists who gained a few hundred thousand votes as compared to six million of the Fascists. The German question will not be solved in the elections or in parliament, he said, but in the class struggle, and finally by the united forces of the proletariat against the reaction.

The speakers were harassed with questions and discussion, a few Stalinists adding to the interest of the meeting by raising the old chestnuts about writing in the capitalist press, adding brazening and others, some of which actually brought laughter from the audience. There were some serious statements of support together with a recount of a number of incidents in Duluth illustrating wrong party tactics, leading to lack of confidence and disrespect and finally isolation from the workers.

After they are distributed and workers have had an opportunity to read and judge for themselves we must follow up with sales of current issues. In this way we can enlarge the readers of our press.

Sub getters should remember that the Opposition press consists of four organs. Where we cannot get a sub for *Militant* or *Young Spartacus* because a worker has difficulty in reading English we should try for a sub for *Unser Kampf*, or *Communism*, or the *Russian Bulletin* or *Communism*.

Now everybody into the drive! Get subs! Get renewals! Hunt up, dig out a newsstand, a bookstore! Order posters! Order and distribute back numbers! Sell current issues! Increase the circulation of the *Militant*! Make the subscription drive a success! Build the Opposition press!

MINNEAPOLIS WORKERS OPEN FORUM

Every Sunday at 3 P. M.
1530 East Franklin (at Bloomington)
Subject for Sunday, April 17th
"RESULTS OF THE GERMAN ELECTIONS"

Speaker: CARL COWL
QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION
Admission Free Everybody Welcome
Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition) Minneapolis Branch

CHICAGO WORKERS ATTENTION!

Open Forum
Sunday, April 17th at 3 P. M.
HUGO OEHLER speaking on
"The Results of the German Elections"
at Headquarter Hall,
1435 N. Western Ave.

\$10.50 worth of literature was sold, and there was a substantial collection. Three subs were gotten and two new members joined the League. Workers, after the meeting, expressed amazement that they could have been so deceived by the Party press and asked for more such meetings. With the present program of adventurism of the party continuing in force, there is every possibility of building a good branch in Duluth which will be able to help restore the confidence and support of the working class in Communism.

—C. C.

The Struggle Around the Volkszeitung

For some time now, a fierce struggle has been going for the control of the New York *Volkszeitung*, long established as a working class paper in the German language and at one time a Communist organ. In this struggle, it now appears, the yellow socialists are definitely gaining the upper hand. The editorship is in the hands of a "socialist" of doubtful repute, the policies are at one with those of the treacherous social democratic press in Germany.

The opposition to the socialists is offered by members of the former Lore organization, the "Verband Internationaler Arbeiter". There appear to be among this opposition not a few honest revolutionary workers who feel the disgrace that has fallen upon the *Volkszeitung* rather keenly. And yet it is precisely the obstinate centrist policy of Lore, the illusions be created about a middle road between Communism and social democracy that is most heavily responsible for this condition. The Left Opposition long ago exposed this deceptive policy and warned in time that it could only lead to abject surrender before the reformists. By cutting his revolutionary followers off from the current of Communism, by wiping out the fundamental and unbridgeable differences between the Communists and the reformists, by vacillating between the two in an attempt to exploit the "shortcomings" of each for centrist ends, Lore merely prepared the ground for the domination of the fakers.

This is a lesson worth while learning. The "logic" of the centrist position is here proven in practice. The honest, sincere workers in the *Volkszeitung* opposition will no doubt draw their conclusions from it. Theirs is the task now to find the road back to Communism. It is their first duty not to stop with the attack on the shameful pro-Hindenburg articles of the *Volkszeitung* but to view the implications of the entire German situation today and to make clear for themselves as to which of the Communist currents represents the true needs of the working class. In this, the Left Opposition is ready to give them all the aid at its disposal. It will follow the developments more closely in coming issues of *The Militant*.

Attention Y.C.L.-ers!

To a Member of the Y. C. L. in Brownsville:

We have received a letter from a member of the Young Communist League in Brooklyn, N. Y., which we are requested to print in the *Militant*. The content of the letter is a criticism of some of the activities of the Y. C. L. Although we have no objection to printing letters from readers of the *Militant*, nevertheless we cannot print letters without knowing the identity of the individual who has written the letter. We will of course upon the request of the writer withhold publication of the name, but in order to have a guarantee of the accuracy of the facts and the genuineness of the document we must be informed of the identity of the correspondent. Will the author of the above mentioned letter please communicate with us.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF THE MILITANT published weekly at New York, N. Y. for April 1, 1932.

State of New York ss

County of New York ss

Before me, a resident in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Arne Swaback, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of THE MILITANT and that the following is to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher: The Communist League of America (Opposition) New York, N. Y.
Editor: Max Shachtman
Managing Editor: Max Shachtman
Business Manager: Arne Swaback
Post Office Address: 84 East 10th St., New York City, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be given, and also the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

The Communist League of America (Opposition); 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.; Martin Abern, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.; James P. Cannon, 84

East 10th St., New York, N. Y.; Max Shachtman 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y. He stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names N. Y. Maurice Spector, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.; Arne Swaback, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the names of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

ARNE SWABACK, Business Manager
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of March 1932.

G. M. LORCH, Notary Public
(My commission expires March 30, 1933)

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Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swaback

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IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

German Opposition Shows the Way A Letter from Czechoslovakia

Communists of Bruchsal Apply Genuine Leninist United-Front Tactics

In the town of Bruchsal, the local group of the German Left Opposition is the only Communist organization. Free from the stranglehold of Stalinism and its disastrous policies, our Bruchsal comrades have been able to carry on the work of the Communist party on their own initiative. Equipped with the Leninist orientation of the International Left Opposition and intent on putting it into practice, the Bruchsal Oppositionists have succeeded in establishing a successful united front of all the local proletarian mass organizations in the fight against Fascism. On the basis of their correct policy and action, they have succeeded in increasing the ranks of Communism one hundred per cent within the last few weeks, gaining in membership and founding new groups of the Left Opposition in the immediate vicinity, raising Communist influence in the local working class into a factor to be reckoned with.

Our Bruchsal comrades are carrying on their struggle with all forces at their disposal. This is in itself important work. But even more important is the example they have shown for our German party as a whole: the example of actual Leninist mass work in the struggle for the defeat of the proletariat and the majority of Fascism. In the present social ferment in Germany, the work of the Bruchsal Oppositionists stands out as a light house illuminating the Bolshevik situation.

We bring below a report of the progress of the Bruchsal Left Opposition.—Ed.

The C. P. G. in Forst Joins the L. O.

Due to the influence of the Left Opposition, the local organization of the C. P. G. in the town of Forst has placed itself on the positions of the Left Opposition. As old comrades, the Communists of Forst have not been able to allow all that they have not previously learned from the C. P. G. to be egged counter-revolutionary. They have decided to fight side by side with the Left Opposition against the false course of the C. P. G., to defend the heritage of Lenin with us.

In view of the present political chaos, the comrades in Forst attempted to form the united front with the social democratic workers according to the Bruchsal example. Unfortunately, it has up to now only remained an attempt, because the S. P. G. workers have in the meantime received instructions from the S. P. G. bureaucracy to create the "iron front." For this reason, the S. P. G. functionaries in Forst informed us, the matter of the united front will have to be postponed until after the presidential elections. All this only shows how strong the hold of the bureaucracy on the social democratic workers still is. In spite of this, we will not rest, as sincere and convinced Communists, until we have opened the eyes of the very last social democratic worker to the criminal actions of his leaders.

How the Party Bureaucracy "Liquidates" the L. O. in Bruchsal
For several weeks, the party bureaucracy has attempted with all possible means to gain a foothold in Bruchsal, in order to smash the Opposition movement.

Miners

(Continued from page 1)

tact with the field." One may ask, "Where was the contact if not with the field?" This is about as far as the party leadership's attitude to the antithetic insubordinate strike. In that vital situation it could only find the insufficiency of the demand for "equalization of work." How futile is such analysis when one views the broad sweeps of the many almost simultaneous, isolated rebel movements which the party leadership could not see, or refused to see.

The convention adopted the slogan "face to the field." Essential as this is, it still leaves that main problem of unification entirely out of account. This is the real need of the movement for which the revolutionary party is first of all called upon to advance a solution.

The objective situation in the mine fields is ever more richly providing the material ready to hand. Would it not be a simple measure, entirely in accord with the duty of a revolutionary party, utilizing the National Miners Union as the medium, to approach the rebellious miners everywhere, through their local organizations, through their insurgent groups, to the rank and file direct as well as to their accepted leaders and to their imposed leaders, and seriously demand that in the common interests of all miners steps should be taken for a united front against the common enemy? Would that not be the most effective way to defeat the designs of the imposed leader, the corrupt office holders, as well as to clearly bring out the weakness and insufficiency of the timid and opportunist progressives? Would it not be called by the miners as a serious step toward establishing a new national unity of their ranks.

While the U. M. W. is broken up and scattered in a localized existence, it has not disappeared. A serious united front movement must also proceed by building a Left wing movement within it.

At first they tried to allow us to cooperate in the Red United Front organs. But when the Karlsruhe comrades of the Red United Front wanted to call upon the Bruchsal comrades to speak as reporters before the meetings of the unemployed, the bureaucracy put its foot down and forbade this. They are now attempting to approach the Bruchsal organization by means of the International Labor Defense. The Bruchsal comrades declared their readiness to build up a branch of the I. L. D., on condition that they receive a written guarantee that Opposition comrades will enjoy the same rights within it as all the other comrades. For better or worse, the party bureaucracy had to consent to this. Although we have declared ourselves prepared to begin this work, the bureaucracy does not as yet seem to be satisfied. It has sought out several comrades in Bruchsal to undertake the shameful labors of destroying the Bruchsal group of the Opposition. But what these comrades have done up to now has only turned to the discredit of the C. P. G. They only proved before the Bruchsal workers the correctness of the Left Opposition policy.

In a meeting of the unemployed in Bruchsal, to which these half-baked party comrades invited a speaker from Karlsruhe, these comrades made the proposal that a party comrade be allowed to speak besides the reporter of the Left Opposition, and demanded that their proposal be voted on. Through this stupid manner of action, they only got themselves an overwhelming defeat.

The meeting of the unemployed, with an attendance of 500 workers, decided against 3 votes, to reject the proposal. It is by such methods that the party attempts to win over the masses in Bruchsal.

In the Communist *Arbeiterzeitung* of February 4, they published an article in which they call the Bruchsal comrades renegades. We are also accused of glorifying the counter-revolutionary Trotsky and of still maintaining the anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist theory of Trotsky about the impossibility of building socialism in one country. We are, they say further, telling fairy tales when we insist that thousands of Opposition comrades are confined in jails in Russia and solitary, who have taken part in the Red October and that the Stalinist bureaucracy does not even shrink from shooting them. All these contentions are merely calumnies against the C. P. G. Another of our crimes consists in the establishment of a united front with the S. P. G. and trade union workers. This is enough to give a picture of the ideological swamp in which the party bureaucracy exists. The Bruchsal workers know very well who comrade Trotsky is and what he has contributed to the Russian revolution. We also know that Trotsky is right when he says that socialism cannot be built in one country. The workers of Bruchsal realize the difficult situation existing for Soviet Russia at the present through the Sino-Japanese conflict, after the Comintern leadership previously missed the revolutionary situation and left Russia an isolated country. Only the extension of the revolution on an international scale can liberate the world proletariat from capitalism, only in this manner can socialist construction be made secure and Soviet Russia defended against the threat of intervention. When the Stalinist bureaucrats characterize this theory as counter-revolutionary, then they only prove that they have thrown Marxism and Leninism overboard.

When these bureaucrats maintain that the Bruchsal comrades have committed a terrible crime by establishing the united front with the S. P. G. and trade union workers, then that only proves that they have left the road of Lenin, which is the only road by which we can escape the claws of capitalism. It is not the Left Oppositionists, but the bureaucrats of the C. P. G. who are the renegades. In closing, we want to call attention to the remarks of one Shafer, a recent convert from the social democracy, at one of the meetings of the bureaucracy arranged for him on his return from Soviet Russia. He said: When the C. P. G. comes into power, the Bruchsal comrades will be the first to be stood against the wall. All comment is superfluous.

The Lying Methods of the Stalinist Bureaucracy

When the Committee of Action consisting of the C. P. G. (Left Opposition), S. P. G. and factory representatives, called a mass meeting of the Bruchsal workers, in which comrade Paul Speck of the Left Opposition addressed the many trade union and S. P. G. workers who had come, the Bruchsal organ of the Centre (Bruen-)

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ing Party—the Bruchsaler Bote—wrote on November 9, 1931:

"The main speaker of the evening was the Communist alderman, Speck. He demanded united action on part of the S. P. G. and C. P. G. workers in a relentless struggle over the heads of the leaders, against emergency decrees, social reaction and Fascism. All power to the proletarians, he said, we must fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The Bruening paper concluded the article in the following manner: "This is a warning to the social democrats. The social democratic party has taken a dangerous position, for it is not excluded that the Communists will make the attempt to radicalize the moderate social democratic workers. The leaders of the S. P. G. will know what we mean by this."

The Communist *Arbeiterzeitung* of Feb. 4, 1932, on the other hand, wrote concerning a Communist meeting, in which the Left Opposition comrades of Bruchsal presented their point of view, the following:

"The C. P. G. is being slandered by the Bruchsal Trotskyists. They are not much better in this than the social Fascists. It is therefore not at all strange that these frenzied petty bourgeois have established a united front with the S. P. G. and trade union fakery for the alleged purpose of fighting Fascism. According to them that is the same wise Bolshevik tactic that Lenin applied at the time of the Kornilov putsch. That is a base distortion of history. The Bruchsal workers, who are still following these people, must realize the counter-revolutionary role of this S. P. G. agency. The workers must confine only in the C. P. G., the one revolutionary party."

The juxtaposition of both these articles shows very clearly what the correct Communist policy is. The Bruening people have realized the danger that they face in the united front tactic of the Communists. Therefore, their warning to the S. P. G. leaders and the warning of the radicalization of the S. P. G. followers by the Communists.

If this is a counter-revolutionary tactic—despite the fact that it has clashed upon the opposition of the social democratic *Volksfreund*—what can be said of a tactic, which in contrast to the former, has not succeeded in preventing the formation of the "iron front," which has led to loss of influence among the workers of the S. P. G. and the trade unions?

A BRUCHSAL COMRADE.

The shutting down of factories has assumed tremendous proportions, the number of unemployed has risen, according to the official statistics, to some 600,000, the figure for the past time workers is even higher. In the most important branches of industry the number of the unemployed amounts to about half the number of those employed. At this, only workers organized in trade unions receive unemployment subsidies according to the Czechoslovakian system of unemployment insurance, so that only about one sixth of the unemployed receive a subsidy from the state at present, while the rest are dependent upon the support of the communities and the population as a whole. Unemployment has been extended even to functionaries and intellectuals. Bankruptcies among small merchants and tradesmen are on

the order of the day, the numerous middle peasantry is going under.

The balance of the state budget is shattered and has necessitated a foreign loan, which entrenches the dependence upon French imperialism even more firmly. Chained to the Western robbers, not a natural island but a piece chopped off with the axe of the world war from among similar pieces, bourgeois Czechoslovakia can secure neither peace with its neighbors, nor work and bread inside the country. In vain, the Czech petty bourgeoisie bubbles over with enthusiasm for a Middle European union, which is to form the heart of a united, pan-European, bourgeois Europe and shine all over in the sign of Christ. In vain. For no matter how small the states involved are, the contradictions in the interests that separate the bourgeois rulers are all the greater and a peaceful unification of Middle Europe has as its pre-requisite the uprooting of the competitive interests of the textile manufacturers and hog raisers, of the grain merchants and heavy industrialists. But the root is precisely the private ownership of the means of production. The proletariat alone can serve as the axe.

Political Developments

If under all these circumstances in Czechoslovakia there nevertheless exists or rather—exists, a relative stability of the political regime, then this is to be explained not by the economic basis, but above all, by the conditions which permitted the Czech bourgeoisie to establish its state rule. It could realize its imperialist aims by exploiting the national revolutionary and petty bourgeois democratic illusions of the masses of the people. It had the good fortune, not only to have under its sway patriotic National Socialists and social democrats, but even a leader at the head of the Communist party like the opportunist of European format, Smolensky, who as late as 1923 defended the bourgeois democracy and the unity of the Czechoslovakian state against the oppressed nationalities. And when the advanced Czech workers had gathered sufficient experiences with their "democratic" and national bourgeoisie to crush this opportunism in the party, the leadership of the Comintern, which had in the meantime begun to sink into the morass of Stalinist centrism, hemmed the party which had proceeded in seriously purifying itself, in its development and cast it back into Smolensky opportunism.

Only thanks to this impurity within the party, could the Czech bourgeoisie escape from the most difficult situations without a serious struggle, since the party of the proletariat occupied itself with minor trade union struggles, without giving much thought to the questions of revolutionary strategy. In view of this impurity, the party remained impotent precisely at the moment at which the partial struggles grew into mass demonstrations (as in March 1928). When, later on, the adventurist course which had begun in February 1928 in the entire International, was imported into Czechoslovakia as well, it led to the big crash of the so-called Red Day. The impotence of the party policy was quite evident and spontaneous excitement seized the whole party leadership in order to save the face of the Comintern leadership, the Jilek leadership, which had obediently carried out the Moscow instructions, was sacrificed. The new leadership continued the policy of the Red Day and brought the adventurist policy to a high pitch in the leadership of strikes and by its trade union tactics, through which it facilitated the split of the red trade unions by the right wing opportunists and renegades.

By raving about immediate struggles for power precisely at the time when it was necessary to strengthen and to build up the positions of the party in the factories and the trade unions, the party leadership undermined its former positions and was in no condition to lead the dawning leftward movement of the working class along revolutionary channels.

With two half-hearted turns to the "right," the first in October 1930, by the reclamation of the struggle for partial demands and the second in the fall of 1931, by a fifty per cent change in the united front and trade union tactics, the party sought, with a certain amount of success, to overcome its isolation, but could not change anything in the basic false strategic line. In order to understand this, we must cast a brief glance on the political situation in Czechoslovakia.

Present Political Currents

For several years there has been ruling in Czechoslovakia a broad coalition of Czech national democrats (the party of the industrial and financial bourgeoisie), the Czech and German agrarian capitalists, the Czech clerical party, the National Socialists (who in contradistinction to Hitler's National Socialists are parliamentary democrats), the Czech and the German social democrats. The activities of this administration, in which there are six socialist ministers, are characterized above all, by the rise in the agrarian and industrial tariffs, the increase in the military budget, the decrease of the meagre social legislation, the suppression of the Communist press, the oppressive taxation against the tolling masses, especially the peasants in Slovakia and the Carpathians, and by shootings against defenseless workers,

even when they demonstrate merely for limited economic demands. The sharp procedure of the police and the gendarmerie appears to the workers to be all the more provocative, since the strike movements in the last few years have been, despite the official party reports, rather slight and have nowhere gone beyond the framework of local struggles.

In connection with the economic situation and the activities of the government, the voices of discontent among the reformist majority of the working class are constantly growing and find their expression in the meetings of the trade unions and the "socialist" parties. The economic successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, and especially the fact that unemployment over there appears to have been overcome, are driving the masses toward the Communist party and open up tremendous possibilities for agitation and action on the part of the party. But the centrist party leadership is still repelling these vacillating masses, but not merely restricting itself to attacks on the trade union leaders, by declaring its intentions of "exterminating" the trade union organizations themselves, without being able to substitute for them anything but the puny "Red Trade Unions" which carry on local and isolated strikes from time to time with great advertisements, the results of which are by no means an attraction for the working masses. On the other hand, it is attempting to arouse the workers by abstract enthusiasm for Soviet Russia and to cure their reformist and bourgeois democratic illusions by strong words like "social Fascism." All that is achieved by this is the isolation of the Communist workers from the masses, the repulsion of the dissatisfied workers into the arms of the trade union bureaucrats or under the influence of the Fascists.

The Policy of the Left Opposition

In contrast to these tactics, the Left Opposition raises the demands flowing from the direct needs of the workers and demands a common struggle of all workers' organizations and especially of the trade unions on this basis. Against the coalition policy of the bourgeoisie, it counter-poses the united struggle of the proletariat, to be led by democratically elected organs of the working class. In place of the phrases about social Fascism it offers a concrete explanation of the interconnection between the reformist party, parliamentarism and the economic domination of capital in general. Precisely by not restricting itself to exposing the fakeries of individual reformist leaders, as the Fascists and in imitation of them, the Stalin bureaucrats do, but rather by pointing out the basis of the capitalist system and by pointing to the road of the united struggle of the proletariat, the Left Opposition carries on the struggle against social democracy and Fascism in reality.

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Germany after the Presidential Elections

(Continued from last issue)

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The results of March 13 demand imperiously a complete turn on the part of the party, the complete renunciation of the present policy. Out with the theory of "socialism in one country," which is the root of all the evil in the policy of the Comintern and the C. P. G.! We must orientate ourselves toward the actual organization of the West European revolution. Out with the theory that the S. P. G. is the main enemy at present! That only leads to the conclusion that Fascism is the "Lesser Evil!" The wheel must be turned toward: the erection of the united front between C. P. G., S. P. G., S. L. P. G., trade unions and the other decisive proletarian mass organizations. The theory of social Fascism must be uprooted, the R. T. U. O. policy must be given up, mass work must be carried on in the trade unions. It will not do for us to command the working class, we must struggle for the sympathies of the workers who are still outside the ranks of Communism for it is precisely upon them that the decision rests.

The German workers must utilize whatever time is still left, to make all the necessary preparations for the coming battle, which will be an extra-parliamentary battle. Fascism is not yet defeated, it is still struggling for power.

In international bourgeois opinion, Czechoslovakia has always signified a protective wall of peace and order. It arose on the ebb of the social and national struggle of the Czech petty bourgeoisie and workers against the Habsburg monarchy, the Roman church and the German bourgeoisie and out of the necessity of the entente powers to plant a military base between the dangerous countries of their defeated enemies in the war, between Germany, Austria and Hungary, from which side there was the threat of revenge struggles and revolutions against the new imperialist balance of power. In this sense, the bourgeois designation is to a certain extent correct. And even when the powerful wave of the industrial crisis swept over America and Europe in 1929, it appeared to be repelled by the "island of peace and order." The Czech bourgeoisie, which incorporated with its industrial and agrarian territories, the backward field and forest economy of Slovakia and the Carpathians as a sort of a substitute for the Austro-Hungarian customs field that it lost, and which exploited the national hopes of the Czech masses in order to lower the standards of living below the average of the West and Middle European countries, basing itself upon French imperialism to raise its commodity and capital export, at first appeared to escape the general economic misery. But it was soon to be proven that the shrinking of the foreign markets, the rise of the competitive and customs struggles among the international groups of capitalists and the decline of the purchasing power of the impoverished peasant masses inside the country would not fail to leave their effects upon the main industrial and commercial sections of Czechoslovakia.

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EDITORIAL NOTES

SCOTTSBORO

The Scottsboro case reveals American capitalism in one of its most hideous aspects, and offers to the Communists an exceptional opportunity to deal the whole system a mighty, world-resounding blow. The deliberately-planned assassination of the unfortunate negro children is notice to the entire world that imperialist America, this pretended pacifist and friend of justice, is in fact a monster. The endeavor to thwart its bloody designs in the present case calls out the deepest and best human instincts. The words solidarity and justice acquire fresh values, they become new again in the struggle for the liberation of the helpless young negro boys who await their fate in the Alabama jail. It is hard to think of a cause that could appeal more strongly to the hearts of the workers and all the oppressed than that of these obscure and friendless symbols of a doubly persecuted race and class.

From the revolutionary standpoint, the struggle, of course, goes far beyond the immediate objectives of the court appeals. To save the lives of the intended victims and restore their liberty is indeed our aim; but the only hope of accomplishing this is to set a really immense movement into motion. And such an achievement could have great implications for the strengthening of the Communist influence over the workers and the Negro masses. All of this is bound up together with the concrete fight for the freedom of the prisoners. To separate the one from the other, as the liberal and socialist snivellers try to do, would only make the sacrifice of the prisoners doubly certain.

The problem consists primarily in the mobilization of the white workers for the fight. In our opinion it is incorrect to view the Scottsboro case as a "Negro issue"; it is wrong to direct the main agitation toward the negro people and concrete the organization work around them, including their churches and lodges. Such a tactic will not be able to arouse a movement of the necessary breadth and power. And, moreover, it will fail even to make the desired impression on the Negro people.

There is no doubt that the Negro masses burn with indignation at the Scottsboro outrage and suffer their own thousand-fold wrongs again in sympathy with the prisoners. But along with that they cannot help being conscious of their position as a hopeless racial minority. What they need to inspire them for struggle is the prospect, or at least the hope, of victory. Direct agitation alone will never suffice for this. The sight of a significant movement of white workers fighting on their side is the agitator that will really move the Negroes and make them accessible to the Communist organizers of that movement.

The central problem of the Scottsboro defense movement is the organization of

the white workers for the fight. Once a good start is made along this line, the enlistment of huge Negro contingents in the common struggle will be a comparatively simple matter. In this question, as in every important undertaking in the class struggle, the trade union movement exhibits its decisive importance. The trade unions ought to be alive at this moment with Communist agitation on the Scottsboro case. Here is an unexampled opportunity to explain to the organized workers the necessity of solidarity with their black brothers, and to dramatize the argument with the monstrous story of Scottsboro.

Assuming a Communist Party that knows how to work in the trade unions, a big response can be expected from this agitation. The sympathies of the organized workers can be quickly crystallized into a network of conferences. The movement of the unions in this direction will give a tremendous impetus to the propaganda among the Negroes; they will join in the movement with enthusiasm and hope. The concrete demonstrations of white and Negro solidarity, ominously foreshadowing their coming union in the revolution, will impress the judicial hirelings more than a thousand lawyers' briefs; will make them pause and weigh the possible consequences of their murders. The Communists, as the organizers and leaders of the unprecedented demonstration, as the loyal and capable champions of the most oppressed and persecuted, will gain an enormous prestige.

In such a perspective there is nothing fantastic. It assumes merely an active Communist party which understands the essence of the Negro question, which applies the tactic of the united front, and has not isolated itself from the trade union movement. Even in the present situation the deficiencies can be made up by a timely correction of policy. The best way to serve the Scottsboro case is to press for this.

WHY SO HOT?

We have been watching with considerable interest, and even with a little alarm, the steadily rising temperature of the editors of the *Workers' Age* about "the poison of chauvinism" which is seeping into the Party in their absence. If it is a real fever, and if it hangs on much longer and continues to get hotter, something is bound to happen, either to the patient or to the thermometer.

Of course, it may be an artificial temperature. We have heard of such cases. A few years ago a girl in the middle West baffled the doctors with what appeared to be a chronic fever, far higher in degree than the human system normally can withstand. Every time they took her temperature the thermometer registered 110 or over. In spite of that the patient appeared to remain hale and hearty and in good appetite, as everybody will admit is the case with the

burned-up Lovestonettes. The mystery was solved when the doctors caught the patient napping and discovered that her temperature had been induced by hot water bags concealed about her person. She was only fooling.

If the Right wingers are simulating delirium by some dodge of this nature, an extenuating circumstance must be acknowledged: It is not often that they have a chance to get excited about the opportunism of other people. And they naturally make the most of it. We now learn from the *Workers' Age* that the Stalinists' demand for the expulsion of the Japanese diplomats from America is chauvinistic, and that chauvinism in turn is "the crassest form of opportunism." This is precisely the way they characterized "Trotskyism" a few years ago. But, as the saying goes, every season has its vegetable, and we will not stop to quibble over definitions. The point now is that the Lovestonettes, viewing the present situation darkly, expect things to get worse and worse. Chauvinism, they say, "is being pumped into the veins of our Party, in ever greater quantities and in ever more virulent forms."

Are they really so disturbed? And if so, why? It is true that the slogan of the Party leaders is a false one, and it is likewise true that it contains the germ of a social-patriotic deviation. But the motivation of the slogan is far from outright chauvinism. As a matter of fact it is not inspired directly by the attitude of the Stalinists toward American imperialism, but by their mistaken conception of the defense of the Soviet Union, which they disconnect from its basic foundation of internationalism and international revolution. Under the tutelage and corrupting pressure of Stalin these ex-revolutionists and hired functionaries have replaced proletarian internationalism with the theory of socialism in one country. "Socialism" is to be built in the Soviet Union, and the mission of the Comintern is . . . to prevent intervention. The revolutionary workers in the other countries are assigned to the debasing role of pacifist frontier guards.

Motivated by these conceptions, the Stalinists of the American Party, imagining the chief danger to the Soviet Union at the moment to be an attack by Japan (and there also mistakenly), can think of nothing else but to concentrate their attack on Japanese imperialism. The conclusion is not without a certain logic. It is false because the theory from which it flows is false to the core.

But the Right wing were united with the Stalin Centerists in the manufacture of this counterfeited theory, and they still defend it no less ardently. National socialism is the foundation theory of Right wing politics. That is why their agitation against a slogan that derives from this theory sounds the more artificial as it increases in volume. This suggests the idea that they have a perfect control over their own fever. In this case an early return to normality on their part may be expected.

—J. P. C.

Book Review:

THE STRANGE CAREER OF MR. HOOVER—Under Two Flags
By John S. Hamill. Wm. Faro, Inc.
384 pages, \$3.75

This book is a forerunner of a series of books now published on the life of Hoover. In spite of its attempt at sensation throughout, the book has value in portraying the character of the individual who stands at the head of the American government. To the author the character of Hoover is responsible for the present crisis and the general difficulties confronting the economic life of the country. The individual is all-important and therein lies the explanation of everything—that is the explanation of Hamill. If someone else were president things would be different. With this approach we have nothing in common. We regard the individual as part of the system of capitalism and its politics. We are concerned with the way and wherefore of the choice of the capitalist party at the helm of the government. In this sense the book offers an excellent explanation. It shows Hoover in his true light—as the individual who is best suited to lead his class and follow the dictates of Wall Street. More than that it is a profound exhibit of Hoover's class ideology and his hatred for the working class.

The book begins with Hoover's orphanage and his boyhood life with his uncle, a real estate "shark," in Oregon. His uncle was in the business of selling real estate that never existed. The town where these lots were supposed to be, could not be found to this day, even by the official surveyors of the government. Hoover got his first training here. His uncle, a fraudulent land speculator was his first teacher.

At that time the Leland Stanford University was being organized and Hoover was dispatched there as a student. The records of the school show him to be an extremely poor student who could not master the rudiments of English. Here he studied geology, on the basis of which he later passed off as a mining engineer. But a school just organized could not afford to fail its students and Hoover was graduated notwithstanding his poor scholastic achievements.

The most important turning point in his life was his job with the Bewick Moring & Co. of London. This concern dealt in mine speculations. Hoover was hired not as a geologist but as "a claim jumper, a snooper and a spy." In a word he was to be a promoter for this company. His work consisted in going to Australia as their "mining engineer" to send in reports on the conditions of the gold mines owned and promoted by this dubious company, whose standing in London's financial circles was extremely low. There his task consisted of sending in glowing reports of gold to be mined. On the basis of his reports which were published, new stock was put on the market to be sold. When the public had been sufficiently duped, stock

sold for hundreds of thousands of dollars, Hoover's task then turned to that of sending in detrimental reports. The result of these reports would be a decline in the stock values of this or that company. The "insiders" knowing the outcome in advance, would sell out their stock and leave the "public holding the bag." Or the process was worked in the reverse. With a poor mine that would not yield repayment for initial work, Hoover was to send in reports showing that these mines would yield anywhere from twenty to hundred percent profit. Again stocks sold by the hundreds of thousands. The "insiders" were becoming rich—the public duped again and left "holding the bag." This was the manner in which Hoover served his apprenticeship with this company until he became one of its partners. He had proven himself.

The whole history of his work was that of manipulating stocks to the advantage of Moring, Stanley Rowe, himself and one or two others. Once a partner, Hoover began to show more interest in the work. In Australia he becomes known as a hater of labor. There he attempts to get the ban on Asiatic labor lifted in order to bring in cheap labor from the Orient with the object of destroying the then powerful Australian miners' union. On failing in this attempt, he begins a campaign "against the present high rates of working costs." In other words, lowering wages, increasing working hours, and refusing to make better the working conditions of the mines. The death rate among the miners grows at an alarming pace. He wrote at that time: "The disregard for human life permits mining by economy in timber and the aggrieved relatives are amply compensated by the regular payment of \$30 per man lost." And again, "Men were cheaper than timber."

The company expands. In China Hoover's object was exploiting and robbing the Chinese of their holdings. He participated in the steal of the Kaiping Coal mines, even to personally rob a safe to steal deeds covering the ownership of this rich mine. We find him in South Africa promoting fake mines and filching the small stockholders of Britain. The "promoter" together with his associates conceives of a daring plan. Why not hire coolie labor to work the mines in the Transvaal region. The big campaign begins. In China the workers are promised a virtual fairyland if they would agree to work in the Transvaal mines. The result: 200,000 Chinese were sold into slavery. Hoover's Chinese Engineering and Mining Co., Ltd. did the job. And why not? They received \$10 for each Chinaman secured and \$25 each for passage to South Africa on their own ships. From Johannesburg he wrote the following, describing this slave business as: "the great science of extracting the greatest possible amount of money from some other human being."

The war breaks out. Hoover discovers

another "business". Preying on the charity angle we see him now organizing the food relief to Belgium. This "job" consisted of buying huge food supplies, secured through the money raised by exploiting the sentiments of the people during the war, and then selling this food to Belgium at huge profits. It was easily done, since the head of the Belgian Relief was his business associate, Francqui, who assumed the role of the virtual dictator of Belgium in those days—the government having moved its capital to northern France upon the occupation of Belgium by the Germans. But it was precisely in those years that Belgium experienced the largest crops and during the first years of the war had more than sufficient food. Through arrangements with the Germans, the Belgium produce was to be sent to Germany, and the food Hoover supplied was to go to Belgium. Germany paid for its food to Belgium and Belgium paid for its food to Hoover. Between Francqui and himself the spoils were divided.

The rest of his career is well known. He returned to the States after twenty years' absence. He was made. Hoover becomes a "worker" for the government. He becomes a member of Harding's cabinet and participates in the infamous oil scandal. The myth of the "great engineer" is thrown at the people. He is elected president and in that capacity has more than once exhibited his intense hatred for the working class.

Hamill effectively destroys the myth of the "engineer" who was really a promoter and who in all the years of his business life helped in a grand steal that even made the ordinary business "ethics" blush with shame. The author points out a mining engineer must know chemistry, physics, mechanics, electricity, assaying, metallurgy—and of all these Hoover was totally ignorant. But he was suited for his job with Bewick, Moring & Co. He manipulated stocks, welched on his debts, was sued by China for his steal of the Kaiping Mines and through these years developed into the fit candidate of president.

He stands out today, built up by a great organizing campaign, as an able representative of the capitalists with an intense hatred of the working class. He is a typical representative of Wall Street who adorns the presidential chair with all the qualities needed for one whose job consists of leading his class against the workers. Selling Chinese workers into slavery, manipulating stocks, fraudulent mine promotions, sponging on charity and the sentiments of the people built up during a war period, making himself rich by intense exploitation of mine workers he has succeeded—from promoter to president; really not a strange career at all.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

HELP DEFEND THE KENTUCKY MINERS

The Harlan Kentucky miners are still on trial for their lives. They need your help. It can be given by collecting funds for their defense. Send all funds to General Defense Committee, 555 W. Lake St., Chicago, Ill.

DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM

by LEON TROTSKY

The XIth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. came to the decision that it was imperative to put an end to those erroneous views which originate in "the liberal interpretation of the contradictions between Fascism and bourgeois democracy and the outright Fascist forms" . . . The gist of this Stalinist philosophy is quite plain: from the Marxist denial of the *absolute* contradiction it deduces the *general* negation of the contradiction, even of the *relative* contradiction. This error is typical of vulgar radicalism. For if there be no contradiction *whatsoever* between democracy and Fascism,—even in the sphere of the *form* of the rule of the bourgeoisie,—then these two régimes obviously enough must be equivalent. Whence the conclusion social democracy=Fascism. For some reason, however, social democracy is dubbed *social* Fascism. And the meaning of the term "social" in this connection has been left unexplained to this very moment.*

Nevertheless, the nature of things does not change in accordance with the decisions of the E. C. C. I. plenums. A contradiction does exist between democracy and Fascism. It is not at all "absolute", or, putting it in the language of Marxism, it doesn't at all denote the rule of two irreconcilable classes. But it does denote different systems of the domination of one and the same class. These two systems: the one, parliamentary-democratic; the other, Fascist, derive their support from different combinations of the oppressed and exploited classes; and they unavoidably come to a sharp clash with each other.

The social democracy, which is today the chief representative of the parliamentary-bourgeois régime, derives its support from the workers. Fascism is supported by the petty bourgeoisie. The social democracy without the mass organizations of the workers can have no influence. Fascism cannot trench itself in power without annihilating the workers' organizations. The parliament is the main arena of the social democracy. The system of Fascism is based upon the destruction of parliamentarism. For the monopolistic bourgeoisie, the parliamentary and Fascist régimes represent only different vehicles of domination; it has recourse to one or the other, depending upon the historical conditions. But for both the social democracy and Fascism, the choice of one or the other vehicle has an independent significance, more than that, for them it is a question of political life or death.

At the moment that the "normal" police and military resources of the bourgeois dictatorship, together

with their parliamentary screens, no longer suffice to hold society in a state of equilibrium—the turn of the Fascist régime arrives. Through the Fascist agency, capitalism sets in motion the masses of the crazed petty bourgeoisie, and bands of the de-classed and demoralized lumpenproletariat; all the countless human beings whom finance capital itself has brought to desperation and frenzy. From Fascism the bourgeois demands a thorough job; once it has resorted to methods of civil war, it insists on having peace for a period of years. And the Fascist agency by utilizing the petty bourgeoisie as a battering ram, by overwhelming all obstacles in its path, does a thorough job. After Fascism is victorious, finance capital gathers into its hands, as in a vise of steel, directly and immediately, all the organs and institutions of sovereignty, the executive, administrative and educational powers of the state: the entire state apparatus together with the army, the municipalities, the universities, the schools, the press, the trade unions, and the co-operatives. When a state turns Fascist, it doesn't only mean that the forms and methods of government are changed in accordance with the patterns set by Mussolini—the changes in this sphere ultimately play a minor role—but it means, first of all for the most part, that the workers organizations are annihilated; that the proletariat is reduced to an amorphous state; and that a system of administration is created which penetrates deeply into the masses and which serves to frustrate the independent crystallization of the proletariat. Therein precisely is the gist of Fascism.

The above is not at all contradicted by the fact that, during a given period, between the democratic and the Fascist systems, a transitional régime is established, which combines the features of both: such, in general, is the law that governs the displacement of one social system by another, even though they are irreconcilably inimical to each other. There are periods during which the bourgeoisie leans upon both the social democracy and Fascism, that is, during which it simultaneously manipulates its electoral and terroristic agencies. Such, in a certain sense, was the government of Kerensky during the last months of its existence, when it leaned partly on the Soviets and at the same time conspired with Kornilov. Such is the government of Brüning as it dances on a tightrope between two irreconcilable camps, balancing itself with the emergency decrees instead of a pole. But such a condition of the state and of the administration is

temporary in character. It signals the transition period, during which the social democracy is on the verge of exhausting its mission, while, in that same period, neither Communism nor Fascism is ready as yet to seize power.

The Italian Communists, who have had to study the problems of Fascism for a long time, have protested time and again against the wide-spread abuse of these concepts. Formerly, at the VIth Congress of the Comintern, Ercoli was still formulating views on the question of Fascism which are now credited as "Trotskyist". Ercoli at that time defined Fascism as being the most thorough and uncompromising system of reaction, and he explained: "this administration supports itself not by the cruelty of its terroristic acts, not by murdering large numbers of workers and peasants, not by applying on a large scale varied methods of brutal torture, not by the severity of its law courts; but it depends upon the systematic annihilation of each and every form of the independent organization of the masses." In this Ercoli is absolutely correct: the gist of Fascism and its task consist in a complete suppression of all workers' organizations and in the prevention of their revival. In a developed capitalist society this goal cannot be achieved by police methods alone. There is only one method for it and that is by directly opposing the pressure of the proletariat—the moment it weakens—by the pressure of the desperate masses of the petty bourgeoisie. It is this particular system of capitalist reaction that has entered history under the name of Fascism.

"All questions as to the relation between Fascism and social democracy," wrote Ercoli, "belong to the same sphere (the irreconcilability of Fascism with the existence of workers' organizations). It is in this relation that Fascism clearly differentiates itself from all other reactionary régimes established hitherto in the contemporary capitalist world. It rejects all compromise with the social democracy; it persecutes it relentlessly; it deprives it of all legal means of existence; it forces it to emigrate."

So reads an article published in the leading organs of the Comintern! Subsequently, Manuilsky buzzed in Molotov's ear the great idea of "the third period". France, Germany and Poland were assigned to "the front rank of the revolutionary offensive." The seizure of power was proclaimed to be the immediate task. And since, in the face of the uprising of the proletariat, all parties, except the Communist, are counter-revolutionary, it was no longer necessary to distinguish between Fascism and social democracy. The theory of social Fascism was ordained. And the functionaries of the Comintern lost no time in re-aligning themselves. Ercoli made haste to prove that precious as truth was to him, Molotov was more precious, and he . . . wrote a report in defense of the theory of

social Fascism. "The Italian social democracy," he announced in February 1930, "turns Fascist with the greatest readiness." Alas, the functionaries of official Communism turn funkies even more readily.

As was to be expected, our criticism of the theory and application of "the third period" was decreed counter-revolutionary. Nevertheless, the cruel experiences that cost the proletarian vanguard dearly, forced an about face in this sphere also. "The third period" was pensioned off, and so was Molotov himself—from the Comintern. But the theory of social Fascism remained behind as the lone ripe fruit of the third period. No changes could take place here: only Molotov was tied up with the third period; but Stalin himself was enmeshed in social Fascism.

DIE ROTE FAHNE begins its researches into social Fascism with Stalin's words, "Fascism is the military organization of the bourgeoisie which leans upon the social democracy for active support. The social democracy, objectively speaking, is the moderate wing of Fascism." Objectively speaking, it is a habit with Stalin, when he attempts to generalize, to contradict the first phrase by the second and to conclude in the second what doesn't at all follow from the first. There is no debating that the bourgeoisie leans on the social democracy, and that Fascism is a military organization of the bourgeoisie; and this has been remarked upon a long time ago. The only conclusion which follows from this is that the social democracy as well as Fascism are the tools of the big bourgeoisie. How the social democracy becomes thereby also a "wing" of Fascism is incomprehensible. Equally profound is another observation by the same author: Fascism and social democracy are not enemies, they are twins. Now twins may be the bitterest enemies: while on the other hand allies need not be born necessarily on one and the same day and from identical parents. Stalin's constructions lack even formal logic, to say nothing of dialectics. Their strength lies in the fact that none dares challenge them.

(Continued in next issue)

—L. TROTSKY.

* Metaphysicians (people who do not reason dialectically) assign to one and the same abstraction two, three or more designations, often directly contradictory. "Democracy" in general and "Fascism" in general, so we are told, are in no way distinguished from one another. But in addition there must also exist in the world, on this account, "the dictatorship of workers and peasants" (for China, India, Spain). Proletarian dictatorship? No! Capitalist dictatorship, perhaps? No! What then? A democratic one! Somewhere in the universe, it appears, there exists a pure classless democracy. Yet according to the XIth plenum of the E. C. C. I., democracy differs in no wise from Fascism. That being so, wherein does "the democratic dictatorship" differ from . . . the Fascist dictatorship?

Only a person utterly naive will expect to get a serious and an honest answer to this fundamental question from the Stalinists: they'll let loose a few more choice epithets—and that's all. And meanwhile the fate of the revolutions in the Orient is tied up with this question.

WORKERS
OF THE
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UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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War and Social Chauvinism

Alarm Signals Against Jingoist Trends in the Communist Party

In the *Daily Worker* we read:
"In an article in *Izvestia*, Radek said:
"If challenged, the Soviet Union will have a right to seek temporary allies among the capitalist powers, which at the present stage do not infringe on her frontiers or interests."
"The article implied that the United States would be the natural ally of Japanese sentiment in America."

Russia under such circumstances and said that there was a growing "anti-Japanese" sentiment in America.
The *Daily Worker*, on its own account, adds in approval:
"Not rejecting any possibility, no matter how temporary and slight it can be, to utilize the contradictions existing between the imperialists for the purpose of strengthening the position of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples, in their class struggle, this proposal means a new step of the peace policy of the Soviet Union."

Stalin, *Izvestia*, Radek and the *Daily Worker* advance this reactionary anti-Communist idea in the name of Leninism.

In 1918 replying to the social patriots of Western Europe, in "What is a Peace Program?" Trotsky wrote:

"Social patriotism, which is in principle, if not always in fact, the execution of social reformism to the utmost extent and its adaptation to the imperialist epoch, proposes to us in the present world catastrophe to direct the policy of the proletariat in the direction of the 'lesser evil' by joining one of the two groups. We reject this method."

In March 1918, in his theses on Brest-Litovsk, Lenin wrote categorically:
"Our policy must be based, not on a choice between two imperialisms, but on the possibility of strengthening the socialist revolution, or at least, on the necessity of enabling it to offer resistance until the other countries join the revolutionary movement. . . . We have always fought our own imperialism, but the overthrow of the imperialism of one country by means of an alliance with the imperialism of another, is a line of action that we reject both on reasons of principle and because we consider it inadmissible."

There is the answer to Stalinist nationalism, made by Lenin and Trotsky fourteen years ago!—M. S.

The problems of war put all policies and groups to the highest test. The world war submitted the international social democracy to its severest test, and the result of the slow poison of opportunism which had been eating into it during the whole pre-war epoch was revealed in one illuminating flash. August 4, 1914 was not the beginning of the degeneration of the social democracy, it was the culminating point of a process of decay which had set in long before. The pre-war Left wing, whose revolutionary superiority lay in its mastery of Marxian analysis and foresight, traced the flow of social patriotic poison through the veins of the social democracy and sought to check it at every juncture.

The same task devolves upon the revolutionist today. It is all the more imperative for our Communist movement at the present moment for two reasons: 1. the theory of socialism in one country opens the veins of the Communist parties for the free infusion of nationalist poison; 2. the sharpening of the world imperialist conflict, which has already broken out in a miniature world war in China, is posing all political questions starkly.

That is why every Communist worker must raise a loud cry of warning against the treacherous proposals advanced in the leading editorial of the *Daily Worker* on April 12, 1932. The editorial, completely devoid of a breath of proletarian revolutionism, is one of the most disgraceful pieces of cynical flattery with chauvinism that has ever appeared in the Communist movement.

Let it be emphasized that we are not confronted here with some accidental "American aberration." The well of inspiration from which the proposals are drawn is the official mouthpiece of the Soviet government, the Moscow *Izvestia*. According to a sensational capitalist press dispatch which the *Daily Worker* reproduces as authentic, Radek, writing in *Izvestia* on April 10, declared: "If challenged, the Soviet Union will have a right to seek temporary allies among the capitalist powers which at the present stage do not infringe on her frontiers or interests. . . . Japan would be insane under such circumstances to create new fronts and arouse against herself a great country which at present stands aside in the struggle that is tearing the imperialist world to pieces."

The article has but one meaning, as is recognized by the capitalist press and the *Daily Worker*: The Soviet Union is warning Japan against overt hostile acts with the threat of an alliance with imperialist America. We may therefore assume that in the event of a war, the Soviet Union would enter into a "temporary alliance" with Wall Street and Washington for the purpose of defending its frontiers against a Japanese invasion and . . . of helping American imperialism in turn to replace the Japanese in the domination of the Pacific and the Orient. Such an alliance, presumably, is "also" in the interests of imperialist America, the country "which at present stands aside in the struggle."

Where is the "temporary alliance" or any other kind of alliance with the American working class, that is, with the only class in this and every other country that provides any guarantee against a successful attack upon the fortress of the proletariat? Where is even an "alliance" with the Chinese people who have a really revolutionary interest in crushing the Japanese imperialists? It does not exist in what the *Daily Worker*, with unconscious omniscience, calls a "new step in the consistent and decisive policy of the Soviet Union". That does exist is an unprecedented, reactionary, unprincipled, "diplomatic" proposal which splits right in the face of what Lenin

wrote expressly on the question of the impossibility for the Soviets to join hands with one imperialist power for the struggle against another.

But it is not entirely unprecedented. In 1923-24, Bucharin advanced the theory that since Germany, under the Versailles system, had become a "semi-colonial country", it was conceivable for the Soviet republic to make a military alliance with it against the Entente. Even this "modified" version was treated very coldly, and aroused the protest of the Bolshevik elements in the International. But at least Bucharin presented a certain "motivation" for his theory: Germany was a "semi-colony" fighting the imperialist powers; in allying itself with Germany, the Soviet republic would also be helping to "emancipate an oppressed nationality."

But who is to be emancipated in the newly proposed alliance? Is America to be liberated from the Japanese yoke?

Biased Judge Convicts Marine Workers

The three New York marine workers—Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer—who have been on trial for the past three weeks in the Court of General Sessions, were found guilty by the jury after five hours' deliberation on Monday, April 11. Sentence will be imposed on April 25th. The men were charged with a conspiracy to dynamite barges in the New York harbor in a struggle between the boat owners and the Boatmen's Union. The conviction carries with it a penalty of from twelve and one-half to twenty-five years in the penitentiary.

One of the chief factors in the result of the trial was the flagrant unfairness manifested by Judge Allen in his rulings. Throughout the trial and especially on all the important clashes between the prosecution and the defense attorneys, the bias of the judge came into play to help the prosecution. For all who were present in the court room, the trial, as it progressed from day to day, was a graphic illustration of class justice, and likewise of the fallacy that militant workers can get a fair trial in the courts of capitalism.

But in spite of that, the acquittal of the defendants seemed to be a certainty up until the very last day of the trial. The flimsy case of the prosecution had been hammered down, and its witnesses—consisting exclusively of policemen and stool pigeons—had been thoroughly discredited. Then the prosecuting attorney backed by Judge Allen executed one of the most outrageous and illegal moves that the history of the frame-up game has yet produced. Soderberg, one of the defendants, had testified the bestial tortures which the police had inflicted upon him at the time of his arrest, and showed to the jury the blood-stained shirt which he had worn at the time of the beating. This testimony, which supplemented that of the other defendants and of the worker Larry Murphy who had been under arrest and present at the time of the beatings, made a tremendous impression in the court room. The mute evidence of the blood-marked shirt spoke louder of all.

The shirt shown in evidence was light grey in color. The district attorney then immediately introduced the police photograph of the defendant taken on the day of the beating. This photo showed Soderberg wearing a white shirt on that day, and the district attorney then raised a big hue and cry and charged a deliberate attempt to introduce false evidence. At the next session of the trial, just before the case was to go to the jury, the attorneys for the defense, Peter L. F. Sabbatino and Jacob Fishman produced photographs experts who were prepared

OPEN FORUM

THE NEGRO QUESTION
AND THE
SCOTTSBORO CASE

Lecture by
JAMES P. CANNON

FRIDAY, APRIL 22, 1932

at the
Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue
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Lectures: New York Branch Communist
League of America (Opposition)

And if the war breaks out with a Soviet Russia-United States alliance in existence, what is to be the attitude of the revolutionary proletariat in this country? Logically, it should do everything to remove all obstacles standing in the way of the maintenance of the alliance. It should consequently refrain from disturbing the economic and political relations in the country so that the effectiveness of the American partner in the alliance is not diminished. It is, in a word, to renounce class war and embrace the policy of civil peace with its bourgeoisie. This was the Bucharinist conception, in essence, for Germany in 1923; no other meaning can be extracted from the proposal "unofficially" made in the Soviet government organ by Radek.

The *Daily Worker*, entirely consistent with the theory of socialism in one country, which means in practice the abandonment of every revolutionary principle in the alleged interests of defending the Soviet Union from military attack, picks up the Radek thread with all its implications elaborated upon even more shamelessly. Taking Radek's cue, the editorial writer proceeds to address himself to the American ruling class in order to show it that its best imperialist interests lie in a break with Japan and an alliance with the Soviets. Yesterday's blaring headlines which announced to the readers that the United States is behind the whole anti-Soviet move,

(Continued on page 3)

Crucial Moment Nearing in Germany!

Statement of the National Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition)

The run-off elections in Germany last Sunday revealed another substantial advance for Fascism and at the same time a considerable loss of ground for the Communist party and with it for the German workers. The results of the poll in the second ballot are a danger sign for the entire working class. Although the vote in itself is not decisive for the future of Germany—that must be settled, in the last analysis, outside of the parliamentary arena—the reflection it offers the line-up of the social forces is an alarming indication of the trend of events. If this trend is to continue, it can only mean one thing: a crushing defeat of the German workers in the decisive combats to come.

Hitler received 13,417,460 votes as against 11,389,285 on March 13. Thaelmann, the Presidential candidate of the Communist party, received 3,706,388 votes as against the 4,983,197 votes he received in the March elections. This constitutes a loss of 1,276,809 votes. Hindenburg increased his vote by more than 700,000 and Hitler by more than 2,000,000.

Hitler received an approximate percentage of 38.6 per cent of the total vote cast, compared with the 30.1 per cent that fell to his share in March. The Fascist gain in Berlin, in Red Berlin, amounted to 200,000 votes, while the Communist total dropped 112,000 from the figures of the first ballot. In other working class districts a similar situation is to be noted. These facts cannot and must not be overlooked. They tell the world in an altogether too clear language that the class enemy is making enormous strides forward at a time when the working class is continually gliding down from one dangerous position to another.

What Vote Indicates

The vote in itself is an indication that a good many workers voted for Hindenburg with the idea, as a last resort, to stave off the advance of Hitler. The inability of the official Communist party, with its absolutely disastrous policy of the "Red United Front"—which seeks to commit the workers in advance to accept its leadership—to rally the masses for a unified class front against Fascism, left broad layers of workers in despair. The vote for Hindenburg appeared to them to be a way out.

The responsibility of the social democratic traitors in this situation has already been established. It is only natural to expect the co-workers of Noske and Scheideman to create the illusion in the minds of their worker following that Hindenburg will stand up as a bulwark against Fascism. The slander of the Stalinist press that Trotsky and the Left Opposition concur in this and that we urged the workers to vote for Hindenburg is too despicable an invention to deserve any notice at all. The position of comrade Trotsky and of the Left Opposition as a whole is recorded in the pages of the periodicals of the International Left and all the attempts of the Stalinists to distort our position merely have the object of covering up their own criminal policies. It is these policies that are responsible for the terrible setback in the elections, it is these policies that endanger the very existence of the German working class.

The Communist party is the only genuine party of the working class. Its actions, its strategy, its tactics effect the very life of the class as a whole. It is in this sense that we must mercilessly stigmatize the present policy of the German Stalinists, with all the confusion it creates through the theory of social Fascism and all the isolation it has brought the revolutionary vanguard through the slogan of the "Red United Front" under the leadership of the Communist party—which poses before the workers a bureaucratic ultimatum instead of patiently striving to convince them of the correctness and inevitability of the Communist road—as a policy which can only prepare the defeat of the working class. The masses of German workers, alienated by this policy, have been driven by desperation to take refuge in illusions. This accounts for the loss in the Communist vote. The menace of Fascism, with the destruction of the last vestiges of labor organization that it brings with it, is staring them in the face. They feel that Fascism, above everything else, must be beaten off at all costs.

Growing Resentment of Workers

It can hardly be assumed that all the thousands of workers who have voted for Hindenburg see in him an actual dam against the ravages of Hitlerism. The experiences of the recent raids on the Hitlerite headquarters and the absolute refusal of the Hindenburg government to take drastic action against the provocations of the Nazis could not help but open their eyes to a great extent. The future actions of the government will only continue to enlighten the workers to the true character of the social democrats' new militarist hero. The moment the Communist party takes the step toward the creation of a genuine united front of all workers' organizations in the

fight against the Fascist danger, the social democratic workers will desert the Hindenburg Front en masse and recognize their class duty and the way to carry it out. Their present support for Hindenburg is not a firm support, it is a result of a sentiment of impotence. Only the Communist party, with a sincere class policy, can sweep away this feeling of impotence and make the working class aware of its tremendous strength.

The German bourgeoisie, pushed to the wall by the overbearing economic crisis, surrounded by a chain of hostile capitalist nations equally seized by the crisis, will take the only road that is open to it. That is, the attack all along the line against the working class. The Brüning emergency decrees are only a beginning. To gain success at the expense of the proletariat, the German bourgeoisie must strip it to the bone. For that it is necessary to make the workers defenseless, to rob them of the possibility of common action, to destroy all their forms of organization. That is the specific task of Fascism. That is why the bourgeoisie is not aggressive against the party of Hitler, against the party which rallies under its banner the hosts of the desperate petty bourgeoisie, the bloody reserve agency of capitalism.

The German workers will realize this more and more in the coming weeks and months. The Fascists, encouraged by their parliamentary successes, will grow more provocative, will move more rapidly toward the open seizure of power. The elections to the Prussian Diet on April 15 the advance toward the planned Nazi coup d'Etat. The more than 7,000,000 votes Hitler has polled in Prussia, the more than 800,000 votes he received in working class Berlin, the capital of Prussia, are alarm signals for the Communists.

Only a sweeping change in the self-destructive policy of the German Communist Party can save the German working class from crushing defeat. That alone can create the possibility for a successful repulsion of the class enemy. Such a change requires a sincere offer to all working class organizations, social democratic, trade union, cooperative, etc., to join in a united front of class action against the Fascist foe, in the factories, in the streets, in militant defense organizations. Such a united front of action will make it possible for the Communists to convince the working classes even in the few short weeks or months that remain, that the only way to resist Fascism is the way that leads directly to the proletarian dictatorship. It will enable the Communists to force the social democratic fakery, who may join the united front under the pressure of their following, to show up their true colors.

Already, under the pressure from their own rank and file, Severing, Breitscheid, Braun and company are forced to feign aggression against the Nazis, to speak sharply to the Brüning government to take steps for the disbanding of the Fascist organizations. But the words of the social democratic traitors will remain empty phrases as long as they succeed in keeping their followers from being confronted by Communist criticism at every step and stage, as long as they can succeed in isolating the masses behind them, from the clear-cut and inspiring proposals of the Communists. This treacherous conduct of the social democrats can be exposed and defeated this urge for decisive action on the part of their rank and file can be given a proper outlet only by the establishment of the real, broad, class united front.

The suicidal policy of Stalinism, the theory of social Fascism which alienates the social democratic workers, the slogan in the form of an ultimatum—the "Red United Front under the leadership of the Communist party"—which paralyzes the Communist vanguard—must immediately be cast aside. A united front of all proletarian organizations, which gives each tendency in the working class the opportunity to point out its solution before the workers, must be set up at once. The Communists must take the course of patiently explaining the inevitability of the revolutionary way out for the working class. They must fight for the support of the workers, not demand it of them with a haughty, bureaucratic command. It is not enough to call the social democratic demagogues by their name, it is necessary to defeat them, by exposure in the full view of the masses. It is not enough to claim to be the only party of the working class. It is necessary to prove it to the proletariat in action, in daily struggle with the other tendencies, so that every worker can judge for himself.

The decisive hour is drawing near. The working class has the power to stand the test. The Communists must make them conscious of this power. Victory is attainable if the working class is guided by correct policy. The Communist party is the key to the solution. The present policy of Stalin-Thaelmann presents the greatest danger and the greatest obstacle for the German working class, for world Communism. Communists of the entire world, raise your voice against it before it is too late. Demand that the Leninist policy of the International Left Federation be substituted for the policy of Stalin and Thaelmann. To guarantee this change of policy, demand that the Left Opposition be readmitted into the party!

—National Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition).

Foodworkers Roused Against Bureaucrats

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Some time ago, the Cooperatives in which the C. P. is in control closed their restaurants and stores, allegedly for alterations. Immediately thereafter, the management of the Cooperatives issued a leaflet to all its neighborhood patronizers, in which it announced a thoroughgoing reorganization of the stores and restaurants and promised "better, cleaner and cheaper service."

Last Saturday, the cooperative restaurant on Allerton Avenue reopened. It turned out that some forty workers were fired from the various enterprises controlled by the Cooperatives. The whole force protested against this action, especially in view of the fact that new men had been hired who were not members of the Food Workers Industrial Union.

A meeting was called at which Joseph Zack, of recent date high priest of the New York organization of the T. U. U. L. spoke for the leadership of the Food Workers Industrial Union, urging the workers present to take a "broader view" of the whole question, to consider the advantages for the moment in general if the reorganization was accepted. The workers present could not see things his way. They could not understand why a reorganization for the benefit of the whole movement must necessarily be brought about at the expense of many among them sacrificing their jobs. They could not understand how the abolition of union control in the Cooperatives would aid the movement. Many of those present spoke with passion and protested against the bureaucratic proceedings.

Zack answered with threats of expulsion from the union and warned them that they would meet with the "fate of Trotsky." This only served to stir the indignation of the workers even more. Many shook their fists at the T. U. U. C. representatives, but the latter felt himself protected by many of the newly hired people and continued with the decision to elect a committee for the purpose of appealing directly to the

T. U. U. L. center, to foster. With the committee elected, the meeting adjourned.

The foodworkers of the Cooperatives have expressed their determination to act as union men act against scabs. Many even began to discuss the prospect of picketing the cooperatives. The situation among them is tense. The sentiment against the bureaucracy is at a high pitch. In the Food Workers Union as a whole, this sentiment is quickly spreading, for there is talk that the camps controlled by the party are like-wise to undergo a "reorganization". The party bureaucrats are telling the workers to "mind their own business" and that they must have the interests of the movement as a whole at heart. The workers are countering the attitude of the bureaucrats with the cry: "Who built the union?" They do not want to forget the sacrifices, often bloody sacrifices, they made for their union. They feel that union conditions must begin within the enterprises under control of the party and the Communist movement. "How can we ask the bosses to recognize the union" many of them ask, "if our own workers organizations are not to recognize it?"

The final decision of the party and the leadership of the union is still pending. The incident in the cooperatives has showed up the bureaucracy in the Stalinized party and in the revolutionary organizations controlled by it as a full grown menace. It is merely an indication of how saturated the Communist movement is with this disease. The roots of this bureaucratic growth should be exposed. All Communist workers must turn their serious attention to them.

This disgraceful intention of the Stalinist bureaucracy must not be realized. The reaction of the foodworkers to it is a healthy reaction and deserves the support of all sincere Communists. It is high time for the party comrades to stay the hand of the bureaucrats. The outrageous action of Zack and company should be repudiated. A drive must be initiated against bureaucraticism all along the line.

ORGANIZATION NOTES

The ideas of the Left Opposition are making their way despite all obstacles. Our members are learning to swim against the stream and their persistent efforts are bringing substantial, if not spectacular, results. The manner in which the Minneapolis branch carries on its activities is a good example. It is one of our oldest branches which was organized at the inception of the Left Opposition in America.

The Minneapolis branch has certain advantages. Before coming to the support of the Left Opposition many of its members had been deeply rooted in the labor movement. This record affords them respect in the minds of the workers. It means also a degree of experienced leadership already established. Our membership there cannot easily be ignored by the trade union bureaucracy nor by the official party functionaries. The slanders of the latter have therefore also been less effective.

Comrades from Minneapolis have made several trips covering the approximate distance of 150 miles up the head of the lakes. Each time some small measure of progress was made. Now there are more direct results to show. As *The Militant* readers already know, comrade Bloomberg of Duluth became a convinced supporter of the Left Opposition. He set to work ably and energetically, organizing a public meeting and comrades Cowl and Skoglund from Minneapolis made another trip to Duluth to speak together with Bloomberg at the rousing meeting there. Our Minneapolis branch is now considering the project of sending an organizer to Duluth to follow up and build the movement there.

In the present circulation campaign the Minneapolis branch has attained excellent results. The manner in which it carries the campaign through it is about the best. The outstanding feature is the fact that the membership participates collectively, the new members and the younger comrades and the more experienced membership all taking part and scoring their points.

The branch has its weaknesses too. For example, it allowed itself to be too easily out-manuevered by the Stalin petty functionaries from direct participation in a Mooney Conference organized by them. But that only contributed subsequently to the complete stagnation of the Mooney movement in Minneapolis. Such out-manuevering is not likely to happen often. The fact that our members are deeply rooted in the labor movement makes their participation necessary. It has also made possible that they could be the driving force in many serious attempts of the organized workers to guard their interests more effectively. Our comrades played a leading role into local railroad workers' council, as well as in the movement in opposition to the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. The lesson in Minneapolis membership has learned quite well, that is to utilize every opportunity for propaganda for our views. The branch has thereby been able slowly and persistently to increase its membership.

NEWARK, N. J.—

In this city, as reported, we now have an active functioning branch. It is our youngest and its membership is not yet very large. It has, however, made an excellent start. First of all, it is beginning by sending in prompt remittance of all materials received and for literature distributed. And that is of quite serious account in the revolutionary movement today.

The Newark branch, immediately upon its formation, organized a public lecture at which comrade Louis Basky spoke. That was the beginning. The intention is to follow up with more lectures. Since then it has in a systematic and planned manner visited meetings of workers and of workers' organizations, well supplied with our literature. A regular sale of *The Militant* is being established. New subscribers have been turned in, and already a considerable amount of our pamphlets have been disposed of. The Newark branch has thus made a good beginning.

N. Y. ACTIVITIES

The past winter months have witnessed a substantial increase in practically all activities of the New York branch. The issuance of *Unser Kampf*, *Young Spartacus* and *Communists* drew a number of the comrades into real active work. Distribution of the papers has meant added burdens for the membership. In spite of that the younger comrades distributed their paper before many Y. C. I. units and other places. The Jewish comrades literally spread their paper far and wide. "Communists" created a stir among the Greek workers. Practically all outstanding news stands and meetings of Jewish workers have been covered.

The acquisition of the group of Greek workers, the formation of the Spartacus Youth Club and the *Unser Kampf* Arbeiter Club have attracted new and good elements to the branch. Most of these new comrades have already partaken of considerable activity and helped to some extent to relieve the weight of the whole

work from the comrades who bore it until now. With these additional members, the branch is already planning to increase the number of open air meetings over those held last year. Two years ago the branch was able to hold but one meeting per week. Last year we succeeded in holding two per week, and this year there will be an attempt to have three. Through this medium, much literature was disposed of last summer; expectations are for an increase this summer.

The weekly forums have been quite well attended, some weeks drawing a capacity crowd. The most successful single activity has been the class in "History of the Communist International", led by comrade Shachtman. While advertised as a class, it has in reality almost become a second weekly open forum, judging by the attendance. From thirty-five to fifty people have attended every session, giving rise to prospects for several classes next fall. The class in Marxism, conducted by comrade Swaback, entered into a thorough discussion of important works of Marx. Comrades of the class were drawn into a closer study of these works by acting as reporters, thus enlivening interest and argument. From the experiences with classes thus far, the N. Y. branch should be ready to start a "Workers' School" of its own, next fall.

The last week added another activity in the form of a special drive for the Marine Workers' Defense Committee. The pledge of the national organization for an additional \$100 has been met. Four open air defense meetings were held by the Youth Club and branch in the past two weeks, with from two to four dollars collected at each meeting; and interest and sympathy with the frame-up victims evidenced at each meeting. On Saturday and Sunday, April 9th and 10th general collections were held. The Spartacus Youth Club members soon found the technique of how to get something in the collection boxes and enthusiastically did their bit. Members are visiting unions and other workers' organizations and getting results—if not always from the leadership at least from the rank and file.

The main problem of the branch remains building up its contact with the Party and sympathizers around it.

Two Reformist Meets

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Two state conventions of rival reformist parties were held last week in the Twin Cities—the Socialist Party on April 28th at Labor Headquarters, Minneapolis, and the Farmer Labor Party on April 29th and 30th in the St. Paul Auditorium.

To give a brief political characterization of these assemblies, it can be said that aside from the difference in size and excitement, both have adopted on almost identical program of practical reforms with vague references to a new society.

The Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota is unique in American politics in being the only third party to elect a governor (Floyd B. Olson), state and congressional officials and a U. S. Senator (Shipstead). It is not surprising, therefore, that the St. Paul auditorium hall was jammed to the doors (about 1200) with a motley delegation of farmers, bankers, lawyers, labor officials and a sprinkling of rank and file members.

The Socialist Party state gathering of about 50 met in Labor Headquarters, Minneapolis. I say gathering advisedly, since it was not a delegated body, there being no functioning units in the state. All those who "consider themselves as socialists" were invited to attend the state "convention".

While the F. L. P. declared for a "new social system", the S. P. called for "the abolition of capitalism". The S. P. demand for "Unemployment Insurance, full cost to the boss", is countered by the F. L. P. "federal and state unemployment insurance . . . the industries, corporations . . . must bear the burden of this protection." The socialist proposals for a graduated income tax with emphasis on the rich takes the form in the F. L. P. platform of a "graduated, progressive income tax, the proceeds to be used to reduce the present tax burden of the farmer and small home owner." They both declare for the old-age pension and the shorter work day.

The only point of real difference in the two parties is the purely parliamentary one of national candidates. The Socialists endorsed Norman Thomas and Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee for the head

of their national ticket. The F. L. P. leaders apparently plan an election deal with the democrats behind Roosevelt in return for state support of the latter for the F. L. P. candidates. Therefore, when Slonin, late committeeman of the S. P. and delegate to the F. L. P. convention in an impassioned speech, threatened to withdraw from the body if the "fusion" measure passed, a storm of raillery opened up from the floor. The motion to leave the matter in the hands of the state executive committee finally passed. So the clique in control of this going concern is free to make any deal they care to.

In spite of all the ballyhoo of the liberals there is little indication of a national third party ticket. Julius J. Reiter of Rochester reported a conference of the "National Farmer Labor Party" held at Omaha in February. His heated argument for the endorsement of a third party presidential candidate, or at least, the nomination of F. L. P. presidential electors, fell on deaf ears. The prevailing sentiment, as expressed by numerous speakers, was that the capital of the Party was not to the detriment of the offices already achieved in Minnesota.

Although the S. P. convention elected a state executive, state secretary and state organizer, and some half-hearted speeches were made to stage an S. P. "comeback", there is nothing to indicate that it will not go back to sleep after the elections for another four years . . . at least in Minnesota. The putting up of a socialist ticket in the event of the F. L. P. endorsement of Roosevelt might give it a spurt of life—for the period of the campaign—but little more. I say this in view of the fact that in Minnesota the F. L. P. has completely usurped the functions of the S. P.—in fact, the latter is merely a loose faction of the former.

So much for the news. In next week's *Militant* the writer will attempt to present a political analysis and draw conclusions with regard to the role of the Communists and the Left Opposition.

—CARL COWL.

Movie Chains Try to Smash Union

NEW YORK N. Y.

Sign Writers' Local 230 in New York of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America is a typical A. F. of L. craft union. Its administration is a graft-ridden, business agent-executive board regime. The business agent receives about \$120 a week; the executive board members also receive salaries. A former business agent was expelled because of his open collusion with the bosses; he took money from them and winked at violations of union conditions like an owl which cannot see in the daytime. Such people have no interest in maintaining union wage scales and conditions. Their sole interest is in their weekly checks and in the graft they collect. The workers were aware of this but remained indifferent as long as work was steady. Now they are resentful but helpless and they do not as yet know what to do.

The local has about five hundred members. They are first, second, third, fourth and fifth year apprentices, helpers, mechanics and designers. For the privilege of being an apprentice a worker had to pay the union bureaucrats an initiation fee of from \$5 to \$50; a mechanic \$150; a helper \$500. The union controls about sixty small shops. The other four hundred shops are non-union. Many of the bosses of the union shops are members of the union.

The wage scale was as follows: for apprentices, from the first to fifth year: \$3.15 to \$11.50 a day; for helpers: \$10.50; designers: \$20.00. The helpers constitute a large majority of the workers in the trade.

Through one pretext or another this scale was undercut by the bosses without protest from the workers or the union. The workers did not protest because of the wage scale because sixty per cent of them were unemployed and those at work were working part time. They were afraid to say so.

IN THE CANADIAN MOVEMENT

The Turn in the Industrial Union

TORONTO, ONT.

Before beginning the discussion on the new turn in the industrial union policy it is worth while going back to spend a few minutes on its preceding history. While I am limiting my remarks to the Dressmaker local of the Toronto Needle Trades, it was this Union that was first organized and upon which the greatest hopes and possibilities were placed.

The organization of the Industrial Union closely approximated the defeat of the Left wing in the Amalgamated where for over a year the Lefts were in control. The formation of the Dressmaker local, met with good response. Several hundred workers immediately joined. Due mainly to lack of decision and leadership, the union soon began disintegrating.

A year or so later the union was again reorganized on a very much smaller basis. About this time or soon after third period trade union policies were introduced. Unions under reformist leadership became "company unions", strikes called by the reformists were branded as "fake stoppages in the interests of the bosses"—unity of the workers was limited in the slogan of join our union—boring from within the reformist unions was discarded for fear of activating them.

Disintegration and isolation continued and a year later the third period trade union policies were intensified with the addition of the slogan of unity with the workers in their shops, boycott of their organizations.

The strike called by the union had all the earmarks of adventure and failed. True to their colors, the reformists did their part, by sending their members to replace the strikers. The strike called by the International Union which the Industrial Union sabotaged also landed on the rocks.

The net profit of both strikes was that the workers are disgruntled and disillusioned, and ignored both unions despite the very bad conditions prevailing in the trade. Mass meetings called by the Industrial Union have dwindled down to hardly more than local meetings, while the attendance at local meetings is very small. The standing of the International is no better.

The delegates to the last congress of the R. I. U. returned with the crepe for the third period policies. Unions under reformist leadership are no longer company unions. Strikes called by the reformists are recognized as strikes that can be developed into real struggles over the heads of the leadership. Boring from within is again accepted. Even the united front from below now includes unity proposals made directly to the reformist unions.

Thus far the new turn would seem to indicate a partial return in the direction of real Communist policies. A real Communist turn on the part of the leadership demands open admission before the whole working class and the union of their previous false policies and premises on which they were built. The broadest discussion and lessons are to be drawn. Finally, the placing of the responsibility on the responsible parties, it is needless to remark that the centrists won't do this. For them it suffices to throw the blame vaguely on "certain local leaders."

What lies underneath this new turn?

I have no information to show that it is pressure from below. Certainly not from the Canadian Communists and Left wing forces. One might almost draw the conclusion that the leadership themselves have recognized the depth of the failure of their policies and isolation from the masses, have become frightened of the tomorrow when they will be called to account and are attempting to return to the only policy left open to them in the hope of forestalling their complete exposure.

To sum up. The beginning of a return by the centrists in the direction of a Leninist trade union policy will strengthen the position of the Left wing Communists in particular and the Left wing forces in general. Two indications point out also to the liquidation of third period tactics in the political field as well. The question is, will not the new turn have the tendency to disclose more fully the opportunism underlying the theory of "socialism in one country" and the false policies that flow from it in all fields of work? I think it will. Will not the Centrists bureaucracy become weaker and the Left Oppositionists stronger? I again reply in the affirmative.

—M. QUARTER.

Governmental Red Baiting

Uneasy lie the heads that prosecute Communists; this is the inference one takes with the issuance of a pamphlet by the attorney-general of Ontario, giving the judgment of the Supreme Court of Ontario stating the "reasons" and "justification" for declaring the Communist Party an illegal organization in Ontario.

The case has reached its final stage as far as legal process is concerned. The eight have been in jail for some weeks, and now Attorney-General Price has adopted a procedure, for the first time in juridical history in Canada, of issuing a public pamphlet, spreading propaganda to popularize the verdict.

Certain sections of the petty-bourgeoisie and liberals are uneasy over the suppressing of civil liberties, especially in Toronto, where even some religious organizations have felt the ban. The judgment gives legal sanction to this policy of suppression. The workers have not given the acclaim to the sentencing of Reds that the authorities expected. As comrade Cannon stated, the social conditions did not need the outlawing of the Party, and Bennett's adventure has raised certain sections of parliamentary circles, and even of his own party, against his dictatorial methods.

The undercurrent causes the reactionary press to print continuous editorials venomously denouncing those who even dare criticize Section 98, or the case, and at other times trying to pacify them into believing that outside of the Reds, those who keep within the law have the right of free speech. Of course, to keep within the law one has to keep his mouth shut. If there was no disquietude over the case why do they not let the matter drop, why do they find it necessary to keep formulating "public opinion"?

But it is to the working class that a final reckoning will have to be made. Marie Antoinette told the hungry to eat cake; Mayor Walker told them to eat ice cream, and now Attorney-General Price gives the working class—pamphlets.

—S. GREEN.

This was the situation when the wage agreement with the bosses expired on March 30th. The union proposed to the bosses a renewal of the wage scale. This was nothing but a gesture as the scale was not being enforced. To allow the unrest of the rank and file the union bureaucrats proposed in addition to the renewal of the wage scale that helpers be permitted to do part of the apprentices' work. This would enable the bosses to lay off some or all of their apprentices and increase the work of the helpers. It is the old A. F. of L. trick of playing off one section of workers against another. The union further proposed the introduction of split time at the "discretion of the union" and under the control of the union. The time cards of the workers were to be sent weekly to the union headquarters.

To this the bosses replied with proposals of their own. Of the sixty unionized shops some ten or fifteen do work for the moving picture chains: Loew, R. K. O.; Warner Bros., etc. These outfits would like to either employ non-union labor or union labor at open shop rates. Best of all they would like to smash the union. In the present situation they see their opportunity. They have taken the first step.

Upon their instigation the bosses rejected the terms of the union; they want the right to hire and lay-off and fire at will; they want to strike out from the agreement the clause requiring them to get the union's permission for overtime work.

This is important to the shops doing theatrical work. The chains always shoot only by overtime work. The chains propose a 25% wage cut. These terms would reduce the union to a meaningless shell.

The union bureaucrats would have accepted these terms were it not for the dissatisfaction of the rank and file which forced a strike. The strike is now taking place. Picketing is being organized. Acid was thrown on a sign at the Astor Theatre. Twenty shops have settled on the union's terms. But not the shops which get the moving picture chains' orders. They are holding out.

The attempt of the chains to smash the union is reflected in the struggle inside the union. The workers in the shops which get the chains' orders, who are a numerical minority in the union, are more steadily employed than the workers in the other union shops. With sixty per cent of the membership unemployed, this numerical minority almost alone carries the financial burden of the union on its back. It is more outspoken and hostile to the bureaucracy. But the bureaucracy always manages to out-vote it.

The rift between this minority and the bureaucrats supported by a majority of the membership came to a head with the expiration of the wage agreement and the exchange of terms. This theatrical show card minority anxious to continue working was opposed to the strike. It was and is willing to arbitrate with the idea of settling for a ten per cent wage cut. It has no interest in the strike.

It has called a secret meeting to discuss plans for the formation of a separate organization independent of local 230, and for a settlement on the basis of a ten per cent wage cut. This extremely short sighted policy will get these workers nowhere. If realized it will break the union, accomplish the aim of the chains and their own isolation, leaving them to the mercies of the powerful chains who will, of course, proceed to lower their living and working conditions even further through additional wage cuts, speed up and lay-offs.

In the ranks of the theatrical show card writers and in the union generally are several Left wing workers. These workers should immediately work out a program and present it to the union membership.

They must explain to the theatrical show card writers that they have embarked on a suicidal course both for themselves and the union as a whole. They must show their fellow workers that this is playing the game of the chains who alone will benefit from it. Against the split they must propose a fighting unity of the whole union against the chains and the bosses for concrete demands to be worked out by the membership.

To the union membership as a whole they must propose as an indispensable prerequisite for the fight against chains a fight against the bureaucracy in the union and its scheme of setting off one section of the workers against another. Instead of split time they must propose the wholly practicable slogan of the six hour day without reduction in pay. And to this they must add unemployment insurance at the expense of the bosses. They must also propose the elimination of the five categories of apprentices since the introduction of machinery and mechanical methods of production have largely eliminated the necessity for skilled use of the brush. Finally they must propose organization of the unorganized shops. As a prerequisite for this they must abolish the initiation fees.

—T. STAMM.

BACK NUMBERS OF "MILITANT" WANTED

We are preparing files of the *Militant* for binding. We plan to bind in one volume all the issues from Vol. 1, No. 1 to Volume IV No. 12, the last issue of the semi-monthly *Militant*. We are missing the following numbers: Vol. I, No. 1, November 15, 1928. Vol. 2, No. 4, Feb. 18th, 1929; Vol. 3, No. 31; Oct. 1 1930; Vol. 4, No. 2, January 15th, 1931. Vol. 4, No. 10, May 15th, 1931. Will comrades who have these numbers please send them in at once. Just as soon as we receive these numbers we will be able to proceed with our binding plans and offer the bound volumes for sale.

Militant Drive at Half Way Mark

With the issue of *The Militant* the subscription campaign is half over. Although we got under way slowly, we are now moving ahead. Subs and renewals are coming in. Last week we reported 72 subs and renewals. This week the figure stands at 87. The staff of *Militant* builders has risen from 17 to 21.

The standing of the branches is substantially the same as last week:

New York	32
Minneapolis	24
Chicago	7
Boston	4
St. Louis	1
Newark	1
Philadelphia	1
Montreal	1
Miscellaneous	16

New York and Minneapolis branches accounted for fourteen of the fifteen subs reported last week. No other branch reported. What is the matter, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Newark, Boston, Montreal? Are you going to let New York and Minneapolis have it all their own way?

And what is the matter with Cleveland, Youngstown, Kansas City, New Haven, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh? Are you going to be left out of it? There are only six weeks left to June 1st. Get busy.

The race between New York and Minneapolis is getting closer and hotter. Last week the difference between them was ten subs. This week it has been cut to eight. Will Minneapolis make good its promises to give New York a drubbing? (Confidentially—New York is getting worried.) It is understood, of course, that we are strictly impartial.

The Minneapolis team standing (\$1 is one point) for the week ending April 6th was:

Team No 1—24 3-4 points
Team No 2—17 1-2 points.
The branch total is 42 1-4 points. This total does not include the subs the Minneapolis branch is steadily sending in for <i>Unser Kampf</i> and <i>Young Spartacus</i> .

A new bundle order was reported last week from Duluth, Minnesota, by comrade Carl Cowl of our Minneapolis branch. Verily, this is a branch! No other bundle orders were reported. What is wrong, comrades? Newsstands, bookstores, which will carry *The Militant* exist. They must be found out. And then they must be revisited. If comrades will send in lists for their cities, we will run them in *The Militant*. This should help.

No requests from out of town were received last week for bundles of sample copies for free distribution. Yet it is astonishingly easy to make these distributions. In the needle trades market in New York last week four comrades distributed 1000 *Militants*, *Unser Kampf* and leaflets in fifteen minutes. A comrade who went out on another occasion to make a free distribution of back numbers was kept breathlessly whirling around, trying to put *Militants* into the workers' outstretched hands. Last summer in Cleveland hundreds of copies were distributed in this way. And these distributions of back numbers increased the subsequent sale of current issues. Comrades, it can be done. It is being done to some extent. But not enough. Order back numbers now!

Are you comrades taking full advantage, as an inducement for getting subs, of the appearance in *The Militant* of ex-

tracts from comrade Trotsky's latest work on Germany, *WHAT NEXT?* Are you making use of the literature premiums: a free paper bound copy of *The Permanent Revolution* with each \$2-1 year sub of 52 issues; a free copy of *The Strategy of the World Revolution* with each \$1-half year sub of 26 issues; a free copy of any of our 10c pamphlets with each 50c trial sub of 13 issues. Are you making use of the \$2 rate for a combined one year sub to *The Militant* and *Young Spartacus*? Are you using the 25c sub rate for 8 issues which is good only during the period of the drive? The promise of the first half of the drive must be turned into success during the remaining six weeks. We have important tasks to perform. We must put *The Militant* on a sounder financial basis so we can continue without retrenchment the fight for the regeneration of the Party and the Comintern.

If every comrade will take it this way and put his shoulder to the wheel we can move forward. Let us make the growth of the staff of *Militant* builders a criterion of the response to our appeal. Here are the 21 *Militant* builders and their records in the campaign: C. Cowl—5; A. Konikow—4; V. R. Dunne—4; F. Barach—3; L. Basky—3; C. Skoglund—2; M. Dunne—2; C. R. Hedlund—2; J. Carter—1; R. Ruskin—1; W. Curran—1; Zalmanoff—1; R. Sacharow—1; W. Herman—1; A. Swaback—1; A. Grotzer—1; L. Logan—1; Kaidis—1; M. Engel—1; G. Ray—1; M. Sterling—1. Let us increase this list. Let us increase the number of subs per builder.

Once more—everybody into the campaign! Get subs! Get renewals! Get bundle orders! Make free distributions! Sell current issues! Make the sub drive a success! Increase the circulation of *The Militant*, *Unser Kampf*, *Young Spartacus*, *Communism*, the *Russian Bulletin*! BUILD THE OPPOSITION PRESS!

ST. LOUIS, ATTENTION!

On April 22nd, at 8 P. M.

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on

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THE SCHOOLS AND THE

CLASS STRUGGLE

by

MARTIN PAYER

The Crunden Branch Library Auditorium

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ST. LOUIS MAY DAY CONFERENCE

The St. Louis branch, Communist League of America (Opposition) has issued a call for a Joint May Day Conference to be held on April 24th, 3 p. m. at the Souldard Library Hall, 7th and Souldard Sts.

All local working class organizations and political parties are invited to participate in arranging a Joint May Mass Meeting.

CHICAGO OPEN FORUM

WILL A THIRD PARTY HELP THE WORKERS?

Lecture by

JOHN EDWARDS

on

SUNDAY, APRIL 24th, at 3 P. M.

at

1435 N. Western Ave.

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IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

What Really Happened at Shanghai

Japanese imperialism has succeeded in breaking the heroic struggle of the Shanghai masses, in taking Shanghai and the surrounding territory. This success was not due simply to the technical and military superiority of Japanese imperialism. The Chinese counter-revolution under the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek capitulated before the enemy because of the fear that the steadfast struggle of the Shanghai workers would in the end be directed against them. For this reason, Chiang Kai-Shek disarmed the Shanghai workers who were engaged in a struggle against the Japanese army. This is the way the former ally of Stalin fights for the national liberation of China. It is once more made clear that the national liberation of the colonies can only come about by a victorious proletarian revolution.

The entire press, and the Communist press in particular, have continually brought reports of the heroic struggle of the Nineteenth Route Army against the Japanese imperialists. The party papers reported that this army mutinied against the Nanking government and organized the military resistance by itself. According to these same sources the army had become a sort of rallying point for the popular masses of Shanghai. It was also reported that this army disarmed divisions that remained loyal to Nanking.

What sort of an army is it? The entire Comintern press maintained an icy silence on this question. Yet, it is impossible that these facts were unknown to the Comintern leaders. Aside from the information apparatus of the Comintern and the Communist press, there is also a press service of the U. S. S. R., Stalin, Manulsky, Thaelmann and Co. knew very well what was going on in Shanghai.

What happened at Shanghai? What did the Nineteenth Route Army do? To which party did the army appeal? The Nineteenth Route Army appealed to the Communist Party of China. Why did the Comintern leaders conceal this joyful news from the Communist parties and the world proletariat? The Nineteenth Route Army was looking for the C. P. of China. Day after day it was covering the walls of Shanghai with the message: Communist Party, come to our side, we want to join you! (This news comes from the official reporter of the Pravda, and was divulged at a closed session. It does not hail from a "counter-revolution Trotskyist"). All its efforts were in vain, the C. P. did not come to its side. The C. P. could not be found in Shanghai, in the outstanding center of China. What a frightful fact!

It is becoming clear only now, why the Comintern press kept quiet about the actual happenings within the Nineteenth Route Army. Had the Comintern leaders made these happenings known, every thinking Communist would have asked: were the reports at the last E. C. C. I. plenum regarding the strength of the C. P. of China correct? According to these reports, the C. P. of China had hundreds of thousands of members, the Shanghai organization of the party was one of the strongest. The conclusion that every Party comrade must draw is that these reports were sheer deception. That is the only answer there is.

The Stalins and Thaelmanns who bear the full responsibility for the disastrous defeat of the Chinese proletariat in 1927, who have wrecked the Communist Party of China, had to conceal the truth regarding the actual conditions of the C. P. Ch. from the party membership so as to make them forget their catastrophic policies in China. And because this policy is being avenged in China, because there is not in fact any Communist Party there to lead the masses in struggle, the Stalinist bureaucracy had to withhold the joyful news that a whole army went over to the C. P. This is one more terrible lesson of the disastrous policy of

the Stalinist leadership which is wrecking Communism.

How much confidence can a Communist have in the data furnished by the Comintern leadership regarding the existence of a Soviet China in part of the country? Who will believe Muenzenberg, the General Secretary of the "League Against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression", an organization which according to the conceptions of the Comintern leaders is to lead the anti-imperialist struggle, when he says at a public meeting: "In China we have a Soviet Republic with 70,000,000 inhabitants and with a Red Army of 300,000 men." We ask:

Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition: - 1923

The first struggle in the Russian party around which the Left Opposition took shape occurred in 1923 between the 12th and the 13th party congresses. It was concerned with four questions of fundamental importance: (1) the relations between the city and the country, the key question for the proletarian dictatorship in Russia which is based upon the alliance of the workers and the peasants; (2) the problem of a plan in the development of economy, which continues to run through all the subsequent internal struggles like a red thread; (3) the question of the internal party regime, which the passage of the years has only rendered infinitely more acute; and finally, (4) the questions of revolutionary strategy raised by the abortive German revolution of 1923 and the Bulgarian revolution of the same year. The last point we will deal with in our next article. Here we will occupy ourselves with the first three points which are so inextricably intertwined.

To present the dispute of 1923 clearly means to dig under a veritable mountain of thick filth and falsification with which the bureaucracy has covered the true essence of the problem for nine years. It may perhaps best be understood by first giving an account of the situation existing in those days. In this way it will be possible to examine the contenting views against their natural background.

The Program for Workers' Democracy

As far back as the 10th Congress of the party, when the counter-revolution and the civil war had been liquidated on every important front, a program intended to terminate the atmosphere of "war Communism" in the party and to substitute for it "workers' democracy" was adopted under the leadership of Lenin. "The needs of the current moment," read the resolution of the congress, "demand a new organizational form. That form is workers' democracy. A course of workers' democracy shall be adopted with the same decisiveness, and as energetically carried into execution, as in the period just past the course toward militarization of the party, to the extent that this does not meet an obstacle in the need for struggle with the counter-revolution."

The outbreak of the counter-revolutionary uprising in Kronstadt and the subsequent promulgation of the New Economic Policy (NEP) resulted in the execution of the 10th Congress program being arrested for the time being. But the problem of democracy in the party lost none of its actuality, particularly in view of how matters began to develop in the country as a whole and in the party specifically. The problem was aggravated by the following circumstance:

In the summer of 1923, Russia experienced a severe economic crisis which became popularly known by a famous designation of Trotsky's as "the scissors crisis". The name was derived from the symbol of the widening blades of a scissors, one blade representing the price of agricultural products and the other the price of manufactured objects, the latter of which increased with the decrease

of the former. To draw together the blades of the scissors, that is, to bring the prices of agricultural and industrial products into greater harmony, became the intensely urgent problem of the Soviet power, particularly calculated to establish a corresponding political harmony between the proletariat and the peasantry on the one hand, and between both of them and the Soviet power on the other hand.

Although the 12th party congress in April 1923 had dealt formally with the question, not a single practical step had been taken to solve the problem. To the contrary: the summer and fall crisis was proof that the situation had worsened. Industries, finding it hard to dispose of their products, slowed up their production and consequently found it increasingly difficult to pay wages regularly. When they were paid it was in the form of a depreciated money which could not satisfy the needs of the workers. The number of unemployed was on the increase. Manufactured goods, therefore, were not only unavailable to the peasants, but also to the workers. To add to the difficulties, strikes—a phenomenon rare and alarming under the Soviets—broke out in various parts of the country.

The mounting dissatisfaction of the workers found expression in the party, too. In distorted form, it was reflected notably in the formation of two secret groups, the "Workers' Group," with distinctly Menshevik ideas, and the "Workers' Truth Group," with anarcho-syndicalist ideas. Even when the groups had been discovered and their leaders expelled, the questions nevertheless remained: How shall their appearance be explained? And the answer which met with growing agreement was that these phenomena were the result of the internal party regime of "war Communism," which continued to live after the period of war Communism in the country had died out.

Trotsky's Intervention

On October 8, Trotsky wrote to the Central Committee to express his opinion on the whole matter. In it he pointed out that repressive measures alone could not solve the problem. The crisis was due to the inadequate application of the 12th congress decisions on the organization of industry, especially with regard to the concentration of industry and the necessity of a plan. (Here, by the way, can be traced the origin of the struggle for a plan in economy which the Bolshevik-Leninists commenced and which the bureaucracy resisted for years afterwards.) Finally, he showed, the crisis was due to the inability of the party masses to exchange views, to exercise any influence upon the leadership, or to participate in the affairs of the state—a condition resulting from a hierarchical and bureaucratic regime in the party with the principal mass of the officials appointed from above instead of elected by the membership.

How serious the bureaucratic distortion of the party had become may be seen even more clearly from the following two incidents. Lenin, desperately ill, was unable to participate directly in the affairs of the party. But even from his sick-bed, he was in a position to see how matters stood and how great was the danger to the party and the revolution. Late in 1923, only a very short time before his death, he drew up one document after another directed against the secret clique of Stalin-Zinoviev-Kamenev-Bucharin which had already constituted itself with the determination to perpetuate themselves in control. It is in this period that Lenin wrote his numerous letters against Stalin, then the letter breaking off all personal relations with Stalin, and finally the famous "testament" in which he proposes that Stalin be removed from the post of party secretary. In one of the documents he wrote at that time, later known to the party as "Better Less and Better", Lenin wrote scathingly about the "Rabkrin" at the head of which stood Stalin: "Our new Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, we hope, will leave behind the quality which the French call *propreté*, which we may call a ridiculous affectation and a ridiculous self-importance, which is the last degree characteristic of all our bureaucrats, Soviet bureaucrats and party bureaucrats alike. In parenthesis be it said that we have a bureaucracy not only in the Soviet institutions but in the party too."

How far the bureaucratism had already gone in the party was described at that time, among others, also by Bucharin, who was one of the leaders in the fight against Trotsky and the Opposition.

C. P. of China? You will not say that such an action was impossible because of technical reasons, and transport reasons. For revolutionaries there are no such obstacles.

Are the data furnished by Muenzenberg correct? Or are they only another link in the chain of deceptive reports? The party comrades must know the truth. Revolutionists do not fear to realize their own weakness. Self-deception is the greatest disaster for the Communist movement. We have had enough disappointments. Think of Lenin, who set up the principle of openly pointing out our weakness before the mass—not only before the members of the party. Therein lay the tremendous strength of the Leninist party and its superiority over all enemies.

—R. WELL.

In one of his speeches in 1923, he made these illuminating remarks:

"If we conducted an investigation and inquired how often our party elections are conducted with the question from the chair, 'Who is for?' and 'Who is against?' we should easily discover that in the majority of cases our elections to the party organizations have become 'elections' in quotation marks, for the voting takes place not only without preliminary discussion, but according to the formula 'Who is Against?' And, since to speak against the authorities is a bad business, the matter ends right there. Such is the election of the secretaries of our lower branches.

"If you raise the question of our party meetings, then how does it go here? Election of the presidium of the meeting. Appears some comrade from the district committee, presents a list, and asks 'Who is against?' Nobody is against, and the business is considered finished. With the order of the day, the same procedure. The chairman asks, 'Who is against?' Nobody is against. The resolution is unanimously adopted. There you have the customary type of situation in our party organizations. . . . It goes without saying that this gives rise to an enormous wave of dissatisfaction. I gave you several examples from the life of our lower branches. The same thing is noticeable in a slightly changed form in the succeeding ranks of our party hierarchy."

It is as a remedy for this whole state of affairs that Trotsky proposed the realization in life of the decisions of the 12th party congress on plan in economy and for a genuine workers' democracy in the country. Let us emphasize here that the demand for workers' democracy raised so pointedly here was presented only as a revolutionary Marxist can: Not as an abstraction, not in the name of that "pure democracy" at whose shrine the Mensheviks worship so piously, but as a concrete need of the hour. Trotsky's demand for workers' democracy was presented in direct connection with the needs of the socialist industry and the satisfaction of the needs of the working class. And when one takes into consideration, further, the fact that Trotsky raised the whole problem in connection with the "scissors crisis" and the discontentment of the peasantry, that he presented the solution with an eye towards strengthening the bonds between the proletariat and the peasantry, it is already sufficient for a refutation of the absurd and unscrupulous inventions about an alleged "under-estimation of the peasantry" which the bureaucrats soon discovered to be the fundamental deviation of "Trotskyism".

—M. SHACHTMAN.

(Continued in next issue)

Imperialist War and Social Chauvinism

(Continued from page 1)

are forgotten as lightly as they were conceived. Instead we read this solicited advice to the American bourgeoisie concerning the recent Tardieu-MacDonald conference:

"At this conference two questions were discussed simultaneously: the situation in the Far East and the common repudiation of paying war debts to the United States. It is also no accident that the attack against the dollar has been strengthened to an unparalleled degree directly after this conference. The American 'economists' are trying to find the routes of this attack in the collaboration between French and English newspapers. It would be better for them to cast a glance deeper and to look into the *Quai d'Orsay* and Downing Street, where the French and English foreign policies are worked out." (Our emphasis).

With this paragraph, the statesman of the *Daily Worker* seeks to do the detective work for the American bourgeoisie, neither more nor less. "On Guard," he cries in effect, "France and England are planning to repudiate your war debts. This is the conference which strengthened the attack on 'our' dollar. This attack is not being conducted by isolated newspapers. The real enemy is the French bourgeoisie, the English bourgeoisie. They are also ones who back Japan. You would be foolish to tolerate Japan's advances upon the Soviets."

Is this the first concrete result of the new Stalinist "temporary alliance"? Has the American party already become diplomatic adviser to the Hoover government? And has a more treacherous trap been prepared in the Communist movement in recent times than this one?

Developments in Spain

MADRID, March 24, 1932

The Communist Party of Spain has just held its Fourth National Convention at Seville. The few Spanish workers who even after the regional conferences still believed that the convention would mean the preparation for a strong Communist party and the first decisive step toward Communist unification have seen their hopes shattered. The convention of official Spanish Communism was a real "anti-Trotskyist" gathering. Only that part of the Open Letter of the Communist International, which calls upon the C. P. S. to undertake a forceful attack against the Communist Left Opposition was under discussion. We witnessed there how the leaders of the C. P., without without any transitory topos, gave up their conception concerning the insignificance of Trotskyism in Spain" and adopted the point of view that Spain is the only country in which the Communist Left is actually important. They declared that it was a serious mistake on their part to disregard the enormous importance that "Trotskyism" had acquired in this country. The regional conferences which preceded the National Convention were dedicated almost entirely to the discussion of the "Trotskyist" problem and the National Convention only presented a resume of the regional conferences.

During the last three weeks "Trotskyism" has been propagated in Spain much more effectively by these self-same Stalinists than by our own work within the last two years. Today "Trotskyism" is being spoken about in Spain, in the working class organizations, in the coffee houses, in the theatres—everywhere. In this sense, we have sufficient cause to be satisfied and we owe thanks to the Stalinist bureaucracy for the good work they have carried on for us.

Nevertheless, it is deplorable that the first convention held by the Spanish Communists since the coup d'Etat of Primo de Rivera in 1923, meeting at a moment when a serious depression is beginning within the labor movement of Spain, should not have taken under consideration any other problem outside of that concerning "Trotskyism"—and that in an altogether superficial and subjective form—especially in view of the tremendous tasks facing the Spanish proletariat and its vanguard in particular.

The Open Letter of the Communist International, assuming the air of a teacher, merely repeats our own criticism of the leadership of the Spanish Communist Party, stigmatizes the mistakes committed but gives no solution for the future aside from demanding a fierce attack against "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism".

Paradoxical as it may seem, the convention of the C. P. S. did not take up the present situation. Sad as it is, we must say this openly. Not a single thesis was presented to the convention, which in itself was a convention for the liquidation of the Communist Party of Spain.

Meanwhile the Political situation lends itself magnificently to the development of revolutionary action and the creation of a strong Communist party. The republican government, although it appears to be consolidated, finds itself in need of resorting to acts of violence in order to maintain itself in power. Bourgeois reaction has been able to readapt itself and to raise its head once more after the panic which had seized it in the first days of the new regime. This is due to the obvious depression that has of late set in within the labor movement. It is undeniable that the Azana govern-

ment, still under the "Leftist" label, embodies the preparation of the coming into power of a government which, apart from being reactionary in general, will be particularly anti-working class in character and at that in a less concealed form.

Unemployment is becoming more acute every day. In spite of the depression within the labor movement, strikes have not ceased to appear, although they give evidence of less intensity than several months ago. The labor crisis will continue to grow from day to day and the workers' movement will very soon resurge with even greater combativity than heretofore. The workers will defend their right to live and will engage in struggles of even greater importance and sharpness than those in the past. The anarchists and the anarcho-syndicalists have showed that they are incapable of leading the proletariat to victory. Although the anarchist working class elements have showed an admirable spirit of militancy and heroism. Nothing can be expected from the social democratic traitors. The hope of the working class rested with the Communist party and the latter deceived it in its hope. This is the great responsibility of the Stalinist bureaucracy. This responsibility signifies incompetence and a lack of understanding on the one side; sectarianism, arrogance and the lack of the most elementary notions of responsibility, on the other hand. The Stalinist leaders have not been able to wrest away the masses from the influence of the democratic illusions, denying these democratic illusions and prescribing a leap in one step and without any transition, from the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera to a Soviet regime, although at present they lose themselves in the biggest confusionism with regard to slogans of a democratic character and believe that in order to come to the proletarian dictatorship it is necessary to "pass through the democratic stage of a workers' and peasants' government" (the same slogan that "guided" the Chinese revolution of 1923-27). They are the only ones responsible for the masses turning, after losing all their confidence in the present republic, to the bourgeois "leftist" radicals. The establishment of the "left" radical bourgeoisie as a party defending the democracy is something for which the Stalinist bureaucracy is largely responsible. The leadership of the C. P. S. was unable to explain to the masses the deception of bourgeois democracy. It merely aggravated things, when at the time the masses were intoxicated with the notion of democracy, it demanded "all power to the Soviets", to Soviets that did not exist except in the fancy of the Spanish disciples of Stalin.

It is necessary to destroy the democratic illusions of the masses; it is necessary to wrest them away from the influence of the radical bourgeoisie. The official Communist party has not been able and is not yet able to do this, because its leadership has deserted the correct Bolshevik line. It is precisely for this reason that the C. P. S. is uninterruptedly disintegrating and being destroyed. The best militants of the Communist party keep on moving in the direction of the Communist Left Opposition, are constantly increasing our ranks.

This is the present situation and these are the problems facing the Spanish proletariat at the present moment. Under these historical circumstances, our third National Conference is going to meet. Before this conference there is presented in the form of theses, an arsenal of documents on problems which the Communist Left Opposition will have to solve. Today the Communist Left Opposition is the organization toward which the most conscious proletariat of Spain turns its eyes. A large current of working class opinion is making its way toward us, putting its faith in the Communist Left Opposition of Spain. The responsibility of our organization in this historical moment is the responsibility of the real Communist party of Spain, of the genuine vanguard of the Spanish proletariat. Conscious of our duties and responsibilities, we are going to meet at our National Conference on March 28. The achievements of this conference will be the subject of our next article.

—HENRI LACROIX.

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—M. S.

EDITORIAL NOTES

LEFT WING VICTORY OR TREACHEROUS BARGAIN?

The recent elections in Local 9 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union are an event of great significance for the Left wing labor movement. In these elections the Left wing, under the direct leadership of the Communist Party, elected five delegates to the national convention of the union out of a total of seven. Since Local 9 is one of the largest and most important locals in the union, having approximately 7,000 members (cloak finishers), the momentous import of the election result can be seen at once. On the face of things it would appear that the Left wing has captured one of the main strongholds of the "company union". If this is really so, if the Left wing, which was expelled from the International and compelled to form its own union, and, then, in its convention two years ago, declared the I. L. G. W. U. to be a "company union" and forbade the formation of any organized movement within it, can come out now as the victor in the elections to the convention—then this is indeed an amazing testimony of the strength of the Left wing and of the Communists in the needle trades. If it is a genuine victory it portends momentous developments in the entire movement.

But here we run into a number of disturbing facts which are well known to the workers in the trade and its close observers. There are three groups in the local which have tested their strength in a number of struggles. The strongest group is the so-called "Center", consisting of anarchists supported by the Lovestonites and their sympathizers in a "Progressive Bloc", and its strength is certified by the fact that it controls the present administration of the local. The second group, from the standpoint of numerical strength, is composed of the Schlesinger Right wing forces who have constituted the opposition to the "progressive" administration of the local. The third group, the weakest numerically and one that came to life only recently and has played very little part in the life of the local, is the "Left wing" group directed by the Communist Party.

This is the situation out of which the election "victory" of the Left wing emerged like a miracle. And as we examine another fact the strange story becomes stranger still. Despite the existence of the three clearly defined groups, there were only two slates in the election. The "Progressives" had their can-

didates, and so did the Left wing. But the Schlesinger group, the black and yellow gang that has been distinguished always by its voracious appetite for office, was overcome with modesty and put up no slate of its own! And when this illuminating circumstance is considered in connection with the result of the election—the victory of the weakest group over the strongest group—there is only one possible conclusion: the right wing forces voted for the Left wing candidates!

Already the victory, so bright and alluring at a distance, begins to look bad and to smell worse. However it came about it is the sort of thing which shames and discredits the Left wing movement. The Communist leaders who gained this shoddy success seem to be anxious to avoid discussion of it. Perhaps that is why the *Daily Worker*, which usually screams in big headlines about the smallest accomplishments, real or imaginary, passes the cloakmakers' election off with a two inch notice on an inside page on April 8th. And even that little notice contains an outright lie that cannot possibly deceive any worker who knows about the needle trades. The left delegates were elected, they say, "despite all efforts of Schlesinger and the fake progressive anarchist-Lovestone combination". Do they want anybody to believe that the Schlesinger group voted for the "Progressive Bloc" candidates and that the Left wing defeated their combined forces? That requires more faith in human credulity than even Barnum had. The best that any needle trades worker in the market will say for that explanation is that it is just another lie of the *Daily Worker*, and what's another lie more or less?

The victory was a fake; that much is absolutely clear. But another question remains to be answered: Was it the result of a treacherous horse-trade with the Right wing fakers (Foster and Co. have played that rotten game before), or was the Left wing the victim of favors it did not want? There are people who say openly that it was a bargain. The Lovestonites, as is their custom whenever anything happens, tell about a secret meeting, about which they, as usual have "inside information", between the Right and Left leaders where the deal was made. We can afford to pass this by. There are more reliable means of judging the affair than the dubious gossip of the Lovestonites. The Left wing delegates will have to show by their stand at the convention whether they

are obligated to the Schlesinger gang or not.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE "COMPANY UNION" THEORY?

At the convention of the Needle Trades Industrial Union two years ago the I. L. G. W. U. was branded a "company union" and organized work within it was forbidden as an opportunist illusion. At that time, in our comments on the convention, we pointed out the falsity of this theory and the tactical conclusions drawn from it. Our arguments were unavailing and the theory and the tactics had to run their course. This course, strewn with tragedy for the Left wing, is just about finished. The facts of life have spoken their own word against these conceptions. The most revealing fact of all is the election in Local 9. The *Daily Worker's* comments on this event, miserable and scanty as they are, leave very little to be said for the "company union" idea.

If you hide a smile and admit their claim that the Left wing has really carried the elections in a genuine fight what remains of the dictum of two years ago that an organized Left wing struggle in the International is not only wrong, but also hopeless? This Local alone has three or four times as many members as the Industrial Union. To win over a majority of these members for the Left wing, after the very attempt had been forbidden as a deviation, shows a terrible contradiction between the theory and the event.

And that is not all. According to the *Daily Worker*, the victorious left delegates "ran on a program of class struggle, a program against clique control of the International, for a real strike under rank and file leadership". We think the delegates were right in advocating "a program of class struggle". But a company union has never yet been converted to such a program. To advocate such a program in the union is to admit the possibility of reforming its present character. But the Stalinists prohibited organized work in the International precisely on the ground that it was a company union and therefore couldn't be reformed.

Further, the *Daily Worker* says the left candidates had a program "against clique control of the International". Again we say they were right. But if you are against clique control of the International, you are saying thereby that you are in favor of a different control by a different leadership. What has this to do with the teaching that the union is a company union and, consequently, by its very nature, controlled by the bosses and subjected to no change? The program of the left delegates is in fact a direct contradiction to the whole

conception of "company unionism". But still the Party generals continue to mutter the phrase. This is trying to walk north and south at the same time.

A third plank in the program "a real strike under rank and file leadership" is an expression of I. W. Wism that flagrantly violates Communist fundamentals. It deserves a separate discussion.

WHY DID THE RIGHT SUPPORT THE LEFT?

If one acquits Foster of a backroom bargain with Schlesinger the reasons which prompted the black hundred forces to support the Stalinist candidates must be explained. These people are not generous; they don't give something for nothing. And they are not foolish either. Even without a direct agreement they could act in this case, in the way they did, with full deliberation, counting on the policy of the Stalinists to help them as it has in the past. The Schlesinger administration in the International is being pressed hard in the pre-convention campaign by the "Progressive Bloc" opposition. They have observed the present ultra-radical policy of the Party without interest, and certainly not without profit. According to the ruling theory of the Party, the Lenin teachings on the united front are out of date; all groups and factions not under the immediate domination of the Party are lumped together in one "social-fascist" mass; there can be no temporary agreements, even on the smallest questions, with any of them. Seeing this policy—and no doubt agreeing with it heartily—the Schlesinger forces, unable to elect their own delegates in Local 9, set out to cut down the representation of the "Progressive Bloc." To accomplish this they voted for the Left wing delegates.

Did they get a direct promise that the Left wing delegates at the convention will fulfill their expectations that they will confine themselves to phrase-mongering denunciation and take no practical steps to unite the opposition? This question need not be answered in advance. But the Left wing workers in the needle trades have every right to demand that the left delegates clear themselves of this suspicion by their actions. These delegates will occupy the strategic position at a significant moment in the needle trades struggle. Many workers will judge them and the movement they represent, not by what they say there but by what they do there. The Left wing workers have heard enough of the frothy pseudo-radicalism of Stalinism. In the meantime they have been compelled to yield position after position to the Rights, and through them to the bosses. It is time for a decisive turn. The convention of the International is the place for it.

The first duty of the Left wing dele-

The Mooney Case and the Party

The hypocrisy of Governor Rolph of California is now clearly revealed by the succession of delays in announcing decision in response to the pleas of Mooney's lawyers for a pardon. At first an announcement appeared of a decision to be reached by the end of February. It became next postponed to the middle of March, then to the end of March and now again to April 21. Will there be further postponements?

That Rolph is able to postpone his decision from month to month is damning testimony to the weakness of the movement for Mooney's release. This is the sixteenth year of Mooney's imprisonment. No one so much as dares to question his innocence. It is a universally accepted fact. Mooney is the outstanding symbol of capitalist class vengeance, of the American frame-up system. His cause is dear to the American workers. Yet Rolph can play "cat and mouse with the life of an innocent man . . ."

And the *Daily Worker* can say on April 11, "Governor Rolph has been waiting for a favorable opportunity to hand down an unfavorable decision during a moment of working class passivity. Instead the working class is more alert than ever on the Mooney issue!" This gem of bureau-

cratic optimism appears under the head, "Force Unconditional Freedom of Mooney."

How do the C. P. and the I. L. D. propose to force Mooney's unconditional freedom? The *Daily Worker* says that only a mass movement can force Mooney's release. But do they propose the creation of a mass movement? Do they propose a series of united front conferences to build this mass movement? They do not. They propose merely "This week must see a special burst of protest." What form shall it take? "There must be a rising flood of letters, telegrams, resolutions, to Governor Rolph at Sacramento, California, demanding immediate and unconditional release . . ." And that is all!

Are we for this rising tide of letters, telegrams and resolutions? We are. Will they force Mooney's immediate and unconditional release? They will if they are backed by a united, fighting working class movement. Not otherwise. This must be organized at once. It is not too late. The I. L. D. and C. P. must take the lead. Their leadership is making no move in that direction. The rank and file must make its voice heard together with that of the Left Opposition.

gates to the convention is to frustrate the calculations of the Schlesinger machine and to clear the Left wing of suspicion in the elections. They must raise there the banner of unity in the needle trades, and make the convention the starting point of a new campaign to unite the needle trades workers into a single organization for a common struggle. The slogan of unity is the slogan of the day. It has more power to move the workers than any other because it corresponds most to their needs. By its false policy, the party leadership, which is also the leadership of the Left wing, has surrendered this slogan. That is one of the chief reasons for the defeat of the Left wing and the advances of the reactionaries. The left delegates at the convention of the International, acting in accord with the Industrial Union on the outside, have a rare opportunity to turn the tide on this decisive question. That will be a powerful blow to the Schlesinger machine, and a proof that it miscalculated in the elections in Local 9.

The second task of the left delegates at the convention is to bring forward a united front program for the convention struggle. If the Schlesinger people can vote for the Left wing delegates because

they count on their refusal to combine with the "progressive" opposition, then that fact in itself is a sufficient condemnation of the policy. The Party press these days is full of talk about "working within the reactionary unions", but this talk doesn't mean much without a realistic tactic. The united front of progressive and oppositional forces against the reactionary leadership is just a tactic, and a most necessary one. We have no confidence in the leaders of the "Progressive Bloc". But the very fact that they come out as an opposition to Schlesinger and talk in radical terms is a proof of the sentiments of the workers behind them. The Left wing must find a road to these workers.

To do this they must force the "Progressive Bloc" leaders to the wall with proposals of a fighting united front against Schlesinger and his gang. Who gains by the counterfeited radicalism which rejects such a policy? The Schlesinger machine on the one hand, and the anarchist-Lovestone combination on the other. The Left wing and the workers lose all along the line. This is the bitter history of the past few years. Is it not time to turn the helm? The convention of the International is the place to make the turn.

—J. P. C.

DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM

by LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from last issue)

"As regards 'the class content' there are no distinctions between democracy and Fascism," lectures Werner Hirsch echoing Stalin (*DIE INTERNATIONALE*, Jan. 1932). The transition from democracy to Fascism may take the character of "an organic process", that is, it may occur "gradually" and "bloodlessly". Such reasoning might dumbfound anyone, but the epigones have inured us from becoming dumbfounded.

There are no "class distinctions" between democracy and Fascism. Obviously this must mean that democracy as well as Fascism is bourgeois in character. We guessed as much even prior to January, 1932. The ruling class, however, does not inhabit a vacuum. It stands in definite relations to other classes. In a developed capitalist society, during a "democratic" régime, the bourgeoisie leans for support primarily upon the working classes which are held in check by the reformists. In its most finished form, this system finds its expression in England during the administration of the Labor government as well as during that of the Conservatives. In a Fascist régime, at least during its first phase, capital leans on the petty bourgeoisie which destroys the organizations of the proletariat. Italy, for instance! Is there a difference in the "class content" of these two régimes? If the question is posed only as regards the *ruling class*, then there is no difference. If one takes into account the position and the inter-relations of *all* classes, from the angle of the proletariat, then the difference appears to be quite enormous.

In the course of many decades, the workers have built up within the bourgeois democracy, by utilizing it, by fighting against it, their own strongholds and bases of proletarian democracy: the trade unions, the political parties, the educational and sport clubs, the co-operatives, etc. The proletariat cannot attain power within the formal limits of bourgeois democracy; but can do so only by taking the road of revolution: this has been proved both by theory and experience. And these bulwarks of workers' democracy within the bourgeois state are absolutely essential for the taking of the revolutionary road. The work of the Second International consisted in creating just such bulwarks during the epoch when it was still fulfilling its progressive historic labor.

Fascism has for its basic and only task, the razing to their foundation of all institutions of proletarian democracy. Has this any "class meaning" for the proletariat, or hasn't it? The lofty theoreticians had better ponder over this. After pronouncing the régime to be bourgeois—which no one questions—Hirsch, together with his masters, overlooks a mere trifle: the position of the proletariat in this regime. In place of the historical process they substitute a

bald sociological abstraction. But the class war takes place on the soil of history, and not in the stratosphere of sociology. The point of departure in the struggle against Fascism is not formed by the abstraction of the democratic state, but, by the living organizations of the proletariat, in which is concentrated all its past experience and which prepare it for the future.

The statement that the transition from democracy to Fascism may take on an "organic" and a "gradual" character can mean one thing and one thing only and that is: without any fuss, without a fight, the proletariat may be deprived not only of all its material conquests—not only of its given standard of living, of its social legislation, of its civil and political rights—but also even of the basic weapon whereby these were achieved, that is, its organizations. The "bloodless" transition to Fascism implies under this terminology, the most frightful capitulation of the proletariat that can be conceived.

Werner Hirsch's theoretical discussions are not accidental; while they serve to develop still further the theoretical oracle of Stalin, they also serve to generalize the entire present agitation of the Communist party. The party's chief resources are in fact being strained only to prove that there is no difference between Bruening's régime and Hitler's régime. Thaelmann and Remmele see in this the quintessence of Bolshevik policy.

Nor is the matter restricted to Germany only. The notion that nothing new will be added by the victory of Fascists is being zealously propagated now in all sections of the Comintern. In the January issue of the French periodical *Cahiers du Bolchevisme*, we read, "The Trotskyists behave in practice like Breitscheid; they accept the famous social democratic theory of the 'lesser evil', according to which Bruening is not as bad as Hitler, according to which it is not so unpleasant to starve under Bruening as under Hitler, and infinitely more preferable to be shot down by Groener than by Frick." This is not the most stupid passage, although—to give it due credit—stupid enough. Unfortunately, however, it expresses the gist of the political philosophy of the leaders of the Comintern.

The fact of the matter is that the Stalinists compare the two régimes from the point of view of vulgar democracy. And indeed, were one to consider Bruening's régime from the criterion of "formal" democracy, one would arrive at a conclusion which is beyond argument: nothing is left of the proud Weimar constitution save the bones and the skin. But this does not settle the question so far as we are concerned. The question must be approached from the angle of proletarian democracy. This criterion is also the only reliable one on which to consider the question as to

when and where the "normal" police methods of reaction under decay capitalism are replaced by the Fascist régime.

Whether Bruening is "better" than Hitler (better looking perhaps?) is a question which, we confess, doesn't interest us at all. But one need only glance at the list of workers' organizations to assert, Fascism has not conquered yet in Germany. In the way of its victory there still remain gigantic obstacles and forces.

The present Bruening régime is the régime of bureaucratic dictatorship, or more definitely, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie enforced by means of the army and the police. The Fascist petty bourgeoisie and the proletarian organizations seem to counterbalance one another. Were the workers united by Soviets; were factory committees fighting for the control of production, then one could speak of *dual power*. Because of the split within the proletariat, because of the tactical helplessness of its vanguard, *dual power* does not exist as yet. But the very fact that mighty organizations of workers do exist, which under certain conditions are capable of repelling Fascism with crushing force, that is what keeps Hitler from seizing power and impart a certain "independence" to the bureaucratic apparatus.

Bruening's dictatorship is a caricature of Bonapartism. His dictatorship is unstable, unreliable, short-lived. It signalizes not the initiation of a new social equilibrium but the early crash of the old one. Supported directly only by a small minority of the bourgeoisie, tolerated by the social democracy against the will of the workers, threatened by Fascism, Bruening can bring down the thunder of paper decrees but not real thunderbolts. Bruening is fit for dissolving parliament with its own assent; he'll do to promulgate a few decrees against the workers, to proclaim a Christmas truce and to make a few deals under its cover; to break up a hundred meetings, close down a dozen papers, exchange letters with Hitler worthy of a village druggist—that is all. But for greater things his hands are too short.

Bruening is compelled to tolerate the existence of workers' organizations because he hasn't decided to this very day, to hand over the power to Hitler, and inasmuch as he himself has no independent means of liquidating them. Bruening is compelled to tolerate the Fascists and to patronize them inasmuch as he mortally fears the victory of the workers. Bruening's régime is a transitional, shortlived régime, preceding the catastrophe. The present administration holds on, only because the chief camps have not as yet pitted their strength. The real battle hasn't begun. It is still to come. The dictatorship of bureaucratic impotence fills in the lull before the battle, before the forces are openly matched.

The wisecrackers who boast that they do not recognize any difference "between Bruening and Hitler", are saying in reality: it makes no difference whether our organizations exist, or whether they are already destroyed. Beneath this pseudo-radical phraseology there hides the most sordid passivity; we can't escape defeat anyway! Read over carefully the quotation from the French Stalinist periodical. They reduce

the question to whether it is better to starve under Hitler or Bruening. To them it is a question of under whom to starve. To us, on the contrary, it is not a question of under which conditions it is better to die. We raise the question of how to fight and win. And we conclude thus, the major offensive must be begun before the bureaucratic dictatorship is replaced by the Fascist régime, that is, before the workers' organizations are crushed. The general offensive should be prepared for by deploying, extending, and sharpening the sectional clashes. But for this one must have a correct perspective; and first of all, one should not proclaim victorious the enemy who is still a long way from victory.

Herein is the crux of the problem; herein is the strategic key to the background; herein is the operating base from which the battle must be waged: Every thinking worker, the more so every Communist, must give himself an accounting and plumb to the bottom the empty and rotten talk of the Stalinist bureaucracy about Bruening and Hitler being one and the same thing. You are muddling! we say in answer. You muddle disgracefully because you are afraid of the difficulties that lie ahead, because you are terrified by the great problems that lie ahead; you throw up the sponge before the fighting is begun, you proclaim that we have already suffered defeat. You are lying! The working class is split; it is weakened by the reformists and disoriented by the vacillations of its own vanguard, but it is not annihilated yet, forces are not yet exhausted. No. The proletariat of Germany is powerful. The most optimistic estimates will be infinitely surpassed once its revolutionary energy will clear the way for it to the arena of action.

Bruening's régime is the preparatory régime. Preparatory to what? Either to the victory of Fascism, or to the victory of the proletariat. This régime is preparatory because both camps are only preparing for the decisive battle. If you identify Bruening with Hitler, you identify the conditions before the battle with the conditions after the defeat; it means that you admit defeat beforehand; it means that you appeal for surrender without a battle.

The overwhelming majority of the workers, particularly the Communists, does not want this. The Stalinist bureaucracy of course, does not want it either. But one must take into account not one's good intentions, with which Hitler will pave the road to his Hell, but the objective meaning of one's policies, of their direction, and their tendencies. We must disclose in its entirety the passive, timidly hesitant, capitulating and declamatory character of the politics of Stalin-Manulsky-Thaelmann-Remmele. We must teach the revolutionary workers to understand that the key to the situation is in the hands of the Communist party; but the Stalinist bureaucracy attempts to use this key to lock the gates to revolutionary action.*

—L. TROTSKY.

* The article "Democracy and Fascism" is an extract from comrade Trotsky's larger work *What Next?—Vital Questions for the German Proletariat*. Others will follow in coming issues.—Ed.



New Stage in Needle Trade Fight

A Campaign for Unity is now the Order of the Day

The convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union stands in the center of a series of developments and events which signalize a new stage in the needle trades struggle. This occasion can be the starting point for the revival of a genuine labor struggle against the bosses and a new advance of the militant section of the movement. The conditions now are present for the rapid transformation of the existing state of affairs in favor of the workers and their revolutionary vanguard. In order to make this possible the Left wing is obliged to make an objective examination of the whole situation as it exists in reality, and to elaborate a new line of tactics which proceed from it. The leading idea in this departure is a new and correct formulation of the slogan of unity. Bound up with it, and indispensable to its effective application, is a reconsideration of the present attitude with regard to the problem of work within the reactionary union.

The appearance at the I. L. G. W. U. convention of seven delegates—five from Local 9—one from Local 1, and one from Local 38—even though their election was accomplished under shady circumstances—denotes a recognition in fact of the necessity for a systematic struggle within the Right wing union. It is also a proof of the fruitful possibilities of this struggle. This was clearly indicated long ago, from a practical as well as from a theoretical standpoint, despite all the fulminating agitation to the contrary by the people who deduce tactics out of their own heads and not from the facts of life.

What the Election of the Left Wing Delegates Signifies

The election of the Left wing delegates is an expression of the fact that workers, who are sympathetic to the aims of the Left wing, are compelled by the force of circumstance to belong to the Right wing union. The organized Left wing, under the direct influence of the Communist Party, had to seek an approach to these workers and provide a focal point for their protest. This is the meaning of the Left wing campaign for the election of delegates to the convention. The Party was dragged at the tail of a movement which came into existence in spite of the astute "theories" which prohibited it. The problem now is to recognize the vital progressive character of the unauthorized movement and provide it with a bold and realistic leadership.

The program on which the Left wing delegates campaigned for election ("for a program of class struggle," "against clique control in the International," etc.) refutes in life the worthless contention, imposed upon the Left wing by the Stalinist muddlers, about the International being a "company union" and therefore not a proper field for systematic work and not subject to reformation in its practices by an organized struggle of the militants within it. The circumstances which compelled the workers to re-enter the Right wing union imperiously command the revolutionary militants to adjust themselves to the situation and organize a struggle there, in coordination with that of the Industrial Union. The old policy which has artificially divided and thereby demoralized this struggle must be replaced by a policy which unites and revitalizes it.

These developments, among others, are signs of a relationship of forces between the Right and Left unions in the field which cannot be ignored in the elaboration of the Left wing tactics of the day. On the contrary, they must be taken as the basis from which the tactics ensue. Aided by the bosses and the police on the one side, and the consistently false policies of the Party leadership on the other, the Schlesinger union, which was badly shattered in the split, has been able to re-constitute itself to a very large extent. At the same time, and by dint of the same factors, the organization of the Industrial Union has been reduced and relegated to a small sector of the trade and has been unable to lead the struggles of the needle trades workers on a sufficiently broad scale to beat back the encroachment of the bosses.

What the Past Developments Teach

The justified aspiration and the heroic struggle of the workers to replace the reactionary unions with a militant industrial union did not meet with success. The best militants were isolated into a small organization which, lacking a mass membership, lacked the power to enforce its demands. On the other hand, the masses of workers, driven by the pressure of circumstance into the faked-controlled union and lacking the directing nucleus of conscious militants, could not organize an effective struggle within the union.

As a result of all this the fighting capacities of the workers in the trade have been weakened and they have had to suffer a steady deterioration of their conditions. The strikes of the Industrial Union yielded no concrete results, and each failure had the effect of still further undermining the confidence of

the workers in the prospect of any progress along that line. The traitors at the head of the International, freed from the pressure of a genuine fighting opposition, were able to transform the official strikes into decorative affairs which left the conditions of the workers no better than before, and in some cases worse. The morals of the masses in the needle trades has suffered heavily under these repeated blows. Pessimistic moods, induced by the apparent hopelessness of victory while the union organizations are split apart, spread a paralyzing influence over the "market" and undermined the struggles in advance.

The slogan necessary to revive the fighting spirit and fighting capacities of the needle trades workers, and to restore the decisive influence of the Left wing, which is a condition for victorious advances, is the slogan of trade union unity.

This slogan can move the workers more than any other precisely because it corresponds to their most burning needs and expresses their deepest impulses. But in spite of that, or rather just because of that, there can be no trifling, no phrase-mongering bluster, no demagogic pretense with this great slogan. Whoever really wants to get the attention of the needle trades masses and to influence them seriously must remember one thing: they have been fooled enough, they are on guard for tricks in the name of "unity," they have to be convinced that the slogan is both sincere and realistic.

"Unity from Below" or Genuine Unity?

The Party bureaucrats overlooked this point, and this is one of the main reasons that their bombastic agitation around the question of "unity," and their gross perversion of the Lenin teaching on the subject yielded such miserable results and gave the game to the bosses and their labor agents every time. The demand for "unity" under the leadership of the Communists predetermined in advance—as the demoralized functionaries of Stalinism have been presenting the question—cannot unite anybody except those who are already convinced of the necessity of this leadership. The "unity from below" ballyhoo is part of the same futility. But the problem of the day is to unite the great masses of the needle trades workers, including those who are indifferent and even hostile to Communism, for a common trade union struggle for concrete demands. This is what the workers want, and this is what they need. The slogan of unity must be formulated in such a way that it conforms to this situation and appears to the workers as both realistic and realizable.

At the time when the Industrial Union still contested the field seriously with the International—when the struggle for supremacy remained undecided—the slogan of unity, as formulated by the Left Opposition, was applicable to the situation (the amalgamation of the unions into a single organization by means of a joint convention). The present conditions and relationship of forces between the unions dictate a reformulation of the slogan of unity which, without yielding anything in principle, will correspond more closely to the realities of

the situation. From this standpoint the latest meeting of the National Committee of the Communist League, in agreement with the needle trades group, decided to recommend to the Party and the Left wing the slogan of unity, with respect to the International, be formulated now as follows: "Readmission of the Left wing into the International in a body, without discriminations and with full membership rights." Together with this a general campaign should be carried on for the amalgamation of all the unions in the various trades into a single organization embracing the entire industry.

This slogan, which flows out of the actual state of affairs, will also impress the workers as both reasonable and realizable; it will reawaken their confidence and their aspiration for an effective union. At the same time it will open the way for the Left wing to the masses of workers now separated from it in the Schlesinger union.

The Industrial Union, which holds its Plenum on May 1st, the day before the opening of the convention of the International, should put forward the slogan in this way and elect a delegation to present the question before the International convention. Simultaneously, the Left wing delegates to the International convention, acting in concert with the Industrial Union at every step, should begin a fight in the convention in favor of the slogan. Such an action on their part, following the action of the Industrial Union's Plenum, will immediately change the character of the convention, and change it most radically.

OPEN FORUM

THE MENACE OF
FASCISM IN
GERMANY
Lecture by
ARNE SWABECK
on
FRIDAY, APRIL 29, 1932
at the
Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue
at 8 P. M.
QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION
ADMISSION: 25 Cents
Unemployed Workers Admitted Free
Sponsors: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

The situation. From this standpoint the latest meeting of the National Committee of the Communist League, in agreement with the needle trades group, decided to recommend to the Party and the Left wing the slogan of unity, with respect to the International, be formulated now as follows: "Readmission of the Left wing into the International in a body, without discriminations and with full membership rights." Together with this a general campaign should be carried on for the amalgamation of all the unions in the various trades into a single organization embracing the entire industry.

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The Industrial Union, which holds its Plenum on May 1st, the day before the opening of the convention of the International, should put forward the slogan in this way and elect a delegation to present the question before the International convention. Simultaneously, the Left wing delegates to the International convention, acting in concert with the Industrial Union at every step, should begin a fight in the convention in favor of the slogan. Such an action on their part, following the action of the Industrial Union's Plenum, will immediately change the character of the convention, and change it most radically.

The Slogan as a Challenge to the Progressives

The more-or-less sham battle between the Schlesinger machine and the "Progressive Bloc," with the Left wing negotiating on the sidelines—for which the stage is now set—will give place to a realignment of forces and a real fight. Let the "Progressive Bloc" dare to oppose this slogan! Their rank and file supporters, who want unity and a militant policy and mean it earnestly, will at once begin to shift over to the Left wing. If the "Progressives" accept the slogan it will be the means of developing a struggle on a broad front that will soon go beyond the bounds of the pseudo-progressive program. In a few decisive steps the Left wing can regain its position as the dynamic force in the whole

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The Intensified Wage Cut Drive

Many credulous workers have suffered from the illusion, and possibly still do, that wage reductions will bring an increase of jobs. To those there have been a number of decisive and hard-hitting answers given in the rounds of wage cutting which have followed one another in rapid succession during this

crisis and with the unemployment figures still mounting.

The most recent wage reductions actual or contemplated, are symptomatic of the fact that the formerly more privileged strata of the working class are now ever more becoming the victims, the same as the lower paid, unskilled ones.

Failure of the Danube Union Conference

The Conference which was held last week in London of delegations from Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy to consider plans for rescuing the Danubian States, Austria, Hungary, Roumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia from economic and financial bankruptcy, ended in a complete failure. Germany and Italy did not agree to the plan elaborated by France and supported by England on the ground that the French Plan deprives them of their rights of "the most favored nation" guaranteed them under their commercial agreements with the Danubian States.

The plan in brief is the following: the five small states are to lower their tariffs with reference to each other by 10 percent or more maintaining at the same time the existing tariffs in regard to outside countries. The outside countries are to agree to a lowering of tariffs on the agricultural products of the Danubian States.

Germany also had a specific ground for her objection to the plan because under it, Czechoslovakia, an industrial country, is granted the privilege of a preferential tariff on her products which will afford her a possibility of eventually driving Germany out of the Danubian market.

Italy refused to support the French Plan because it would strengthen the French Little Entente in Central Europe. Thus the plan of Great Britain and France to "rescue" the Danubian states from disaster failed because of their own imperialist designs and that of other European powers.

The plight of the Danubian States, which grew out of the former Hapsburg Empire after the last World War is a result of the Versailles "Peace" Treaty, which divided up the old Austro-Hungarian Empire in small parcels, forced them into narrow national boundaries, as beasts in the cages of a Zoo, and compelled them to conduct their own economies independently on the basis of their meagre economic resources. The competition, tariffs and other national restrictions augmented by the various national historical controversies and mutual distrust, continually hindered the economic development of these countries and rendered them a toy in the hands of the imperialist powers. During the period of capitalist stabilization they managed with great difficulty and with the aid of loan from British, French and American banks to maintain their precarious existence. The crisis and the high interests on the loans, however, have finally led them to economic and financial bankruptcy.

The victims of the deplorable situation thus brought about are, of course, the broad masses of workers and peas-

ants. Millions of unemployed and ruined peasants are doomed to starvation and suffering. The bourgeoisie of these countries are receiving the systematic aid of the big imperialist powers in all their plans of saving themselves at the expense of the broad masses and also crush every resistance against the terrible exploitation. The price that the bourgeoisie is requested to pay for that service is their consent to be utilized by the imperialists in their fight against the proletarian revolutions and the U. S. S. R.

Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania are virtual vassals of France and figure in all the schemes of French imperialism to provoke a war with the Soviet Union. The present scheme of France is to draw in the rest of the European countries into the Little Entente and augment her hegemony over the whole of Europe. Should she succeed in this scheme there will be created a monstrous power that will present the greatest danger to the existence of the Soviet Union.

About a year ago Germany attempted to establish a customs union with Austria which could eventually also include other European states. The late Aristide Briand employed his diplomatic talent and France's financial power to frustrate Germany's plan, and he succeeded. The French bourgeoisie envisaged in Germany's plan the danger to her hegemony and did not permit it to be carried out.

However, the interests of finance capital urgently require the adoption of a method by which to save the capitalist system in Europe. The narrow nationalist boundaries in which the small Danubian states are cramped in are a hindrance to their economic development which endangers the investments of the financiers and drives the peoples to revolt. They are consequently compelled to bring about some sort of a union among the small states in order to stimulate industry and commerce and save their investments. Their plans, however, are constantly clashing with their own contradictions, with the mutual rivalries and the strife for hegemony among the European powers. In each plan brought forward there brazenly protrudes the sinister aim of this or the other imperialist power to strengthen her hegemony over the other.

In the rivalry of the imperialists for "aiding" the impoverished small European countries there are revealed its true character of a conflict for hegemony, a conflict that recalls to memory the period preceding the last world war and which carries the germs of a similar outcome in a much more horrible shape, the danger of a world war of monstrous dimensions.

The Solution Lies in the Proletarian Revolution

The real solution to the plight of the peoples in the small European countries, lies in the hands of the European proletariat, in the direction of a proletarian revolution. Capitalism is unable to solve all the contradictions that have accumulated in the course of its development. Imperialism has brought ruin and bankruptcy to the broad masses and the small oppressed peoples. All its financial and diplomatic plans can only stave off the moment of its catastrophic collapse, but by no means, avoid it. The hour of the proletarian revolution has struck. Its beginning is on the order of the day in Europe, in Germany in the first line. The Communist Party of Germany is advancing the slogan of a Soviet Germany. What a Soviet Germany means for the whole of the European continent and particularly for the small European

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Left Oppositionist Speaks from the Tribune of the Prussian Diet

The following speech was delivered several weeks ago in the Prussian parliament by comrade Oskar Seipold, speaking in the name of our German brother section the Left Opposition of the C. P. G. From the parliamentary tribune the spokesman of the Left Opposition hurled the challenge of united proletarian action against the hordes of Hitler, mercilessly exposing the bourgeois "democratic" politicians and the social democratic lackeys for the role they are playing in paving the road for Fascism.

Making concrete proposals of mobilizing the workers for a genuine struggle against the Nazi danger, he forces the reformists to show their true colors, thus pointing the way to an effective Communist policy and permitting the masses to judge between the Leninist tactic of the Left Opposition and the impotent confusionism of the Stalinists. In these tense days, when the whole world looks anxiously to the outcome of the historic struggle now going on in Germany, the speech of comrade Seipold deserves especial attention on the part of all class conscious workers.

Rep. Seipold (Left Opposition of the C. P. G.): The nations of the entire world and especially we in Germany, are at present living under such conditions, that every serious conversation turns directly to the questions of high politics and the questions of high politics—to that of the revolution. In the history

of Parliamentarism, when it was still developing progressively and did not as yet fall into living decay, the question of the budget was always a question of high politics: Whoever has the key to the cash box, is the master of the household. When we pose the question of sovereignty in Prussia and Germany today, then we get as an answer that everything, budget and government, has at present only a temporary, unstable, provisional and hardly serious character. Budget and government are already waiting for an actual master of the household. But at present there are still administrators of the second rank in power. To be sure, administrators of capital! Least of all, is the Prussian government enduring, stable, serious in character. Prussia was at one time at the head of the Hohenzollern reaction; today it has become the tailend of the November revolution. Hitler is zealously sharpening his knife to cut off his tail. But he promises to do this with strict legality, to move within the framework of the Weimar constitution. You do not believe this? Then, you have not read the biography of the Corsican bandit who maintained in court, that he cut off the heads of his victims with such a diligent exactitude that he did not even disturb the circulation of the blood or their respiration. Hitler has undoubtedly learned his state surgery from this gentleman. Thirteen years ago, after the overthrow of the Hohenzollerns, the working class was factually master in the German household. The state based itself on the workers' and soldiers' councils. The bourgeoisie was forced to recognize the workers' and

soldiers' councils for better or worse, as the fundament of the state. But the working class was lulled to sleep by the leaders of the S. P. G. and the key to the house was stolen away from underneath its rest cushion. In this manner, the proletariat was again sold out to the bourgeois and betrayed. The social democracy promised to bring about prosperity and socialism democratically, to open the road to the golden mean, Germany and the world were to flourish under the protection of the League of Nations. Today, in the Far East, we already hear the thunder of cannon, despite this "protection," despite this "League of Nations." How many other illusions this party has spread, this party which believes in Wilson and Briand, which can have confidence in Bruening and hope in a Wilson, but cannot trust to the power of the proletariat and remains hostile to the only revolutionary workers' state in the world, the Soviet Union! In 1918, the social democrats renounced the path of revolutionary force in the name of "pure democracy." And after that? They have in the name of all this prepared and abetted the path of Fascist reaction, of counterrevolutionary force. They rejected Lenin and sowed the seed for that hiring of capital, for Hitler. While the Fascist bandit is sharpening his knife to cut off the head of the German working class, the social democratic leaders insist emphatically, that everything will be in order. For they have raised all in the spirit of democracy, including Hitler. The Heidelberg Program expresses itself in a similar vein: that

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In New York City the printers and the building trades are having their scales "adjusted." Intimations are made in no uncertain terms by the United States Steel Corporation directors that their several hundred thousand workers are due for another cut.

A few months ago the New York printing employers associations made a demand upon the allied trades for a 20 per cent reduction. Their contracts had not yet expired but this did not in the least deter the employers from calling upon their old friend Major Berry, President of the Pressman's Union. Major Berry came to their assistance, once again playing the role he has so often before played, namely to break the workers' ranks. In the name of the union he accepted a 7 per cent reduction for the pressmen. After that treacherous break the other unions began to follow suit: The mailers, the paper handlers, the cutters and the bookbinders similarly accepted cuts. Only the typographical union, the Big Six, is still holding out. It is holding out by virtue of the fact that the membership almost unanimously set themselves against the demand. But the officials, who, for the time being at least, had to pay heed to this decision, are trying to turn the tables in a different way. They are merely emphasizing the fact that the union contract does not expire until Sept. 31 this year, thus intimating that after that date the prospects of their following in the footsteps of Major Berry are likely to improve. That however, in the first instance depends upon how well the membership are able to prepare to frustrate it and to resist the attack.

Another Privileged Trade Hit

After the consistent barrage of the newspaper campaign, always holding up the building trades workers as a horrible example of "high pay and little work," the official wage reductions are beginning to keep step in city after city. Unofficially, of course, the level of actual wages paid has long ago been reduced. The employers undoubtedly know well enough that an official sanction for a reduction now will also make a further downward step in the actual level possible. In most of the larger cities the official reduction has already taken place; but there are no particular indications that even the season, which should now be at hand, will anywhere approach an absorption of the jobless builders.

Last week the New York Building Trades Employers Association broke off all parleys and sent the unions an ultimatum to accept a 20 to 35 per cent reduction. It was done by the simple process of posting notices. The reduction will involve some 115,000 workers. It is to take effect May 1, and is scheduled to run until December 31, 1933. In this manner the employers aim to also gain a more propitious time for expiration just prior to the beginning of the winter months. But it should not be forgotten that they do not at all propose to sign any kind of agreement, thus leaving themselves the option of decreasing further reductions whenever they see fit. Yet in this respect also, the calculations would still depend upon what the organized workers may have to say about it.

It is reported that the New York Building Trades Council, through President Falkett, has announced that it will resist. How much confidence can be placed in this announcement one may gather from the offer already previously made by the council to accept a 15 per cent reduction. And it becomes a good deal clearer by the observation that at this time no steps whatever have been taken for organizational preparation to resist.

Obviously, as far as the wage cutting campaign is concerned, there is today little distinction made between the organized and the unorganized workers. That this could become possible is, in the first instance, an expression of the advantage taken by the employers of the severe unemployment crisis. But it can also largely be ascribed to the complete failure of the present union leadership.

In view of what is happening to the

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Greek Opposition Holds Convention

ATHENS, GREECE—

Our National Congress took place in Athens on March 25-26. Forty-eight delegates were present from all Greece, representing 2,000 members. The Congress was preceded by 3 Regional Conferences (1) Macedonia & Thessaly district, (2) East Macedonia and West Thrace, (3) Athens, Peloponnesus & Islands. The national and international problems were discussed in the organization nuclei before the Congress and the conclusions arrived at will be published in Davlos, No. 3. (Theoretical Organ of the Greek Left Opposition).

The Congress took the opportunity of reviewing the long and hard history of our organization, the roots of which are found in the First Congress of the So-

cialist Labour Party (now C. P.) in 1918, through this long period up to now. The experiences accumulated will encourage us to continue on the path laid down by the forerunner of our organization, the "Communist Union" which formed the Left wing of the Congress of the S. L. P. in 1918, and whose ideas (the necessity of a homogeneous nucleus, the formation of cadres, the assimilation of Bolshevik experience, etc.) are forming the foundation upon which our organization rests. We feel certain that our Congress will be a landmark in the history of the revolutionary movement in Greece.

We are preparing a report on the Congress for the International Secretariat and for the national sections.

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

Among the Unemployed

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The 826,000 persons, consisting almost entirely of workers and their families, who are completely dependent upon the various city relief organizations for their food and shelter, are about to learn once more the blessings of living in a capitalist society. This vast number does not include the thousands, who have been refused aid on one shabby pretext or another, nor does it include the tens of thousands of others, who have been patiently starving while their cases are being "investigated."

In the N. Y. Times of April 5th, Frank J. Taylor, Commissioner of Public Welfare, stated that the Home Relief Bureau, taking care of 125,000 families, would due to lack of funds immediately close fifty of its seventy-five precinct relief stations and that food allowances, averaging about four dollars a week per family, would be cut ten per cent. He admitted that this cut would compel those receiving this small amount to live on a very monotonous diet and that malnutrition, that is, starvation, and illness would be the result of it, affecting especially children.

In the same article it is stated that the daily outlay of \$78,000 is to be cut to \$30,000, which means that over half of those workers and their families now receiving aid will be refused further assistance. But this is by no means the complete story. The Times carried an article on Monday, April 11th, stating that the \$32,500,000 which the city has been doling out since last fall, is practically exhausted and that unless further funds are raised all relief will come to a standstill on June 1st. \$32,500,000 may seem to many an enormous sum of money, but it is less than the wages the millions of unemployed workers in this city would ordinarily earn in two weeks!

Touched by the misery of these "poor unfortunates" the Commissioner calls for an additional \$20,000,000 to continue the "good work". But that the city has definitely decided to pass the buck is proven by the inauguration, some three weeks ago, of the "Block-Aiders". The plan of this organization is to collect money on each block in the city to support the unemployed living on that block, and by these means placing the burden directly upon those workers who still have jobs. While these workers whose wages have been cut in half are saddled with this huge task, the civic association, composed of bosses and property owners, are clamoring for a reduction in taxes and are demanding that the city reduce its expenses by cutting the relief appropriations and by firing large numbers of its employees. They are well aware that these measures will swell the ranks of the unemployed, but they are concerned only with their own profits.

That the workers, all of whom are faced with these prospects, have not in any considerable number begun to fight against them is evident. This is due primarily to the fact that the only party capable of leading them, the Communist Party of America by its false policies and inadequate slogans, has succeeded under Stalinist leadership only in cutting itself off almost entirely from the masses. That the working class of America as a whole is backward is well known, but the pressure of conditions, that is, unemployment, wage cuts and starvation cannot help but move them to action within the coming period.

—W. K.

CLEVELAND WORKERS ATTENTION!
OPEN FORUM
Every Friday Night
Carpenters Hall, 13503 Kinsman Road
Left Opposition speakers

Economic Crisis Continues to Deepen

The crisis is still deepening. It is enough to look at the latest Annalist (April 15) to find abundant evidence to that effect. The graphs show that pig iron and steel ingot production have fallen to new lows for the entire period since 1919. All the other indices of the country's production are likewise moving downward.

The expected spring upturn has proved to be another disappointment to the Babsons and the people who still swallow their stuff. The economic messianism of Ford took the form of a machine gun fusillade.

The purveyors of bourgeois optimism now restrict their hope to more qualified formulations than they used formerly. Thus the New York Times of April 18: "During the last week some officials expressed, with what has been described as 'cautious optimism', the view that the worst features of liquidation may be over and that a turn in the tide has come or soon will come, with a slow recovery from economic depression in this country." Expressions heard now are

DEBATE

On Friday, May 6th at 8 P. M. at the Labor Temple, the Spartacus Youth Club will debate the Young Peoples Socialist League on: **Socialism vs. Communism**. Can the Program of the Socialist Party Emancipate the American Worker? Comrades Glotzer and Ray will defend the Communist position. Frank Palmer of the Federated Press will be the chairman. Both sides are busy preparing.

The big hall in the Labor Temple has been reserved for that evening. Admission is 50c ticket and only 20c. Tickets are on sale at 84 East 10th Street.

From a Ford Worker

THE MASSACRE MODEL

The agencies and shops of the Ford Motor Co., on account of the low prices and low running expenses of the Ford cars, kept comparatively busy through the deepening depression. But it reached them, too. The shops became empty. Men were laid off. Dealers went bankrupt. The Ford Motor Co. kept silent. Dealers suffered nervous tensions. While the public was told at regular intervals that thousands of men were going back to work and prosperity, the dealers heard nothing. The Ford Motor Co. had a new car ready for the public. But in the low market it would have been merely another car. "It was scrapped." The Ford Co. pursued a policy of watchful waiting. Now it is ready to spring, the real thing. The curtain is lifting and with the V8, the Massacre Model, we behold a new phase of development of the capitalist system. The great advertising machine works better than ever before. While the big press is humming with the heroic attempt of Henry Ford to crank up the stalled machinery of production once more, the Ford dealers and their employers are rounded up and submitted to truly high pressure sales oratory. The high official of the Ford Motor Co. speaking at the roundup in Ohio treated his audience as so many children. He never once even touched the fundamental function of the capitalist system of production; the increasing number of all kinds of commodities produced by labor displacing machines, which less and less people are able to buy. No, the blame was put on the dealers and their employers. It is the failure to meet the customer with the right service smile sticking out of a brand new theater usher uniform. It is the failure to paint a white border around the floor 6 inch high and 6 inch wide, that caused the prospective customer not to rush in. There is nothing wrong with the country physically, it is all mental. "Worry kills, work thrills—now go to work and Spring is not far off." "To be sure there are hardships and suffering. There are employers who toss sleeplessly on their pillows trying to make things meet on pay day. But there are heroes among you who decline to lay off men, who look optimistically into the future. Be glad that you are still hanging on. We ought to have enough decency not to bite the hands that feed us (the speaker was hitting at the grumblings of the dealers). What would you do without the Ford Motor Co. providing jobs for you?" Here the writer broke the spell and made the mental note that the workers of America and the whole world will give the only reply to that question in the not too distant future. A reply that will startle the Fords and the Schwabs, the Rockefellers and the Morgans. The workers will give them a tremendous kick in the pants and take away from them the means of production and organize it on a different basis—production for use and not for private profits—will provide a job for every one wanting one.

All this while no hands are working on the V 8. The Massacre Model in small numbers is rushed from one showroom to another. The "thousands" of men are still waiting at this writing for the final word to start in (middle of March). It is a life and death question for the American workers to learn to understand the functions of this vicious capitalist system of ours and prepare for its destruction in order to make room for the new system of production. And don't let them kid you, if they yell "Communists", "Bolsheviks", "Reds".

—FORD WORKER.

Opposition Press Drive: May 1 - June 1

The final month of the Militant subscription drive has been incorporated in a campaign to secure the Left Opposition press. This campaign will open on the first of May and close on the first of June. Its objective is to build a solid foundation for our papers. Its central slogan is **BUILD THE OPPOSITION PRESS**. Its goal is \$1,000. This is to be distributed as follows: 50% to The Militant; 30% to Unser Kampf; 10% to Communism; 10% to Young Spartacus. This division is exclusive of remittances made during this month for subs and bundle orders. These proceeds will be turned over to the proper organs without division but will be included in their totals.

Quotas have been assigned to the branches. They are: New York—\$400; Minneapolis—\$180; Chicago—\$100; Toronto—\$70; Boston—\$40; Philadelphia—\$40; Cleveland—\$40; Newark—\$35; Kansas City—\$30; St. Louis—\$25; Youngstown—\$10; Los Angeles—\$10; New Haven—\$10; Montreal—\$10.

If any branch is of the opinion that its financial ability has been underestimated in these quotas we will gladly raise its figure with appropriate self criticism. On the other hand nothing can persuade us that any quota should be lowered. Each week we will publish the quota and results attained by each branch for all to see.

These quotas can be realized by working along the lines already worked out and described below.

CAMPAIGN SCHEDULE

The first week of the campaign, May 1 to May 6 inclusive, is to be devoted to an organized distribution of recent back issues of our papers, and simultaneous and subsequent follow-up sales of current issues together with sales of our literature. The back numbers will be sent out simultaneously with this announcement. The branches should immediately inventory their stocks of literature, and if short, should order at once.

The second week of the campaign, May 8 to 14 inclusive, is to be devoted to collections. This should be a concentrated, organized drive. Everyone who has an iota of sympathy for the ideas and struggle of the Left Opposition should be ferreted out and asked to help with donations and pledges. All donations and pledges should be solicited for payment during the month. We are counting upon all our members and supporters to take collection boxes and work actively in this collection.

The third week, May 15 to May 22 inclusive, is to be devoted to a canvass for new subs, renewals, and bundle orders for news stands and bookstores. The organization in the second week of the campaign should be swung into line for this work. In this work the literature premiums, combined sub rates, the timeliness of comrade Trotsky's writings, especially on the German question, news stand posters, return privileges on bundle orders should be utilized to the utmost.

The fourth week, May 23 to May 30 inclusive, is to be devoted to the organization of affairs for the benefit of our press. These affairs can be either indoor entertainments in rented halls or private houses, or outdoor picnics, hikes; whatever conditions make easiest and most productive. If possible the affairs should be held during the week-end on May 28, 29, or 30 so that the entire League can wind up the campaign at the same time on a national scale.

Each branch should elect a committee to organize its share of the campaign work. The committee must report all results by air mail. The reports must be in the mail not later than noon on Monday following the close of the preceding week. This is necessary to make The Militant on time. All reports will be published in all our organs. All material necessary for the campaign will be supplied by the national office.

APPEAL TO SYMPATHIZERS

In cities where we have no branches we appeal to our readers and sympathizers to give us a concrete manifestation of their support by actively joining in the campaign. If they will write us immediately we will outline for them a plan we have already worked out.

All comrades should understand that with our extremely slender resources we are issuing four organs in three languages. The revolutionary movement has rarely witnessed a similar achievement. We are determined to continue, to go ahead as soon as possible. What we need at the present time is a sounder financial basis, an increase in our technical equipment, a wider circle of readers.

All three are, of course, inseparable. They can be achieved only simultaneously. That is why our campaign is organized along the lines described above. We are confident that whoever sees the problem this way will contribute his

MILITANT AFFAIR

On Saturday, April 30 at 8 P. M. the New York branch of the League will hold an affair at its headquarters, 84 East 10th Street, for the benefit of The Militant. This affair is being organized by the captains of The Militant subscription drive teams, comrades Crane and Bord. The entire proceeds of the affair will be turned over to The Militant. Admission is by ticket and is only 25c. Tickets can be purchased at the door by those comrades whom we fail to reach through the mail or otherwise. The unique feature of the affair is that everyone who pays for a ticket is entitled to an eight issue sub to The Militant for himself and a friend. Out-of-town branches please note,

time and energy to—**BUILD THE OPPOSITION PRESS.**

Early this week comrade Coover reported nine subs to The Militant and three to Unser Kampf. This shot Minneapolis to the head of the list in the standing of the branches. And we were going to report it this way. But just as we were going to press New York crossed the tape with one sub, its long contribution for the week, and they were tied. At this rate Minneapolis will realize its intention of giving the New York branch a drubbing. The standing of the branches is as follows:

Minneapolis	33
New York	33
Chicago	8
Boston	4
St. Louis	1
Newark	1
Philadelphia	1
Montreal	1
Miscellaneous	18

This makes a total of 100 subs against 87 last week, an increase of 13. No new bundle orders are reported.

The situation in Minneapolis can be seen from comrade Coover's words: "The No. 1 Team (Myles Dunne, Capt.) totaled 3 1-2 points for the second week in April making that No. 1 Team's standing 28 1-4 points; while the No. 2 Team (Wm. Curran, Capt.) again increased their weekly total by getting 9 1-2 points, making their total 27 points. Not quite enough, however, to catch up with the No. 1 Team."

"Total points for the Minneapolis branch for April 13 stood at 55 1-4. The next two weeks are going to bring forth some keen competition between the rival teams as the team having the highest total on Wednesday, April 27 are to be the guests at an affair to be put on by the other team. League members and sympathizers should get their subs into the hands of one or the other of the team captains before April 27th."

What is there to say about this except—other branches please copy.

The New York branch is holding an affair for The Militant on April 30. It has a unique idea which can be copied profitably by the other branches. The admission price of 25 cents entitles the ticket holder or a friend to an 8 issue sub to The Militant. The affair is described elsewhere in this issue.

The staff of Militant Builders is growing. It now includes 25 comrades, an increase of four over last week. Minneapolis is more than ever its mainstay. The staff and its record follow: C. Cowl—5; A. Konikov—4; V. R. Dunne—4; F. Barach—4; L. Basky—3; C. Skoglund—3; M. Dunne—3; C. R. Hedlund—3; O. Coover—2; J. Carter—1; R. Ruskin—1; C. Forsen—1; H. Capellis—1; L. Roseland—1; R. Sacharow—1; S. Zalmanoff—1; W. Herman—1; A. Swacke—1; A. Glotzer—1; L. Logan—1; Kaldis—1; G. Ray—1; M. Sterling—1; W. Curran—1.

We expect that the press campaign will see this staff grow to many times its present size. The question now is—will Minneapolis have a pushover, or are the other branches going to wake up and give it a fight?

Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition -- 1923

(Continued from last issue)

In addition to Trotsky's initial letter of October 8, the Central Committee received, on October 15, a letter signed by 46 of the most prominent Russian Bolsheviks, including Platakov, Preobrazhensky, Sosnovsky, Blabolodov, Sapronov, Muralov, Antonov, Kossior, Serebriakov, Rafael, Rosengoltz and others, which presented virtually the same criticisms and plan of action as were contained in Trotsky's letter. A short time later, Radek also added his voice to the others, even if more cautiously.

The Bureaucrats "Yield"

Under such a bombardment, the majority of the Political Bureau was compelled to act for fear that the wave of discontent would become so mighty as to sweep them away with it. A faint-hearted resolution on workers' democracy was drawn up which met with an instant rejection from Trotsky. Knowing that he represented to the full the hopes and aspirations of the great bulk of the party membership, and especially the masses of the youth who were chafing under the yoke of an arrogant apparatus, the Political Bureau majority was compelled to scrap its own resolution and appoint a commission resulted in the resolution being written essentially by his pen. Its final publication as a unanimous document on December 7 constituted a tremendous victory for the fight initiated by Trotsky.

Unfortunately, the victory was a short-lived one. It had been agreed in the Political Bureau, on Trotsky's proposal, that he would popularize the program of workers' democracy in the ranks, while the rest of the Political Bureau members would "restrain it from excesses from above". So overjoyed at the resolution were the party members, that the discussion in the ranks broke loose with a turbulence that indicated many months, and perhaps years, of pent-up sentiments. Even non-party workers followed the discussions with a keen interest. Pravda alone had to publish from 20 to 30 columns of discussions and motions each day. All questions were put and discussed freely and frankly. The popularity of Trotsky and those who had associated themselves with him, grew by leaps and bounds. Stalin, Zinoviev and Co., who had stood in the way as long as they could, came in for heavy criticism which boded them no great good.

Canadian miners

In the lignite coal mining industry of Saskatchewan another wedge has been dug into black layers of coal.

The developments are at present taking place in the southern portion of that Province, at Beinfalt and Estevan, the centre of the soft coal mining camps, controlled by British, American and Canadian capital. The town of Beinfalt is a typical company town of about 2,800 people, containing all the primitive conditions of civilization, wooden shacks, earthen streets, company stores, etc., and none of its amenities, as far as the miners are concerned. The bosses of this district are virulently against the workers organizing into unions of any kind and when, under the pressure of their conditions, the miners came out on strike under the banner of the Left wing Mine Workers' Union of Canada against their low wages and intensified rationalization, for an equitable distribution of work and the right to appoint their own checkweighman, the operators had their tools on the municipal council of the nearby town of Estevan, where the miners usually meet. Resolutions were railroaded through prohibiting the miners meeting in halls or parading through the streets, using this as a means to hinder the miners in their organization. It is also believed the U. M. W. A. gave the bosses their best advice on how to break a strike.

From the sparse reports received here, the union was successful in calling out a large proportion of the miners, who decided to hold a parade and demonstration in Estevan. It took place on September 29th, 1931. With the sympathy and support of the poor farmers of the district, the parade started off in 80 cars and trucks filled with miners and their families. Upon reaching the town they were met by a cordon of Royal Canadian Mounted Police armed with all the instruments of warfare; three of the trucks turned off the highway into the town, the occupants dismounted and the police came after them and arrested their leader, a miner. Their comrades in other trucks came down and proceeded to see what was the matter; the police, without warning, immediately opened fire on the defenseless men, women and children, who tried to defend themselves by throwing stones at the mounties. Three miners killed and a number injured. Peace, order and good government prevailed!

Six hours later, after the local authorities had been in telephone conversation with the provincial Attorney-General, warrants were issued for the arrest of all Left wing leaders in the district, no doubt at the instigation of the Section 98 Premier, Bennett. 25 miners were arrested, including three of their leaders and charged with "unlawful assembly, rioting, etc. al. The trials", which have been termed by defense counsel as "the great frame-up in the Province of Saskatchewan and the Dominion of Canada" have just concluded. Naturally, all were found guilty by the judge and jury; most of them were placed

on bond or given short terms of imprisonment. A Builer, in charge of women's work, who was not even in the demonstration and to whom the jury recommended leniency, was sentenced to one year at hard labor plus a \$500 fine; Sam Scarlett received one year plus \$100 and I. Minister, two years at hard labor. The judge was especially vicious with those comrades who expressed their working-class sentiments openly in court. For instance, one J. McLean, a checkweighman, who incurred the hatred of the bosses, and whose crime consisted in refusing to cheat the miners, was about to be placed on suspended sentence, and the judge was expressing hypocritical solicitude from his sick wife. McLean informed the judge that his wife needed bread and not judicial sentiment—and McLean was given eight months at hard labor. These cases are being appealed.

The suffering of the miners in the West has made them militant, and sporadic strikes are still taking place. A call has been issued for a general strike, and under proper Left wing leadership this strike activity may be developed into homogeneous action. The miners in Canada and the U. S. A. are beginning to move, and may become the harbinger of the upward swing in the workers' struggles.

Information as to the exact economic influences in the coal industry in the West, the status of the miners, striking and non-striking, employed and unemployed, what role the reformists are playing there, and in general, the correlation of forces, is sadly lacking in the Party press here. Reports issued are merely of an informative and news character. The Estevan case has aroused intense feeling in the West. It should be made a national issue among the workers of the whole Dominion, and linked up with the general terrorism prevailing in Canada which was given the lead in Toronto with the outlawing of the Party and sentencing of eight of its leaders.

—S. GREEN.

Wage Cut Drive

(Continued from page 1)

organized sections it is no surprise at all to learn of the announcement made by the President of the Board of Directors of the U. S. Steel Corporation that new wage reductions are under consideration. To be under consideration by this board usually means to become an unfulfilling reality, only the question of time being involved.

From the A. F. of L. Executive Council there have been many grandiose declarations for maintenance of the workers' purchasing power. Wage reductions mean the opposite. It should therefore be about time that the rank and file ask these gentlemen just how serious they mean their declaration. But it is yet more important for the rank and file to realize that nothing will stop this constant reduction of their standard of living except an effective fighting resistance.

It is this fact that created alarm in the ranks of the bureaucracy. In their secret factional meetings (as Zinoviev later revealed), it was decided to launch a campaign against Trotsky in order to discredit him and the Opposition, and thereby to strengthen the domination of the bureaucracy in the struggle against workers' democracy in the ranks.

The pretext for the campaign was a series of articles written by Trotsky, later collected under the title of "The New Course", in which he elucidated the whole situation with such a wealth of ideas, a Marxian clarity of thought, mastery of the historical dialectic and profundity of analysis as will make it for decades a model of classic revolutionary writing and a textbook for the Russian revolution.

Between the time of the sudden decision of the conspirators and the convocation of the 13th party congress a few weeks later (January 1924), the Russian party was treated to one of the most disgraceful and criminal spectacles known in the working class political movement. Without warning, without rhyme or reason, a thunderous barrage was laid down against "Trotskyism" and Trotsky. Out of the archives of the historical past was dragged the theory of the permanent revolution, its whole meaning deliberately distorted, transformed into an "underestimation of the peasantry" and a "skipping over stages" and the resulting caricature attributed to Trotsky.

The press, completely in the hands of the bureaucracy, began a concerted heavy drive to discredit Trotsky and the Opposition. White Guard lies spread during the civil war about Trotsky's "differences with Lenin on the peasant question", were not only revived, but officially incorporated in the indictment against Trotsky. Trotsky was falsely accused of "arousing the youth against the Old Guard". He was accused, again falsely, of standing for permanent factionalism in the party. And in every nucleus, using that very same system which Bucharin denounced so sharply in the speech we quoted above, under the lash of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Stalin and Bucharin, the members were compelled to vote condemnations of Trotsky. The various parties of the Comintern were ordered to endorse the "majority of the Old Guard" and to denounce Trotsky, in face of the fact that 99% of

the Comintern membership had never seen the documents in question, had never read Trotsky's articles. This poisonous system of political discussion continued in later years until it ate into the very heart of the International. Voting by command, voting by faith, voting in ignorance and under bureaucratic compulsion—this was the despicable and self-destructive method used to get the "unanimous" denunciations of the Opposition.

Zinoviev's Revealing Admission
Two and a half years later, the whole tragic burlesque of the first "anti-Trotskyist" campaign was exposed by Zinoviev and Kamenev when they broke with Stalin. They revealed how the whole thing had been manufactured in secret, how "Trotskyism" had been invented for factional purposes. These two were the leaders, the main "teachers" in the struggle against "Trotskyism". The declaration signed by them in 1925 is therefore of fundamental and decisive importance for every revolutionist in estimating the 1923 struggle at its real value.

"At present, there can no longer be any doubt that the kernel of the 1923 Opposition was right in warning against the danger of abandoning the proletarian line and of the growth of the apparatus regime. Dozens and hundreds of leaders of the 1923 Opposition are, to this day, kept away from work in the party and there are among them old worker-Bolsheviks, tempered in the struggle, strangers to careerism and arrivism, in spite of the discipline and endurance which they have manifested."

—M. SHAOHTMAN.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Appeal to the S. A. P.

The Left Opposition Addresses the Centrist Party Congress

Due to the exceptional importance and interest of the events now taking place there, we are devoting the International Page of the present issue to the situation in Germany. Directly below, we are publishing the Appeal of the German Left Opposition to the Congress of the Socialist Labor Party (S. A. P.—Sozialistische Arbeiter Partei), the new Centrist party under the leadership of Left wing social democrats who were recently expelled from the reformist S. P. G.—Ed.

To the members of the S. P. G. (Socialist Labor Party of Germany) and of the S. J. V. (Youth Section).

To the delegates of the Party Conference.

Only a few months after the formation of your organization there takes place the congress of your party. We turn to you on this occasion to direct your attention in comradely fashion to those problems set on the order of the day by the present situation.

The formation of the S. A. P. reflects the deep crisis of the capitalist economic system on the one hand, on the other, the class betrayal of the social democracy and also the grave political errors of the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany. These three factors determine also the basis of existence of your party. The deep economic crisis and the enormous sharpening of the class struggle bound therewith do not permit for any length of time the existence of a party vacillating between reformism and Communism. The complete bankruptcy of reformism, the now open betrayal of the S. P. G. and the Second International in the ranks of the social democratic workers to the point of breaking with reformism.

As a result of your incorrect appraisal of the Communist party you have not succeeded in introducing clarity as to the revolutionary way out but, on the contrary, have only arrived at a stage of considerable ideological confusion in the ranks of your own party concerning the fundamental problems of the revolutionary movement.

Only when you achieve full clarity concerning these fundamental questions will you be capable of leading your members and sympathizers along the right road—along the road of the proletarian revolution.

On this ground we consider it our duty to present to you our view on these questions in dispute and to call your attention to the dangerous consequences of your incorrect understanding of these important fundamental questions.

Struggle against Pacifism!

Please tell us, comrades of the S. A. P. if you want to make a revolutionary Communist party out of the S. A. P., how can you then permit in the pages of your newspaper the rottenest kind of pacifism? For example, the S. A. P. organ of the 7th of February contains profound speculations as to whether the plan of the French imperialists is a "work of peace" and concludes by calling it "the only constructive plan". On the 8th of March, Kleinest not only dedicates a most respectful notice to the memory of the renegade Briand, under whose administration (in France) the largest number of striking workers were shot down, but even declares concerning his Pan-European idea that "it reveals indeed that far-reaching socialistic tendency which bears in itself to a large extent the idea of organized economy."

This is the same "socialistic tendency" which the social democratic leader and later editor of the D. A. Z., Paul Lensech, had already discovered in war economy. If the whole of pacifism is nothing but a bourgeois fraud perpetrated on the working class, then this special sort of pacifism, irrespective of the motives which give rise to it, is clearly the work of agents of French imperialism. Comrades of the S. A. P., how can you tolerate such ideas?

To the nationalist idea of defeated German imperialism the revolutionary proletariat opposes not a nationalist "liberation program" and certainly not the idea of a "united" Europe under the hegemony of the French bourgeoisie, but the idea of the Soviet United States of Europe.

The pacifistic conception is in no way the monopoly of Kleinest. You all know that Kuenter's group is not better by a hair, yes, you must make clear to yourself that the centrist leadership of Seydewitz-Rosenfeld represents the same point of view in spite of all radical phrases. That is clear from their behaviour in the Reichstag when they voted against the proposal of the C. P. G. (in their opinion national-Communist) to withdraw from the League of Nations.

*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung—reactionary newspaper.

Besides, pacifism in the S. A. P. has its special meaning. Since reformism does not dare openly to enter the field of internal politics in the present situation, it betakes itself to the field of external politics where it intends to hide its face better from the workers.

The revolutionary workers have nothing in common with the renegade Briand and with the imperialist Tardieu. It is a violation of revolutionary thought to swear in the same newspaper by Briand, Leon Blum, Paul Faure, Paul Levi and by Liebknecht and Lenin.

If you want to make a revolutionary

party out of the S. A. P. you will draw the conclusion that membership in it is incompatible with Brandism and pacifism. There can be compromise between bourgeois pacifism and revolutionary internationalism.

Does the "Declaration of Principles" Create Clarity?

In so far as the S. A. P. separates itself from the S. P. G. and the Second International in its "Declaration of Principles" and recognizes the dictatorship of the proletariat it takes a step forward. But in so far as it wishes to establish its position toward the C. P. G. and the C. I. it does not go beyond general, unprecise formulas. In this respect it undoubtedly reflects the centrist conceptions which are hidden behind general formulas and even openly avoids the revolutionary terminology used in the entire Marxist-Leninist literature. Just one example of this. After it is stated correctly in paragraph 3, part 2, why the proletariat must destroy the bourgeois state and build its own, it is stated in paragraph 4 that this is the expression of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. Why not "the state form of the victorious proletariat" is the dictatorship of the proletariat", etc.? Do not somehow the conceptions Kautsky-Bauer hide behind these formulations? It must be said clearly that the dictatorship is irreconcilable with every form of bourgeois democracy. The core of the entire declaration doubtless is contained in the following paragraphs 9, 10 and 11. They present the necessity for and the role of the S. A. P., neither more nor less, in relation to the S. P. G. and the C. P. G. In paragraph 9 their unbridgeable difference from the S. P. G. and the Second International is set down and the winning of social democratic workers to a revolutionary policy is given as the important task. In paragraph 10 it is set forth that the Communist party and the C. I. showed themselves unable to give leadership to the proletarian masses in the revolutionary crisis and that the organizational system of the C. I., as it has developed itself, makes the regeneration of the revolutionary workers movement difficult. We must affirm that both in freeing of the S. P. G. workers from reformism and in winning of C. P. G. workers, the S. A. P. has proved unsuccessful until now. Why? Have you given thought to this?

You could not win S. P. G. workers because you yourselves are not fully clear as to the way out of this frightful situation for the working class. On the one hand you have contempt for the League of Nations, on the other hand you vote against the C. P. G. proposal for withdrawal from the League; on the one hand a clear front against French imperialism, on the other, words of praise for one of its most subtle representatives, Briand; on the one hand recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the other visible currents for the "overcoming" of capitalism by democratic means. With such ideological confusion a S. P. G. worker cannot be won for the revolution. And how does it look with the winning over of the C. P. G. worker? "Inability of the C. P. G. and the C. I." "Organizational system of the C. I." It is impossible to win over the Communist workers with such general and hazy slogans. The Communist workers have fought reformism for some time, even when Seydewitz-Rosenfeld, "for the sake of discipline", were covering up all the betrayals of reformism. It is not sufficient therefore to be correct on a few separate tactical questions as against the C. P. G. but it is incumbent on the S. A. P. to explain fundamentally what separates it from the C. I., if the differences are mainly merely of a tactical and organizational nature, why then a new party? Why not concentrate all forces for the reform of the C. I.? Why not support the Left wing of the Comintern and the C. P. G. in its struggle to reform the C. I.? These questions must be answered clearly and unequivocally.

It is not accidental that the weightiest part of your "Declaration of Principles" is also the weakest and the most general in form. Here you must show clearly what you want!

Socialism in One Country or Revolutionary Internationalism?

Opposed to the centrists in control of the S. A. P. stands a Left wing. Unfortunately clarity could not develop there, indeed at times the will for it was lacking.

The clearest document of the Left wing S. A. P.—comrades is the declaration of Rueck-Duby-Schaber. This document repeats the most mistakes of Stalinist centrism in the international, especially Russian, questions. It separates itself from Stalin, exactly like Brandler-Thalheimer do only on German questions of second rate importance.

The shameful end of the Brandler group has made clear that without clarity in international questions neither a revolutionary organization nor a revolutionary line can endure.

In contradiction to this we consider it our duty to present several fundamental considerations. Although the limits of this document do not allow us a complete presentation of all the important questions of Comintern policies, we find it necessary to take up the decisive experiences of the last 9 years.

The leading role of the Communist party of the Soviet Union in the Comintern arose because of the victory of the proletarian revolution in the S. U. through which the Communist Party of the S. U. became the only party in the C. I. which assembled the tremendous experiences of a great revolution. From these experiences the young Communist parties should have learned and made their own the strategy and tactics of the struggle for the conquest of power of the proletariat. As long as the Communist Party of the S. U. pursued a policy based on the experiences of the proletarian revolution, the leading role of this party exerted a positive influence on all sections of the C. I. That was the period in which Lenin and Trotsky stood at the head of the C. I.

Through the introduction of the N. E. P. in 1921 in the S. U. which was made necessary by the failure of the European revolution to materialize, there began a strengthening of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. Simultaneously with this process went on the process of gathering the revolutionary proletariat of Europe for the decisive battles facing them. In the middle of 1923 the C. I. had to undergo tests of momentous historic significance.

In Bulgaria the Communist party was confronted with the task of leading the Bulgarian proletariat and the village poor to victory by utilizing the differences between the Stambulsky regime, the representative of the rich farmers, and the Fascist party under the leadership of Zankov, the representative of finance capital. The leadership of the C. I. and of the Bulgarian party refused to take advantage of the differences between the Stambulsky regime and Zankov, they maintained neutrality as they were of the opinion that democracy and dictatorship were one and the same. This political stand led to the victory of the Fascist dictatorship in Bulgaria. The result was the destruction of over twenty thousand revolutionary workers and peasants.

In Germany in 1923 the situation was extremely tense. It demanded imperatively a revolutionary solution. The Communist party at that time became a mass party not only by its numerical strength but by its extra-parliamentary influence. The masses looked toward the C. P. G. awaited from it the solution. At that time not only Brandler and Thalheimer but the entire Comintern leadership failed it. Characteristic for that situation is the fact that Stalin demanded from the German Communist Party the restraining of the armed uprising, while Trotsky demanded the immediate organization of the uprising. The German defeat of 1923 signaled the danger which can be characterized as the crisis of revolutionary leadership on the eve of the transition to armed uprising.

The new defeats on the international arena, after the proletarian revolution in Europe previously had failed to appear, led to a further strengthening of capitalist elements and the bureaucracy in the S. U. From this moment on begins that process in the C. P. G. of S. U. which finds its expression in the negation of the international character of the Russian revolution and in the development of the theory of "socialism in one country".

These theories led first in the years 1923-1928 to the policy of building socialism in one country with the help of the kulak, the rich peasant, in the course of which the Left Opposition under the leadership of Trotsky were condemned and persecuted on account of their demand for industrialization and collectivization. This theory was relinquished in 1928, when under pressure of objective difficulties and the criticism of the Left Opposition, Stalin turned to the ultra-left course of bureaucratic tempos for the reconstruction of economy without any consideration of the objective and subjective possibilities.

The theory of socialism in one country is a reactionary theory which contradicts the foundations of Marxism-Leninism. The present weakness of the C. I. can be explained only by this theory. The following quotation shows how far this theory is removed from Lenin's conceptions. Stalin says (Pravda, No. 28 of Nov. 12, 1926):

"The difference of opinion consists in this, that the party considers it possible to overcome fully and completely the inner contradictions and possible conflicts by the inner power of the revolution itself, while comrade Trotsky and the opposition believe that these contradictions and conflicts can be solved only on the arena of the international proletarian revolution."

Lenin says on this subject:

"Poor Russia will become rich when it throws aside every misgiving, every phrase, when it grinds its teeth, gathers its strength, strains all its nerves and muscles and grasps that the salvation is possible only on the road of the international socialist revolution along which we are already marching" (Lenin, Vol. 15, page 165). "We have always declared and repeated that old Marxian truth that for the victory of socialism the combined efforts of the working class of several advanced countries are needed" (The Infantile Disease of Leftism).

How far removed are these conceptions of Lenin from the hymns of victory of Stalin and Molotov at the 17th party conference over the beginnings of a classless society in the S. U. This is the sharp difference between national Communism and revolutionary internationalism.

(To be continued)

Speech of Com. Seipold in the Landtag

The Voice of the International Left Opposition in the Prussian Parliament

(Continued from page 1)

democracy is humanizing the enemies of the working class. Now, you can rest assured: when Hitler lets your head roll, then you can assume with certainty, your political integrity will have very little left to lose by this operation. Hitler's announcements are calculated for blockheads and have the interests of scoundrels and fakers at heart. The growth of the Hitler party unfortunately proves that stupidity in the German nation is not yet rare. But Hitler is miscalculating when he believes that he will be able to deceive the German working class as Wels, Hilferding and company have. In 1918 Herr Hilferding attempted to coordinate the Weimar constitution with the workers' councils. In 1932 he is no doubt racking his brain over how it is possible to conciliate the tailend of the Weimar constitution with the Fascist armories. But Herr Hilferding may have to conclude this theme in the emigration, if the outcome of events is to depend upon the leadership of the social democracy. His fate would be that of the Italian social democrats, who also fought against the methods of Bolshevism so long until they played the Italian proletariat and the Italian people into the hands of the hangman Mussolini.

A Communist deputy said in the Reichstag: "We do not fear the Nazis. For when they come to power, they will very soon exhaust themselves". Comrades, Communists, that is a fundamentally wrong point of view. For, we must not wait. We must not consider the seizure of power by the Nazis as a simple test for Hitler. That may be the point of view of the bourgeois democrats. But it is in no case a Communist point of view. Power in the hands of the Nazis would mean jail for the working class, the gallows for its vanguard, Golgotha for the producing people. (Rep. Kasper—C. P. G.: But who said that?)—Remembered, on October 15, I believe, but we can look that up—We must gather the working class for struggle before Hitler's dream of a Third Empire has become a reality. We must unite the working class in a single united front.

(Intervention from the Communist benches: And that is why you wiped the mandate from us!)

I am utilizing my mandate in the interests of the proletarian revolution. But this united front cannot be decreed in advance, by saying to the non-Communist workers: Come to us, recognize us as your leaders, then we will create the united front with you! You can only get the leadership by gaining the confidence of the German proletariat in the dynamics of the struggle. Lenin said: Without confidence, there can be no hegemony and the Communist party should and must become the hegemon (leader) of the working class. But whoever says: We do not fear the Nazis, let them come to power—is already to fear frightened to death by them, is scared to the marrow of his bones; his heart is in his boots; he draws the conclusion that it is no longer possible to prevent the Nazis from seizing power and is consequently ready for a capitulation before Hitler without a struggle. (Shouts from the Communist benches)

—We shall discuss elsewhere as to how far you have got with your policy of the Red Trade Union Opposition, the "Red" United Front, the "national and social liberation". Just to what extent you have already proved sufficiently and will prove even more clearly in the future.

But this capitulation, this belief that the victory of Fascism can no longer be avoided, is concealed under false optimism, on the grounds of an inevitable and self-understood bankruptcy of the Nazis. Naturally, everything on earth ends at some time. Even the domination of the hangman Mussolini will have to come to an end and the end of the Czarist power could be foreseen many years ahead of the time. But that does not change the fact that two revolutions were necessary to defeat Czarism and that in the meantime Czarism succeeded in plunging the entire Russian people into an imperialist war. We say to the false optimists who console us with the coming bankruptcy of the "Third Reich": Do not dare lull the German proletariat to sleep! Do not chloroform it with sweet promises, do not dare undermine its will power—now, when the will to struggle is the first and foremost condition of victory!

(Laughter among the Communists)

We are not for "national and social liberation" as you are. We revolutionary Marxists know that as long as the people is divided into classes, every conception has a class content. When social democratic workers often say: Yes, we are for democracy, but for a pure democracy, they also forget that in a class society, democracy can only be a class concept. We Bolshevik-Leninists have no illusions and will not allow anyone to put any illusions over on us. What a horrible historical catastrophe it would be for the world proletariat, if the Nazis were to come into power in Germany! Once come into power, Hitler could only become the executioner of the German proletariat and the agent of French, British and American capitalism. And the war for "social and national liberation" which Hitler would conduct, could only be turned against the East and not against the West. That does not

mean at all, against Poland. For Hitler and Pilsudski can very easily find common ground against the Soviet Union. To allow Hitler to get into power would mean betrayal against the first workers' state in the world, against the Soviet Union. And that means, to betray ourselves doubly.

No, the working class of Germany does not want Hitler to study his state surgery on its neck, nor on its body. We must not wait until Hitler's power falls into bankruptcy. We must throw Hitler overboard, before his dream has become a reality.

(Very true! from the benches of the social democratic party.—Intervention from among the Communists: Who is "we"?—We, the Left Opposition of the C. P. G., even though we are not for the "national and social liberation of the German people" as you are, but for the proletarian revolution.

(Hear, Hear!—from the Communists) because we know in the capitalist world the "people" is divided into classes. Friedrich Engels said: After the working class has conquered power, it will dictate the laws itself and in such a manner, that the capitalist class will disappear and become alike to the others. To that extent, to which the capitalist class will disappear, the proletariat also will dissolve itself because it will have no more classes against itself and the intervention of the proletarian state will become ever more superfluous, first in one sphere and then in another, until the state will wither away of itself.

Now, the Vorwaerts of March 15 writes in an editorial that hails from Paul Loebe:

"The first blow: 'Onward, Iron Front!' The Iron Front has stood its first political test splendidly. It has done its share to spoil the 'day of certain victory' for the knights of the swastika."

It is ridiculous to believe that the fate of the German people can be decided by parliamentary elections, or that the decision will be arrived at according to the parliamentary calendar. The fate of the German people will be decided by steel and lead. Only blind men or people who purposely close their eyes can believe that the problem of the fate of the German people can be decided by some sort of parliamentary elections—be they Presidential, Reichstag or Landtag elections. Hitler's assurances of legality are nothing more than a thin veil of cunning, with which he means to cover his plans. Bruening's speeches against Fascism are not worth a Pfennig more than Hitler's oaths of legality. All are gliding along the ether of neutrality. But statesmen have never lied so much as they have since the time that the radio was put at their disposal. The fate of the German people will not be decided by speeches, but as I have already said, by the open struggle of the classes with steel and lead. For it is toward this road that the Fascists are advancing and the working class must know this. The working class must fight mercilessly against all lies that attempt to soothe, against all illusions that attempt to lull them to sleep, no matter from what source. In order to be able to fight against Fascism effectively, it is necessary to unite the factories, the shops, the working class quarters, the millions of unemployed within a single front, with the aim of throwing back the watch-dog of capitalism, the Fascists. For when the watch-dogs are beaten down, the master is in danger. The workers have no time to lose, they must organize themselves for defense, for struggle, for attack and for victory. Hitler intends to militarize Germany in the interests of capital. The German proletariat will show him that it is only willing to be militarized in the interests of the proletarian revolution. Against Fascism, which we consider the last stake of capitalism, we revolutionary workers, we Leninist-Bolsheviks will fight in the foremost front with our brother workers as the vanguard of the revolution. The Fascist wave will and must smash up on the granite of the proletarian forces. When the capitalist class of Germany, which has become

involved in its own contradictions and crimes, will push Hitler on the road to the overthrow, we shall take up the challenge in full preparedness. We shall say: Capitalism has wanted this; very well, we will raise our hand to its throat, our knee to its breast!

(Intervention by Rep. Paul Hoffman)—Yes, you are good "theoreticians", we have seen that repeatedly from your tactics, from your "United Front" only "under our leadership". You demand leadership a priori, because you are not sure whether you can win it. This is what Platnitsky also said at the XI Plenum of the E. C. C. I.: "The German Communists have committed a mistake by issuing the slogan 'No Social Fascists in the Strike Leadership' during the metal workers' strike. That was not quite correct."

(Rep. Paul Hoffman: Quite correct!)—That was not quite correct, says Platnitsky.

(Rep. Paul Hoffman: That was quite correct!)

—In our opinion it was altogether wrong, in yours it was quite correct. In Platnitsky's opinion it was "not quite" correct. And why was it wrong in our opinion? If there are 50 Communists and 150 or 250 social democrats in a factory, then you can of course, manage to build some sort of "strike leadership" in which the Communists will have a "majority". But this strike leadership has no real basis, it is a fictitious structure and can never reflect the actual desire for struggle in the factory. In this manner, you remain up in the air with your centrist tactics. . . . In this manner you have isolated the party of the proletariat.

(Laughter among the Communists) And all this at a time in which all the objective premises are favorable for the Communist party.

On the State Budget

Your budget does not in the slightest degree give expression to the actual tasks and requirements of the country. Your budget is constructed in such a way, as if everything were "normal". If the Prussian government were thinking seriously of fighting against Fascism, then that would be expressed in the budget, but there is not even an inkling of that in it. Who can offer resistance to Fascism?

(Shout from the Communists: You!)—These shouts are worth as much as the shooters. Neither the police nor the Reich's army, but only and solely the working class. Therefore we must aid in this aim, to organize and to arm it. Only in this manner can the question of a serious struggle against National Socialism be posed. Among the workers there are many who have served as soldiers, but the youth which has not yet learned to handle weapons, is the most numerous section. The opportunity must be created to train the young workers in handling weapons. It must be decreed: In the factories, one hour a day is to be devoted to military training. One day in the week street training and field maneuvers are to be held.

(Rep. Kasper—C. P. G.: Who is to decree this?)

—Patience. I will also speak about that. The unemployed are to train with the workers in the factories, in which they have formerly been employed; special supplementary training can also be provided for the unemployed. For this purpose, a sufficient amount of weapons must be put at the disposal of the workers. The costs of the weapons and the training must be borne by the state. The government of the social democrat Braun will not by far attempt to do anything of the sort, for it would be a misdemeanor from the point of view of the high art of the state or that of proper parliamentary etiquette, and against the obedient devotion to the bourgeoisie. No that cannot be demanded from the great men of the S. P. G., whose aim in life it is to ape the bourgeois statesmen and to betray the interests of the proletariat.

(Disorder in the House)

But only in this way can it be proved by documents that the speeches of the ministers are a hollow sham.

Now on the Press!

Problems of the Chinese Revolution

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE 1925-1927 CHINESE REVOLUTION?
WHY WAS THE SITUATION LOST BY THE PROLETARIAT?
WHAT IS HAPPENING IN CHINA NOW?
WHAT SHOULD THE COMMUNISTS DO?

These questions and many more are posed and answered in this book. In Trotsky's own words: "The lessons and problems in the strategy and tactics of the Chinese Revolution constitute at the present time the greatest teaching for the international proletariat."

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Statement on the Situation in the International Left Opposition

The National Committee, having considered and discussed the most important parts of the material bearing on the present situation in the International Left Opposition, and the French section in particular, has come to the following conclusions:

1. The most important feature in the internal life of the International Opposition in the past two years, has been the struggle to free the movement from the influence of alien elements who paralyzed its activities by sterile intrigues, distorted its principles in practical application and hampered its development as the guiding force of the proletarian vanguard. We are and have been fully convinced of the progressive and revolutionary quality of the struggle for these ends which has been led by comrade Trotsky. It has been an unavoidable and necessary stage in the preparation of the International Left Opposition to fulfill its great historic tasks. The National Committee is in full solidarity with the estimate of this struggle and the perspectives of the International Left Opposition outlined in the circular letter of comrade Trotsky under date of December 22, 1931.

2. The correctness and necessity of this struggle to purge the movement of alien elements is demonstrated, among other things, by the positive results in the German section after the liquidation of the worthless intrigues of Landau and the freeing of the section for its actual revolutionary tasks. The leadership of the German section, which has taken shape in the struggle against Landau and his sterile factional regime, must be given all possible international assistance and support in its tremendous responsibilities and opportunities. The necessity of the struggle for internal renovation is shown with no less force—although in a negative manner—by the present state of affairs in France. The demoralization there ensues directly from the fact that the two-year struggle has not been brought to a conclusion.

3. In our opinion the present situation in the French League—which ought to be a matter of grave concern to the entire International Opposition—is not a new one. We regard it rather as the rear-end of the struggle to clear the section of the influence of unassimilable and careerist elements, which has been unduly prolonged. The task there, as we see it, is not to seek a solution of the crisis from the standpoint of the episodic questions and differences. This only blurs the real issue. What is necessary is a decisive course toward the liquidation of the crisis.

ST. LOUIS WORKERS ATTENTION!

Friday, April 29th
"Class Justice in America"
Speaker—GEORGE ROBERTS
Crunden Branch Library Auditorium
Fourteenth St., and Cass Avenue

For Unity in Needle Trade

(Continued from page 1)
needle trades situation, beginning with the International.

It goes without saying that this formulation of the slogan of unity has nothing in common with the liquidationist program of the Lovestonesites. The Left wing suffered a defeat in its major undertaking to replace the reactionary union with another one. That must be frankly acknowledged. But it still retains its basic nucleus of the most reliable and tested militants. It still remains an organized force. This force must be kept intact and demand reincorporation into the International as a fighting unit. This should be the line of its fight, not a capitulation and the individual re-entry of its members into the International on the terms of Schlesinger. The masses will support this proposition, including those inside the International at present and thousands who are standing aside from both unions, discouraged and waiting for some new turn in the situation.

But, Foster and Browder will answer, Schlesinger and his black-and-yellow gang will not agree to this proposal. The slogan of unity, as the Communists present it, is not designed to meet the approval of the labor fakery but to facilitate the struggle of the workers against them. The new campaign for unity, along the lines we have suggested will start the re-organization of the workers around the banner of the Left wing. The Left wing will rise again as the authentic spokesman of the masses. On this basis the genuine unification of the needle trade workers struggle will take place, with or without the wishes of the socialist betrayers.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

THE MILITANT
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Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swaback

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tion of the crisis by a firm stand against the representatives of the disintegrating tendencies. Among these we count the leaders of the Jewish group, and we particularly condemn their attempt to set up a nationality group as a faction within the League and their resignation from the National Committee in the name of such a group. Such methods and practices are incompatible with Communist organization. No less harmful, in the drawn-out internal crisis of the League, have been the ambiguous and diplomatic maneuvers of Naville, against which we have recorded ourselves in our previous resolution. In our opinion it is most necessary for the French League to bring the internal controversy to a conclusion, to draw clear and precise lines and make a selection on that basis.

4. The proposal of comrade Trotsky for the reorganization of the International Secretariat, by constituting it out of representatives of the most important sections who will be responsible to their sections, is the most feasible plan under the circumstances. As the experience of the past few years has shown, the International Opposition has not yet developed to the point where a secretariat based on the selection of persons—free from accountability to the respective sections—could fulfill the office. The Secretariat must become a responsible body standing above the intrigues and helping to liquidate them. We are of the opinion that comrade Mill misused the office of International Secretary and erred fatally by identifying himself with the factional struggle in the French League against the leadership. Thereby he helped to negate the whole progressive struggle against Landau-Naville-Rosmer and, at the same time, undermined the authority and discredited the International Secretariat. The reorganization of the Secretariat as a responsible body will help to shield it against such a fate by rendering it less susceptible to personal moods and vacillations.

5. The difficulties of distance, etc., make a timely and effective participation of the American League in the internal questions of the European sections extremely difficult, and preclude altogether any pretensions on our part to play a leading role in their solution. We must not undertake that. Nevertheless we consider it desirable to participate more directly in the work of the International Secretariat through an elected representative and the National Committee will propose to select such a representative of the American League as soon as possible. It is necessary to acknowledge a slackness in our international activities and duties, the nature of which and its basic causes have been accurately described in comrade Trotsky's circular letter. In order for our League to be useful in the solution of the internal problems of the European sections, and to educate itself in internationalism in the process, it must firmly organize a collective participation. The National Committee as a whole must familiarize itself with the international questions and bring a collective judgment to bear upon them. The most important material must be translated and supplied to the League membership for information and discussion. The progressive elements in all sections, which are struggling for the liquidation of circle psychology, sterile intellectualism and worthless factional intrigues, and for the consolidation of genuinely revolutionary cadres, must be assured at every step that they have a conscious and resolute ally in the American League.

—NATIONAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF
AMERICA (OPPOSITION)

Failure of Danube Union

(Continued from page 1)
countries is needless to state. The situation in all countries is bound to change radically in the event of a victorious proletarian revolution in Germany. It is one of the by no means small tasks of the proletarian revolution to come to the aid of the small nations with a clear program for solving their vital and pressing problems. The Comintern and the German Communist Party, however, completely ignore the international situation and advance no slogan outside of the general slogan of a Soviet Germany and the abstract slogan of "Defend the Soviet Union". The fact that Hitler is successfully exploiting the existing situation in Europe and reacting on it in his propaganda deserves to be mentioned. There can be no doubt that the German delegation to the London Conference on the question of the Danubian countries was compelled to take a position of defiance towards France under the pressure of Hitler's propaganda. Has the German Communist Party made clear the Communist position on this question to the broad masses in Germany and the rest of the European countries?

The Slogan of a Soviet United States of Europe

In the year of 1923, at the time of the occupation of the Ruhr and the resulting revolutionary situation in Germany the Comintern under the pressure of comrade Trotsky adopted the slogan of a Soviet United States of Europe. But the leadership had nevertheless remained hostile to it. Later it entirely abandoned it on the ground that, in Stalin's declaration, it was impossible to foresee whether it would be necessary to apply the slogan of the United States of Europe after the proletarian revolution. Subsequently the slogan of a Soviet United States of Europe had been declared "Trotskyism" and bitterly attacked by the Comintern leadership. But this slogan has been and is today more than ever of vital importance to the European proletariat because it flows from the very character of the present epoch of the economic development.

The main characteristic feature of the present epoch is the international scale of the productive forces which come into conflict with and are breaking through the national boundaries. Hence, the national conflicts and the imperialism which oppresses and strangles the small nations. The last world war was a direct result of the above process of the development of the productive forces. Since the world war this process has greatly increased, and the contradictions of capitalism with it. Socialism which is progressive and must base itself on a higher development of the productive forces, surely cannot be driven into the framework of national boundaries. On the contrary, the international character of the productive forces under socialism will greatly increase. Socialism will spread itself over the face of the whole world. There is where it derives its international character and on which is based the slogan of a Soviet United States of Europe.

"The term: The Soviet United States of Europe expresses the idea that socialism is impossible in a single country. It cannot even attain its full development within the limits of a continent. The Socialist United States of Europe represents a stage of a historical slogan on the road to the Socialist World Federation." Leon Trotsky, *The Militant*, Dec. 7, 1929.

The present leadership of the Comintern, naturally, cannot adopt this slogan because it contradicts Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country." This false theory is the main source of all tactical mistakes and its bankruptcy in problems of the greatest importance to the international proletariat.

—ALBERT ORLAND.

Execution of Scottsboro Boys Stayed

Two developments in the Scottsboro case within the past week testify to the protest it has aroused in the working class. The execution has been stayed to June 24 upon the appeal of the I. L. D. to the U. S. Supreme Court. No doubt the bourgeois tiger still feels that its prey is secure. It feels that it can afford this small concession and expects that its judicial superior will confirm its finding.

The State Department has applied to the Governor for information about the case for transmission to U. S. consulates abroad. Unquestionably this is a reaction to the working class pressure abroad being brought to bear on the diplomatic representatives of dollar imperialism.

In the consciousness of the international working class the memories of the Sacco-Vanzetti and Mooney cases are still green. They do not need legal proofs of the innocence of the Scottsboro boys. The American frame-up system is familiar to them. In this case they see another attack on the international working class.

And they are protesting. They hold meetings and send cables of protest. The mother of one of the boys, Mrs. Wright, will tour Germany under the auspices of the International Red Aid to speak for all nine of the boys.

Will the U. S. Supreme Court confirm the decision of the Alabama Supreme Court? It may. It may reserve it. One thing is sure. Only an aroused working class movement can save these nine members of our class. Between now and June 24 the time is short. The small concessions the capitalist class has yielded must be a stimulus to yet greater activity.

Our protest must be organized. Of

this there is yet little sign. The I. L. D. is not doing it. The C. P. is not doing it. They limit themselves to calls for demonstrations in the Communist press.

This is not sufficient. Only a comparatively small number of workers read the Communist press. Only a small number respond to the party's calls. The overwhelming bulk of the working class is still non-Communist. It must be approached thru the press it reads, thru the organizations it supports.

For this is required the tactic of the united front of working class organizations. This the party and the I. L. D. should take the lead in organizing. There is no other way to build a mass movement to free the Scottsboro boys.

—T. STAMM.

ST. LOUIS MASS PROTEST MEETING

Saturday, April 31st
For the Release of Tom Mooney and All Class War Prisoners
Central Library Auditorium
Fourteenth and Olive Streets
Auspices: Molders Mooney Defense Committee
Left Opposition speakers included

MINNEAPOLIS, ATTENTION!

STUDY CLASS
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"Elements of Marxism-Leninism"
Every Friday Night
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Sixth Ave., N. at Irving
The course is open to adults as well as to youth. No charge except for textbook.
Instructor: CARL COWLEY

BUREAUCRATIC ULTIMATISM

by LEON TROTSKY

When the newspapers of the new Socialist Labor Party (the S. A. P.) criticize "the party egoism" of the social democracy and of the Communist party; when Seydewitz assures us that so far as he is concerned, "the interests of the class come before the interests of the party," they only fall into political sentimentalism, or, what is worse, behind this sentimental phraseology, they screen the interests of their own party. This method is no good. Whenever reaction demands that the interests of "the nation" be placed before class interests, we, Marxists, take pains to explain that under the guise of "the whole", the reaction puts through the interests of the exploiting class. The interests of the nation cannot be formulated otherwise than from the point of view of the ruling class, or of the class pretending to sovereignty. The interests of the class cannot be formulated otherwise than in the shape of a program; the program cannot be defended otherwise than by creating the party.

RELATION OF PARTY TO CLASS

The class, taken by itself, is only material for exploitation. The proletariat assumes an independent role only at that moment when from a social class in itself it becomes a political class for itself. This cannot take place otherwise than through the medium of a party. The party is that historical organ by means of which the class becomes class conscious. To say that "the class stands higher than the party," is to assert that the class in the raw stands higher than the class which is on the road to class consciousness. Not only is this incorrect but it is reactionary. There isn't the slightest need for this smug and shallow theory in order to establish the necessity for a united front.

The progress of a class toward class consciousness, that is, the building of a revolutionary party which leads the proletariat, is a complex and a contradictory process. The class itself is not homogeneous. Its different sections arrive at class consciousness by different paths and at different times. The bourgeoisie participates actively in this process. Within the working class, it creates its own institutions, or utilizes those already existing, in order to oppose certain strata of workers to others. Within the proletariat several parties are active at the same time. Therefore, for the greater part of its historical journey, it remains split politically. The problem of the United Front—which arises during certain periods most sharply—originates therein.

The historical interests of the proletariat find their expression in the Communist party—when its policies are correct. The task of the Communist party consists in winning over the majority of the proletariat; and only thus is the socialist revolution made possible. The Communist party cannot fulfill its mission except by preserving, completely and unconditionally, its political and organizational independence apart from all other parties and organizations within and without the working class. To transgress this basic principle of Marxist policy is to commit the most heinous of crimes against the interests of the proletariat, as a class. The Chinese revolution of 1925-1927 was wrecked precisely because the Comintern, under the leadership of Stalin and Bukharin, forced the Chinese Communist Party to enter into the party of the Chinese bourgeoisie, the Kuo Min Tang, and to obey its discipline. The experience resulting from the application of Stalinist policies as regards the Kuo Min Tang will enter forever into history as an example of how the revolution was ruinously sabotaged by its leaders. The Stalinist theory of "two-class workers" and peasants' parties for the Orient is the generalization and authorization of the practice employed with the Kuo Min Tang; the application of this theory in Japan, India, Indonesia, and Korea has undermined the authority of the Comintern and has set back their revolutionary development for a number of years. This same policy—perfidious in its essence—was applied, though not quite so cynically, in the United States, in England, and in all countries of Europe up to 1928.

UNCONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF C. P. UNDER ALL HISTORICAL CONDITIONS

The struggle of the Left Opposition for the maintenance of the complete and unconditional independence of the Communist party and of its policies, under each and every historical condition, and on all stages of the development of the proletariat, strained the relations between the Opposition and the Stalinist faction to the breaking point during the period of Stalin's bloc with Chiang Kai-Shek, Wang Chin Wei, Purcell, Radich, La Follette, etc. It is quite unnecessary to recall that both Thaelmann and Remmele as well as Brandler and Thalheimer, during this struggle, were completely on Stalin's side against the Bolshevik-Leninists. It is not we, therefore, who have to go to school and learn from Stalin and Thaelmann about the independent policies of the Communist party!

But the proletariat moves toward revolutionary consciousness not by passing grades in school but by passing through the class struggle, which abhors interruptions. To fight, the proletariat must have unity in its ranks. This holds true for partial economic conflicts, within the walls of a single factory, as well as for such "national" political battles as the one to repel Fascism. Consequently the tactic of the United Front is not something accidental and artificial—a cunning maneuver—not at all; it originates, entirely and wholly, in the objective conditions governing the development of the proletariat. The words in the Communist Manifesto which state that the Communists are not opposed to the proletariat, that they have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole, carry with them the meaning that the struggle of the party to win over the

majority of the class must in no instance come into opposition with the need of the workers to keep unity within their fighting ranks.

DIE ROTE FAHNE is completely justified in condemning all discussions concerning the contention that "the class interests must be placed above party interests." In reality, the correctly understood interests of the class are identical with the correctly formulated problems of the party. So long as the discussion is limited to this historic-philosophical assertion, the position of DIE ROTE FAHNE is unassailable. But the political conclusions which it deduces therefrom are nothing short of mockery of Marxism.

The identity, in principle, of the interests of the proletariat and of the aims of the Communist party does not mean either that the proletariat as a whole is, even today, conscious of its class interests, or that the party under all conditions formulates them correctly. The very need of the party originates in the very fact that the proletariat is not born with the innate understanding of its historical interests. The task of the party consists in learning, from experience derived from the struggle, how to demonstrate to the proletariat its right to leadership. While, the Stalinist bureaucracy, on the contrary, holds to the opinion that it can demand point blank obedience from the proletariat, simply on the strength of a party passport, stamped with the seal of the Comintern.

CORRECT CONCEPTION OF THE UNITED FRONT

Every United Front, which doesn't first place itself under the leadership of the Communist party, reiterates DIE ROTE FAHNE, is directed against the interests of the proletariat. Whoever doesn't recognize the leadership of the Communist party is none other than the "counter-revolutionary" himself. The worker is obliged to trust the Communist organization in advance, on its word of honor. From the identity, in principle, of the aims of the party and of the class, the functionary deduces his right to lay down the law to the class. The very historical problem which the Communist party is yet to solve—that of uniting the overwhelming majority of the workers under its banner—is turned by the bureaucrat into an ultimatum, into a pistol which he holds against the temple of the working class. Formalistic, administrative and bureaucratic thinking supplants the dialectic.

The historical problem that must be solved is decreed as solved already. The confidence yet to be won, is announced as won already. That, it goes without saying, is the easiest way out. But very little is achieved that way. In politics one must proceed from facts as they are, and not as one would like them to be, or as they will be eventually. The position of the Stalinist bureaucracy drawn to its conclusion leads, in fact, to the negation of the party. For what is the net result of all its historical labor, if the proletariat is obliged beforehand to accept the leadership of Thaelmann and Remmele?

From the worker desirous of joining the ranks of the Communists, the party has a right to demand: You must accept our program and obey our regulations and the authority of our electoral institutions. But it is absurd and criminal to present the same a priori demand, or even a part of it, to the working masses or workers' organizations when the matter is broached of joint action for the sake of definite aims of struggle. Thereby the very foundations of the party are undermined; for the party can fulfill its task only by maintaining correct relations with the class. Instead of issuing such a one-sided ultimatum, which irritates and insults the workers, the party should submit a definite program for joint action: that is the surest way of achieving leadership in reality.

BUREAUCRATIC ULTIMATISM LEADS TO NEGATION OF THE PARTY

Ultimatism is an attempt to rape the working class after failing to convince it: Workers, unless you accept the leadership of Thaelmann-Remmele-Neumann, we will not permit you to establish the United Front. The bitterest foe could not devise a more unsound position than the one in which the leaders of the party place themselves. That is the surest way to ruin.

The leadership of the German Communist Party stresses its ultimatism all the more sharply by the casuistical circumlocution in its proclamations, "We make no demands that you accept our Communist view beforehand." This rings like an apology for policies for which there is no apology. When the party proclaims its refusal to enter into any kind of negotiations with other organizations but offers to take in under the party leadership those social democratic workers who want to break with their organizations without their being obliged to call themselves Communists, then the party is using the language of pure ultimatism. The reservation as regards "our Communist views" is absolutely ludicrous: the worker who is at this very moment ready to break with his party and to participate in the struggle under Communist leadership, would not be deterred by the fact that he must call himself a Communist. Jugglery with labels and subtleties of diplomacy are foreign to the workers. He takes politics and organizations as they are. He remains with the social democracy as long as he does not trust Communist leadership. We can say with assurance that the majority of social democratic workers remain in their party to this day not because they trust the reformist leadership but because they do not as yet trust that of the Communists. But they do want to fight against Fascism even now. Were they shown the first step to take in a concurrent struggle, they would insist upon their organizations taking that step. If their organizations balked, they might reach the point of breaking with them.

—L. TROTSKY.

(To be Continued)

(From WHAT NEXT?—Vital Questions for the German Proletariat)

Shall Tom Mooney Stay in Jail?

Governor Rolph of California has announced his decision refusing to grant Tom Mooney's appeal for a pardon. This should neither prove startling, nor record disappointed expectations on the part of revolutionists. But it should serve to settle once and for all any illusions which have existed in the minds of credulous workers. We can now once more affirm that for militant workers there is no redress in appeals to capitalist justice.

Undoubtedly many workers have held such illusions. Moreover they have been deliberately and deceptively nourished. Not so much for the purpose of maintaining expectations, but rather to prevent and to disorganize any serious efforts to actually set in motion the only real means at the disposal of the working class to force the jail doors open—its own mass pressure. The facts of this contention have been clearly established. We do not address it as a charge to the steeped in corruption and perfidy officials, of the A. F. of L. No, their crime was infinitely worse. Their special representations, particularly those in the state of California, have already been exposed as the actual connivers in the frame-up game. But there were special capitalist agents selected to nourish the illusions.

Tom Mooney, when informed of the decision, said: "It is a class decision with a class motive, and along these lines it shall be fought out in the future." These are serious words coming from the lips of a sterling fighter. In reality that has been the only way ever to fight it out. But the American workers did not yet fully see that, and were held back.

The effective organization of that fight is now more than ever on the agenda. But it cannot fulfill its objective without all workers being given the most ample opportunity of participation. To overlook that, or to put obstacles in the way of its realization, condemn any efforts to isolation and impotence. Such could only directly and criminally play into the hands of the rapacious jailors of Tom Mooney. It becomes, of course, a question of fighting back the capitalist offensive all along the line. It embraces the issue of release of all class war prisoners.

That Tom Mooney particularly symbolizes the body and spirit of all these class war victims is so amply illustrated in his call issued after receiving this recent decision. In part it says, "I am ready and willing today as always to give my life to the cause of the toilers of the world regardless of race, creed, color or nationality. This decision in the face of world-wide protest against my brutal frame-up, is an insolent and sinister challenge hurled by a doomed capitalist system into the teeth of the entire working class."

"I call upon the united militant and revolutionary working class of the entire world to accept this challenge. They must close ranks and raise louder than ever the demand that the plunderband of California let go their victim."

"They must fight not only for my freedom, but for the abolition of the capitalist system."

But to discharge our duty to this call

SERIES ON DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

On May 13 at the Labor Temple comrade Swaback will give the first of a series of four popular lectures for workers on Dialectical Materialism. The four lectures will be delivered on four successive Friday nights. The admission price will be 15c per lecture. Comrade Swaback will undertake an exposition of the subject from its many aspects.

May 13—The Historical Struggle between Materialism and Idealism.

May 20—Dialectical Materialism Applied to Nature.

May 27—The Materialist Conception of History.

June 3—Dialectical Materialism Applied to Society.

To the Readers of "The Militant"

To Our Readers and Supporters:

Gratifying results have been obtained in our subscription drive. It gives us an excellent basis for a yet more effective wind-up during the coming month, May 1 to June 1. Its goal is \$1,000. It should be translated in to reading. More power to the Left Opposition press.

This proposal we address not only to our members but to our supporters and readers as well. In the subscription drive a couple of our branches have participated excellently and set a splendid example. Some of our readers have done their bit. But our aim is to extended it during the final month to include the activities of all.

One month of efforts to build the Left Opposition press. This is a modest request. We have published our proposal as to how we aim to attain it. We want to extend the circulation of our various papers and secure their financial foundation. With the help of all supporters of

as revolutionists should do we must again remind of the previous call sent from St. Quentin prison, in which Tom Mooney, in full realization of the enormous task ahead, demanded that a genuine united front movement be organized to force this plunderband to let go of their victims. In such lies also the guarantee for more effective steps toward the abolition of the capitalist system.

Tom Mooney's call was then and is now primarily addressed to the revolutionary workers to the Communists, for them to take the initiative. There is no other force in the movement fully conscious of the goal and with sufficient vitality to take the initiative. It is high time that the official party leadership realizes that this it must undertake.

The State and the Trade Unions in Canada

TORONTO, ONT.

In his final address to the jury at the historical trial that outlawed the Communist Party in Ontario, the Crown Prosecutor declared that "the trade unions were not being attacked... every institution throughout the country protected the trade union movement" (*Mail and Empire*, Nov. 13, 1931). It is the purpose of this article to show that on the contrary, the legal status of the Canadian trade union movement, precarious enough before the repression of the Communist party, is more completely at the mercy of the capitalist state than ever. For the trade unions (we do not mean the officialdom) to accept the suave assurances of the Crown at their face value would lull them into a state of false security.

I. Hostility to freedom of association in general is an early juridical phase of the capitalist reconstruction of society. The last decades of the eighteenth century industrial and agrarian revolutions released business enterprise from the fetters of feudalism and mercantilism in favor of freedom of competition and contract. The French Declaration of Rights and the American Declaration of Independence breathe the same spirit of optimistic (and "rugged") individualism as Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations": The democratic state is conceived as a mass of free citizens, each of whom is an ultimate source of sovereign authority, which would be impeded by "artificial" groups. The end of law was to secure the absolute and universal natural rights of individuals, a conception very congenial to the English courts where for a century and a half the doctrine of *laissez-faire* masqueraded in the guise of "public policy".

In the eyes of the law, the wage-laborer was on a footing of formal equality with all other citizens. But whatever the philosophical speculation of Rousseau, the device of universal suffrage merely ignores economic classes; it does not destroy them. Sovereignty in reality passed from the landed interest to the money power. The "new freedom" brought glittering prizes to the capitalist entrepreneur: to the proletarian it brought the factory system, low wages, long hours, slums and unemployment. Divorced from the ownership of the means of production, the wage-worker had only a Hobson's choice. From the very outset the employer was a combination in himself. To speak of the freedom of the labor contract under these circumstances was a mockery. In the later stage of capitalist consolidation and monopoly, the unorganized worker is more than ever a helpless figure in his own fate.

Trade unionism was the organized refusal of the workers to submit passively to the rigors of the sacred "wage fund" and the "inexorable laws of supply and demand." The trade unions, in Marx's phrase, were centers of resistance to the encroachments of capital. Neither the

Left Opposition it can be attained. It is urgently needed. Will you readers put your shoulders to the wheel with us?

This month's campaign includes our press as a whole. The funds received will be divided on a proportionate basis between *The Militant*, *Unser Kampf*, *Young Spartacus* and *Communists*. It does not matter whether your help be an outright contribution or a subscription for a friend or comrade. Many of you comrades, who read this notice, are not in a position to participate jointly with our membership in the campaign. It is to you particularly that we address this request: Will you lend us your assistance during this month as generously as you have in the past? Will you make a serious effort to send a contribution, either as an outright donation or a subscription, direct to our office.

Thanking you in advance, we remain:

—THE MILITANT.

Debate

**SOCIALISM
versus
COMMUNISM**
Can the Program of the Socialist Party Emancipate the Working Class?

Yes: Young People's Socialist League
No: Spartacus Youth Club (Communist Youth Left Opposition)

on
FRIDAY, MAY 6, 1932
at 8 P. M.
at the Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue
ADMISSION: 20 Cents
Auspices: Joint Arrangement Committee

The State and the Trade Unions in Canada

value of the workers' commodity labor power, nor his standard of living, in general are fixed automatically but by way of struggle. The first attempts, however, to combine in trade unions encounters the savage repression by the State. A series of combination acts in Great Britain declare a trade union an unlawful society and the strike a crime. The penal codes of other countries likewise deem "collective bargaining inconsistent with 'liberty'." Nevertheless, the workers organize secretly and strikes break out despite long terms of imprisonment for the leaders.

Against the right to combine, the capitalist courts invoked two doctrines (a) the doctrine of conspiracy and (b) the common-law rule holding as unlawful all combinations in restraint of trade. Originally limited to specific offences, the judges, when faced with the problem of association, extended the conspiracy doctrine to combinations of workers. Conspiracy was the agreement "to commit any unlawful act or any lawful act by unlawful means." The attempt of "Old Toryism" to enforce customary wage rates fixed by Justice of the Peace, long after the craft guilds had lost their power, was doomed. The Combination Laws, passed in additional fear of the French Revolution were repealed in 1824-25. The judges, however, gave form to the doctrine that a conspiracy in restraint of trade is indictable independently of statute.

The growing resistance of the workers, and the strength of their political agitation, combining with the circumstances of an expanding capitalism, resulted, though with considerable unevenness, in a stage of concessions. The Trade Union Acts of 1871 and 1906 gave the unions in Great Britain particularly, immunity from liability under the doctrine of conspiracy in both its criminal and civil aspects. That was a period when "democratic" reformism appeared to have achieved great triumphs. Combination was no longer unlawful. The right to strike and to picket were freed from the fear of the injunction (we are not here speaking of the United States). Domestic and inter-union affairs were more or less safe-guarded from the jurisdiction of the courts. Their funds were protected against embezzlement.

But a reactionary counter-current was at work even then. Already in 1902 the impeccably Fabian Webb had to record in their "Industrial Democracy" that "the public opinion of the proletariat and professional classes is in fact even more hostile to trade unionism than it was a generation ago... Under this adverse bias the courts of law have for the last ten years been gradually limiting what were supposed to be the legal rights of trade unions." At the present day, the capitalist class is once again engaged in sharp restriction of trade union activities. The Emergency Powers Act and Trade Union Act of 1927 are scarcely to be regarded as landmarks of greater class harmony in England, which experienced the great General Strike.

In the United States, Canada, and Australia, in addition to the former merely permissive, there is now coercive legislation regarding strikes and lock-outs. Australia and New Zealand, the stamping fields of "Labor Governments", have made compulsory both arbitration through administrative tribunals and compliance with the award. Statutes forbid the boycott, peaceful picketing and even the simple strike. Use of the injunction to enforce compliance with these prohibitions is sanctioned and violation of the statutes made punishable by criminal proceedings. The high-water mark of the capitalist control, or rather dissolution, of the trade unions was reached by the Fascist government in Italy which declared its policy to be the break with *laissez-faire* liberalism and the socialism of class-welfare. The independent unions have been outlawed. Strikes are repressed like sedition. The Fascist "unions" are incorporated in the state-machine, under the supervision of a "Minister of Corporations."

(Continued in next issue)
—MAURICE SPECTOR.

Demonstrate on May Day!

The forty-fourth International Labor Day on May 1, 1932 takes place at a time when the decline of the capitalist system is reaching new depths, when the most intense and most wide spread of its economic crises is approaching unprecedented aggravation. Factories, shops, magazines, ships are lying fallow; trade is at its lowest ebb, the bourgeois factions are wrangling among themselves to unburden themselves of the load of taxation upon one another's and the working classes' shoulders; more than 30 million workers walk the pavements in search of jobs the world over; those still at work suffer one wage reduction after another; poverty and wretchedness lurks in every corner.

The wise men of the bourgeoisie have seen all their utopian schemes, all their plans, all their remedies blown up like toy balloons by the ravages of the economic chaos. Only one country has thrown a ray of light into the world darkened by the shadow of the capitalist system. That is Soviet Russia, the land of the proletarian dictatorship.

The successes of socialist construction in workers' Russia have shown to the workers of the world the possibilities of socialism, their solution to the present anarchy. In spite of the mistakes of the Stalinist leadership, in spite of the backwardness of the country, the example of socialist planning and control in Russia has shown to the workers of the world how to avoid unemployment, how to build up and maintain industry for the benefit of those who run it, for those who toil.

International Labor Day 1932 reveals the irreconcilable contradiction between the socialist system and the capitalist system. In their agony, the defenders of the capitalist system are trying to save themselves by plotting the destruction of the Soviet Union and the utter subjugation of the workers the world over with it. The Soviet Union is faced with the threat of an attack from Japanese imperialism in the Far East and from the rapidly growing Fascist reaction in Germany. A tremendous and immediate danger is hanging over the head of the Soviet Union and the working class: the menace of Hitlerism which is out to crush the strongest ally of the U. S. S. R.—the powerful German proletariat.

The First of May, International Labor Day originated as a holiday of the American workers, it grew out of the struggle for the eight hour day in the eighties of the last century. The international working class made the holiday of the American proletariat its own holiday, a day of international working class solidarity. On the First of May, this

MILITANT AFFAIR

An intensive campaign is being conducted at present throughout the country to put our press on a sounder financial basis and increase our circle of readers. In connection with this drive the New York Branch of the League is holding an affair at its headquarters, 84 East 10th St., on Saturday, April 30th at 8 P. M. The proceeds of the affair will be turned over to Press Fund.

From present indications the affair will be a success. Tickets are selling well. An entertaining program has been arranged, including a singer, recitations etc. Admission is by ticket and is only 25c. The unique feature of the affair is that everyone who pays for a ticket is entitled to an eight issue sub to *The Militant* for himself or a friend. Come and help us to enjoy ourselves.

THE STALINIST-LOVESTONE UNITY NEGOTIATIONS! NEXT WEEK

The outstanding and most significant new development in the internal struggle of the American Communist movement is represented by the unity negotiations between the Stalinist Party officials and Lovestone, the leader of the expelled Right wing. In next week's *Militant* we will publish a report of these negotiations with an analysis and comment by James J. Cannon.

Marine Workers Sentenced to Jail

The three militant marine workers involved in the "bomb plot" frame-up in New York harbor have been sentenced by the capitalist court to long sentences in Sing Sing. Soderberg received from 12 to 25 years and Bunker and Trejor from 5 to 25 years each. The first two are to be deported when they have served their terms. The prisoners were denied the right to reply to the sentences.

The dastardly frame-up of the harbor bosses has received legal sanction from the capitalist government. The class conscious workers of the country must be aroused against this new outrage of capitalist class justice. We must not allow the class enemy to throw these three militant union men into his dungeons. That means their destruction. It is the duty of every revolutionist to

year, the American working class is called upon to rally to the side of its German brothers, to the defense of its victorious Russian brothers, to the support of the workers' fatherland, the U. S. S. R. Today, more than ever, the solidarity of the international proletariat is an urgent need.

The party of the working class, the Communist Party of the U. S. A. is holding demonstrations in all parts of the country to celebrate the First of May. Every class conscious worker, every member of the revolutionary working class of America will demonstrate on May 1 under the banner of the Communist party. The American workers must gather on this day to voice their unflinching support of the Soviet Union against

After the Recent Elections in Prussia

The Prussian elections of April 24 made the National Socialist Party of Adolf Hitler the strongest party in that German province, which by virtue of the fact that it contains nearly two-thirds of the entire population of Germany and holds within its boundaries the most important industries in the country, represents the key position to the Reich as a whole.

The Fascist victory signifies not only an advance over the last Landtag elections (their success there has been properly described as phenomenal—a rise from 9 seats to 159, but also a high point in their steady increase of strength as a whole. In the run-off elections for the presidency on April 10, they received some 32 per cent of the total vote. Last Sunday they received 35 per cent of all votes cast.

The Hitler forces are flushed with victory. It is inconceivable that they should not exploit the moral strength of their success for decisive actions. While keeping up the mockery of legalism, Hitler is already warning the government itself against... illegal actions. How Hitler will proceed with the seizure of power, whether he will be able to establish a coalition with the Catholic center party or whether he will resort to a coup d'Etat is inconsequential. He is determined upon drastic measures. He is on the threshold of fulfilling the task assigned to him by the needs of the German bourgeoisie—that of throttling the working class of Germany.

Wherein Lies the Responsibility of the Social Democrats?

In its editorial on Tuesday, April 26, 1932, the *Daily Worker* poses the question as to who is responsible for the menacing advance of Fascism. It comes to the conclusion that the social democracy with its theory of the "lesser evil", with its support of the notorious emergency decrees of the Brüning government, with its deceit and systematic misguidance of the workers, has paved the way for Hitlerism. Is this true? Unquestionably true. No one who claims to be a revolutionist can deny it. But can anything else be expected from the traitors of August 4, 1914, from the henchmen of Noske and Scheidemann? Hasn't it been an A B C fact for Communists that the social democrats can play no other role than that of selling out the working class? And isn't it precisely the duty of the Communists to break through the deception and the betrayal of the social democracy in order to rally the working class against Fascism, against the class enemy?

The Stalinist scoundrels of the *Daily Worker* blame the social democrats for Hitler's forward march. We consider the treacherous preparatory work of the party of Wels and Breitscheid as a matter of fact.

"... a new argument is brought forward," writes the *Daily Worker* editorialist, "the argument that the Communists are responsible because we do not form a united front with the social democrats. This new position is also supported by the... Trotsky-Cannon renegades." And he goes on to show that Norman Thomas also uses this

new argument. But he omits one little thing: That we start out on the premise that the social democrats are established betrayers of the working class, on the premise that it is necessary to wrest the millions of workers still under their influence away from them—which can only be done by means of a united front struggle in which the workers themselves can judge—whereas Norman Thomas and the other social democratic lackeys merely utilize the mistakes of the party leadership to achieve the function assigned to them: namely, to lead the workers to the slaughter under the sign of the "lesser evil". That the social democrats will try to exploit the shortcomings and errors of their Communist opponents is only natural. But how does this fact in any way excuse these errors and shortcomings? That is something that yet remains to be explained by the *Daily Worker*.

The proletarian Communists in the ranks of the International will not much longer allow themselves to be confused by the demagogic comparisons the Stalinist leadership makes between the social democrats and the Left Oppositionists. They will call the slanderous order, they will demand a political answer from them. (The events themselves are opening up the eyes of the workers. They want to know, why—with all the undeniably favorable objective conditions for revolutionary progress, with all the betrayals of the social democrats—their party, the Communist party has not been able to rally the masses for decisive and determined action. They cannot be led around much longer by their noses. The enemy is at the gates. But what is important now, is not the question whom to blame. The fight has not been lost yet. The thing to do now is to exert every force to make up for lost time. This requires a thorough reexamination of the policies of the German and the International leadership. This needs an evaluation of the theory that the Fascists in power will rapidly disintegrate. The practical fruits of this theory (which is nothing less than the Stalinist version of the "lesser evil") are already altogether too abundant and there is a lesson for the Communists to learn from them, from the "red" referendum last year in Prussia and this year in Saxony. The headless competition of the Thaelmann leadership with the nationalist slogans and demagoguery of the Fascists must be scrapped. Only in this manner can the road be cleared for an earnest approach to the rest of the working class, to the social democratic rank and file. Instead of the empty epithet "social Fascist" the tactic of the united front must be applied to drive the reformist fakers to self-exposure. This is the road the Communists in Germany must adopt if they are to lead the masses successfully against the impending Fascist onslaught.

—S. G.

all its imperialist aggressors, to show their inseparable community of interests with the workers of Germany in the face of battle.

Make the May Day demonstrations fighting demonstrations by manifesting your undying hatred of American imperialism—your enemy, the enemy of the U. S. S. R. and of all workers. Make the First of May a day of struggle against the capitalist system, against unemployment and for unemployment relief at the expense of the bosses. Against wage cuts, speed up and long hours and for the maintenance of the wage scales, for better conditions in the shops, for the Six Hour Day without reduction in pay. Make the First of May a banner day of working class struggle against capitalism!

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What Does the Left Opposition Propose? As a first step in this direction, the Left Opposition of the C. P. G. proposes the convocation of an extra-ordinary part congress to review all these questions. It demands that these questions be discussed on the basis of party democracy, that the worker Communists be allowed to voice their opinions. The harm already done can thus be dispelled rapidly and conclusively.

The capitalist press reports a semi-turn in the German party already. According to a dispatch in the New York *Herald-Tribune* of April 27, the Communists have decided to fight to the end against any form of Nazi government in Prussia. Furthermore, the dispatch says, the Communists have changed their view that the party leadership no longer regards the social democrats the chief enemy as before, but the Fascists. United action of the Red workers with the trade unions is foretold. There are indications of a change also in the editorial in the *Daily Worker* quoted above. It is significant that the social democrats are not once referred to as "social Fascists". If this information proves to be correct a good part of the urgent proposals of the Left Opposition have already broken ground for themselves.

—S. G.

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

Once More on the Bronx Cooperatives

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The conflict which has arisen between the members of the Food Workers Industrial Union and the C. P. bureaucracy (See *The Militant*, April 16, 1932) is constantly becoming sharper and has aroused wide spread interest among Communist and Left wing workers all over town.

As *The Militant* reported two weeks ago, the clash resulted from the expressed intentions of the management of the Consumers Cooperatives in the Bronx—which stands under the control of the party leadership—to reorganize that enterprise at the general expense of the food workers employed there. So far, a 10 per cent wage cut has already been put through, the working day has been increased by one hour and a tax of 10 per cent for the benefit of the T. U. U. C. (the Left wing union center) has been imposed upon the Cooperative employees. Not content with all these measures, the bureaucracy has seen fit to engage non-union men in place of the old help. This aroused the F. W. I. U. members to the point of exasperation.

The workers of the Con-Coops brought to the attention of the management the fact that a non-member of the Union was working there and requested that he be replaced with a Union man. The manager, an ex-drug store boss from Washington, D. C., refused their request. They were therefore compelled to lodge a protest with the Union.

Tribes, one of the organizers of the F. W. I. U. was sent to the Con-Coops to investigate the complaint. He informed the management that the Con-Coops were Union shops and that only members of the F. W. I. U. could work there. He demanded that the non-member be removed and that he be substituted with one of the many unemployed workers from the Union.

The manager refused to comply with the demand, and a temporary stoppage was the result. This stirred the anger of the Con-Coops and Union workers. The situation became so heated that a meeting of the District Control Commission of the Communist Party had to be called. After a long and weary session, the following amazing decisions were rendered:

1. To condemn the action of the Union organizer.

2. To mildly criticize the management of the Con-Coops.

It is only natural that the workers have been made furious by these decisions. It is hard for them to swallow the fact that the unheard of actions of the management have the tacit approval of the party bureaucrats. The suspicions of the rank and file with regard to the bureaucracy have been heightened to an unprecedented degree. And there is good cause for their suspicions. A few of the following incidents, known to all of the Left wing food workers will show why.

In the fall of 1930, there was a conference of the camp workers of all the party summer camps. The conference was shocked and outraged by the demand of one, Doroshkin, manager of Camp Kinderland, to reduce the wages of the camp employees. The protest of those present was so unanimous that the party representative to the conference was forced to repudiate Doroshkin and to make an official statement that the latter would not be returned to his post the following summer. But last year this same Doroshkin was right back in his old place and even much more of a slave driver than before.

As was reported by *The Militant* on August 1, 1931, a certain Newman, manager of the camp Woclonia, threatened to call the state troopers to oust a worker from the camp who had resisted against his arbitrary dismissal. The party Central Control Commission, acting under the pressure of the workers following this outrage, decided very diplomatically to keep Newman from occupying any paid post for six months. The six months will be up in July. The workers are wondering: Will Newman, like Doroshkin, be returned to his post once more?

While Newman gets this mild rebuff, the worker who resisted his bureaucratic methods, a militant worker arrested at the time of the needle trades strike last year, was faced with a very mysterious withdrawal of his bail and finally, with deportation by the government authorities.

The case of the worker Napoleon, whose exceptionally militant record is well known among the party members, and whose heroism was even made the subject of poems that appeared in the *Daily Worker*, similarly arouses suspicion. Napoleon was expelled from the Food Workers Industrial Union as a counter-revolutionary because he dared criticize the leadership. He happened to be out on bail for union activities in the strike at the Zelgreen cafeterias at the time. He was never notified by the bureaucrats when to appear in court. His bail was forfeited and he has been left to rot in jail.

The food workers are restless. They have been called counter-revolutionaries and worse by the bureaucratic Zack for daring to take a stand against the spurious "reorganization" of the Con-Coops. Are they too to be left at the mercy of the class enemy because they are courageous enough to criticize the headmen?

The incidents above and the latest occurrences at the Con-Coops are not accidental. Hundreds of Left wing workers have already reacted to the arbitrary

and headless antics of the party bureaucracy with their feet. They have gone over to the A. F. of L. union. The devoted and sincere party members are alarmed. They will not allow the bureaucrats to wreck the work for which they have offered so many sacrifices in the union and on the picket line. They know the danger involved in tampering with the rights of the Union membership. They realize that workers join the union not as full fledged Communists, but to better their conditions. They know that it takes time and patience and self-sacrifice to develop the union workers into hardened class fighters. The party workers will not stand by and see the bureaucrats drive the union workers away from the movement. They know what is at stake.

The Left Opposition has been warning the party workers against the bureaucracy ever since its existence. It is a pioneer in the fight. The party workers who have come to realize the baletfulness of the bureaucratic methods of the party leadership must search deeper for the causes behind them. Whatever is wrong with the leadership in the Cooperatives is also wrong with the leadership on a national and more than that, on an international scale. The roots of the bureaucracy lie in the whole system of Stalinism which has been leading the Comintern as a whole to a steady decline, to disintegration and impotence, ever since the death of Lenin. The workers who really want to fight bureaucracy, will have to fight against the whole rotten Stalinist system. The time is not distant when the best elements of the party membership will realize this and struggle side by side with the Left Opposition for the regeneration of the party and the Communist International along the Leninist line, along the line of revolutionary victory.

—FOOD WORKER.

From an Illinois Miner

Dear Comrades:

It has been some time since I wrote to you relative to the situation in southern Illinois. Well, the situation is plenty hot down here now.

The strike is effective in every degree throughout the whole state. The District Organization is pursuing once more the wrong policy of separate agreements. This has caused a stir among the miners from the large mines, especially here in Franklin County. In several local unions we have pushed resolutions demanding that the officials recall those separate contracts.

The negotiations between the bosses and the miners are at a deadlock. The operators moved to adjourn sine die. The perspective is that a plenty hot struggle will develop. The District Officials are making every maneuver to get the miners to accept a wage cut. However, they have not openly committed themselves to this proposition. "Competition, stabilization, freight rates," are the substitutes for an energetic program of struggle. That the District Officials are not as brazen as before is simply due to the fact that progressive forces within the miners are fast developing and have attained a powerful following. On the other hand Lewis has declared himself to be after Wilke's scalp to the end. This causes the district to cater to the progressive elements.

April 1st we held a huge mass meeting at the West Frankfort Ball Park with several thousand miners present. We cooperated with the Communist party to the extent of using this 8 hour day celebration as a protest meeting against Criminal Syndicalism. Our active young militant, Gerry Allard, spoke and acted as secretary of all arrangements. This seemed to be much to the disappointment of the Stalinists. A resolution was unanimously adopted calling upon the miners to mobilize their forces in defense of the seven workers. It was also decided to call upon all local unions to send delegations to the State's Attorney demanding the release of the victims. The program consisted of 8 prominent progressive mine leaders. In spite of the fact that the Party opposed Edmundson he spoke at the meeting. William Browder was squeezed in the program as presenting the I. L. D. This is the first time that the Party representatives have been able to speak publicly since the raids.

We have a powerful unemployed movement started here in southern Illinois, which the Party attacked. We have branches in West Frankfort, Herrin, Coello, Benton, Christopher, Marion, Johnston City and Logan. Allard is serving in the capacity of general organizer of the movement and Secretary of the West Frankfort Unemployed Branch with seven hundred members. It is really valuable experience that we all have gained in this work. The organization is reaching greater powers every day and beginning to develop along militant lines in spite of the weak beginning it had due to the lack that time of real leadership, also being infested with religious cults of every description. Organizing unemployed is like organizing Negroes, the religious angle always breaks loose. Thus far we have exercised the greatest possible degree of democracy, but by degrees we are placing a check on it.

Over 4,000 members have joined our movement in 2 months period. Starting out with five men the organization is maturing to a point where it will be a fighting, achieving organization. It is comical to see all the crafts of the A. F. of L. come to the support of the movement after it attracts thousands of people. All the U. M. W. A. locals in the country have endorsed it, several churches, the Sub. District Association and one

We are off on the first week of our drive to BUILD THE OPPOSITION PRESS. This is a week to be devoted to the distribution of recent back issues of our papers. Back numbers have been mailed and are already in the hands of the comrades. The thing to do now is to distribute them and follow up these distributions with sales of current issues and our literature. An encouraging response to our appeal for our sympathizers to help us in this drive came in from South Bend, Indiana. The back numbers asked for were in the mail three hours after receipt of request for them. Comrade should remember that all returns must be in the mail (air mail) not later than Monday noon following the close of the week.

Upon consideration we found it advisable to revise some of the quotas. As they stand now they include a larger number of cities and are closer to what can actually be realized. They are: New York—\$325; Minneapolis—\$200; Chicago—\$100; Toronto—\$70; Philadelphia—\$40; Cleveland—\$40; Boston—\$40; Newark—\$35; Kansas City—\$30; St. Louis—\$25; Los Angeles—\$20; Youngstown—\$10; New Haven—\$10; Montreal—\$10; Duluth—\$10; Springfield, Ill.—\$10; W. Frankfort, Ill.—\$10; Pittsburgh—\$10; Trenton—\$5. Which city will be the first to reach its quota?

Judging from the returns to date and especially from last week's showing Minneapolis is a two to one shot. But the final word has not been said and any one of our branches which has been saving its wind for the drive down the home stretch may step out to the front of the race. For last week Minneapolis reported 16 subs, New York, 5; Youngstown, 4; Chicago, 1; and 1 is credited to miscellaneous. This brings the total for the drive to 127. The standing of the branches is as follows:

Minneapolis	49
New York	38
Chicago	9
Boston	4
Youngstown	4
St. Louis	1
Newark	1
Philadelphia	1
Montreal	1

chapter of the American Legion, all without solicitation.

The meetings of the unemployed down here pack every hall we meet in. Relief has been rushed. This has developed the enthusiasm of the masses to a point where they suddenly realize what an ounce of organization can do. Rough roads lay ahead of them and in the bumpings that they will get scores of good fighters for the revolutionary movement will develop. Young workers, who formerly were attracted to a distant Metropolis in search of employment, no longer can be swayed by a general exodus. They are staying here now and fighting is going to be on the order of the day.

Tomorrow is a big day for the miners of Franklin County. A huge county demonstration is planned by the miners. Every local union has called a special meeting and made plans for the parade and demonstration. We anticipate, conservatively, 5,000 miners. The advertising leaflet calls for a fight on Boss Scabery. This is the latest maneuver of the bosses to wedge in for open shop. 500 of us marched at the Big Mine out near the edge of the town and pulled the bosses out of the mine. After we did this we threatened to put out all maintenance men if the practice of using boss strike breakers was abused. Maintenance forces are the men who take care of the mines from flooding, squeezes, falls, etc. The bosses attempted to use their stool pigeon crew of bosses instead of members of the United Mine Workers. This caused a commotion. As a result hell is going to pop out unless this demand of the miners is adhered to. The officials tell us, "Boys, we have no contract with the coal operators so what can we do about it?" Hot stuff! We have been busy thinking of slogans for banners. Scores of banners will stream the whole country.

The Party bureaucrats have been out maneuvered on every issue where they tried their Centrist policies, and where they attempted to discredit those who fought against bureaucracy. They have been forced to like it on several occasions. The artillery that they let loose against Allard for a while, has now stopped. It was doing them more harm than good and at the same time giving Allard publicity on matters that reacted very bad against them and Communism. Now they are attempting to use Party members of the rank and file to start in sniping away a him. But even this has failed simply because his position was unavailable. If any one is responsible for the uplifting of the terror against Communists in this country, Allard and a handful of militants are to be given the credit. The Party came forward on a May Day program and again we were instrumental in getting various local unions to endorse the demonstration. It appears to me that the Party is orientating itself to progressive elements, some with shady records. I cannot understand the sudden change of political lines. However, I am fully in accord with a united front of all miners.

Your article on the Anthracite was very informative. I received a personal letter from a young miner from Shenandoah, Pa. He reported along the lines that you had in your article. Our next big step among the progressives is to get our district forces centralized and then develop national contact.

Best Regards to all the Comrades,

—AN ILLINOIS MINER.

The First Week of the Press Drive

Miscellaneous 19

Minneapolis is now far in the lead but New York regards this as a small item to be wiped out at its subscription drive affair to be held this Saturday. The idea of giving ticket holders an 8 issue sub to *The Militant* should draw a large attendance and shoot it back into the lead. Minneapolis—on your toes, the fight isn't over. The showing made last week by Youngstown is very encouraging. We still expect to hear from Cleveland, Kansas City, New Haven, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, Springfield and W. Frankfort, Ill., Toronto. We also expect to hear again from Philadelphia, Boston, St. Louis, Newark, Montreal, Chicago, and Youngstown.

MILITANT BUILDERS

The staff of *Militant Builders* is moving upward. This is one of the most encouraging signs. It means that more and more comrades are being drawn into the drive. In our opinion we are approaching the point at which the simple addition of numbers produces a quantity far in excess of their sum. Our barometer of progress is proving itself. The staff and its record follow: C. R. Hedlund—9; C. Cowl—5; V. R. Dunne—5; M. Dunne—5; A. Konikov—4; F. Barach—4; L. Basky—3; L. Roseland—3; C. Skoglund—3; O. Coover—3; C. Johnson—2; J. Carr—2; R. Sacharow—2; F. Cheloff—2; G. Ray—2; M. Glottlieb—1; M. Koehler—1; W. Winne—1; J. Carter—1; R. Ruskin—1; C. Forssen—1; H. Capelis—1; S. Zalmanoff—1; W. Hermann—1; A. Swaback—1; A. Glotzer—1; L. Logan—1; Kaldia—1; M. Sterling—1; W. Curran—1.

The staff looks very much like a roll call of the Minneapolis branch. The comrades in other branches should get busy and bolster up their end of the representation.

Comrade Coover reports the following from Minneapolis: No. 1 team scored nine points this week making their total as of April 21st—thirty-seven and a quarter (37 1/4) points. No. 2 team scored sixteen (16) points making their total forty-three (43). The total score for the branch—eighty and a quarter (80 1/4) points.

"We warned Chicago and New York they had better watch out and we meant it and offer the above as proof."

"Several of the Minneapolis *Militant Builders* have not been mentioned in the *Militant* yet. The complete list is as follows: M. Dunne—5 points; V. Dunne—10; F. Barach—8; S. Lesin—4 3/4; J. Ross—4 1/2; C. Forssen—1 1/2; C. Johnson—3 1/2; W. Curran—1 1/2; C. R. Hedlund—17; O. Coover—5; L. Roseland—4 1/2; C. Skoglund—4; S. Barach—1; S. Kalmannoff—2; C. Cowl—8 1/2; M. Glottlieb—1 1/2. (A point is equivalent to one dollar). The above includes the subs for Unser Kampf, Young Spartacus.

"Comrade Hedlund in turning in \$11 for subs he got from members of his union remarked: 'I didn't have much time or I would have got them all'."

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Lovestone and the «Pseudo-Revolutionists»

Our attack upon the proposal made in Izvestia by Karl Radek for a military alliance between the Soviet Union and the United States against Japan, has called forth at least one reply. If the diplomats and statesmen in the Stalinist camp who hastened to endorse Radek's idea promptly relapsed into silence and have since said nothing more on the matter, at least their Right wing brothers-under-the-skin have entered the field to break a lance for the embarrassed Stalinists.

In the current issue of the *Workers Age* (April 23, 1932), the leading editorial is devoted to a warm defense of Radek and an "anonymous" assault upon our position, with the argument that even though Radek is playing "bad politics based upon an unrealistic analysis" there is nothing at all the matter with the idea in principle, that it is quite in harmony with the teachings and practices of Leninism. The case is even helped along by the printing of a quotation from Lenin which is supposed to put the imprimatur of Bolshevism on the idea of a military alliance and, by implication, upon the Lovestoneites. As for our arguments, they are summarily dismissed as follows:

"That it is wrong in principle for the Soviet power to form temporary alliances, even military alliances, with capitalist powers, only a muddled pseudo-revolutionary phrasemonger will maintain. For we must remember that 'war is the continuation of politics by other means', and that 'politics is concentrated economics'; any 'principle' that would forbid a military alliance must likewise, if logically extended, forbid a political treaty or a commercial agreement!"

Utilizing Capitalist Antagonisms

Have the Bolsheviks (or any other ruling revolutionary proletarian party) the right to utilize differences and antagonisms existing at a given moment in the camp of world imperialism? Absolutely, the right and the duty. So long as the proletariat in other countries has not yet come to the aid of an isolated workers' dictatorship, the latter must exploit the antagonisms in the camp of world imperialism in the interests of its own preservation. The noteworthy example of this is the action of the Bolsheviks when the German imperialists marched against the Soviets following their failure to accept the terms of the Brest-Litovsk treaty in February 1918, that is, while the Allied imperialists were still at war with Germany. Trotsky describes the action as follows:

"On the twenty-second of February, at the meeting of the Central Committee, I reported that the French military mission had conveyed the French and English offers to help us in a war with Germany. I expressed myself as in favor of accepting the offer, on condition, of course, that we be completely independent in matters of foreign policy. Bucharin insisted that it was inadmissible for us to enter into any arrangements with the imperialists. Lenin came vigorously to my aid, and the Central Committee adopted my resolution by six votes against five. As far as I can remember now, Lenin dictated the resolution in these words: 'That comrade Trotsky be authorized to accept the assistance of the brigands of French imperialism against the German brigands.'"

This is the "agreement" (Lenin deliberately uses ironical quotation marks around the word) to which Lenin refers in his "Letter to the American Working Men". In reprinting excerpts from this letter, Lovestone, to justify his contention, commits a little forgery which is quite characteristic of him and entitles the letter: "On 'Alliances' with imperialists."

Opposition Press in Czechoslovakia

Our Left Opposition in Czechoslovakia is publishing two organs, a theoretical monthly, entitled *MARXISTIKA REVUE* and a weekly, entitled *Delnicka Politika*, Czechoslovakia workers in America who may be interested in keeping in touch with our movement in their own country can obtain these papers by writing to: *Marxisticka Revue*, Fr. Kohut, Zizkov, Chavlickovo nam 4, Prague, and to: *Delnicka Politika*, Havlickovo nam 4, Prague XI.

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"We shook hands with the French monarchist although we knew that each one of us would be pleased to hang the other . . . And however much the hypocrites of Anglo-French and American imperialism may howl and abuse us . . . I will not hesitate for a moment to conclude a similar 'agreement' with the German imperialist robbers in case the attacks of the Anglo-French armies would require it."

But such entirely legitimate "agreements" are quite a distance from the alliance proposed by Radek and justified by Lovestone in principle. What Radek proposed was the conclusion of a military alliance between the United States, as one of "the capitalist powers which at the present stage do not infringe on her (the Soviet Union's) frontiers or interests", an alliance against imperialist Japan. That is how the issue stands. In reply to this reactionary proposal we quoted from Lenin's theses in March 1918, directed not only against the ultra-Leftist advocates of a "revolutionary war against Germany" (Bucharin and Radek), but also against the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists who insisted upon a Soviet alliance with France and England against the Hohenzollern armies.

"Our policy must be based, not on a choice between two imperialisms but on the possibility of strengthening the socialist revolution or at least on the necessity of enabling it to offer resistance until the other countries join the revolutionary movement . . . We have always fought our own imperialism, but the overthrow of the imperialism of one country by means of an alliance with the imperialism of another, is a line of action that we reject both on reasons of principle and because we consider it inadmissible."

Let us remember that this was written at a time when Russia's need for "allies" was infinitely more acute than today, at a time when there was no Red army and when (unlike the situation in Manchuria) the German forces had already advanced upon Russian territory into the very heart of the country. In spite of this Lenin offered objections in principle to the proposals for an alliance with the Anglo-French imperialists. He did not withdraw them even when Kamkov, leader of the Social Revolutionists, announced to the Soviet Congress the withdrawal of that party's support of the Bolshevik government because Lenin preferred to sign the humiliating treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

Towards the end of the same year, Lenin wrote to the party's Central Committee: "Now the least enlightened will understand what cowardly treason to socialism the Mensheviks and the S. R. committed by accepting the alliance with the rapacious Franco-English bourgeoisie with the alleged aim of annulling the Brest peace." And again, to the Sixth Congress of the Soviets, Lenin declared in retrospect: "Fate condemned us to isolation and after the Brest peace we have lived through a grievous period. We were told: 'Better a new alliance with the imperialists than such a peace! . . . rather a new war together with the Anglo-French than the yoke of this violent peace. We replied: if we address ourselves to the international working class, we shall be able to continue our work."

As Lenin writes in the "Letter" published by Lovestone: "There are agreements and agreements." With one, the proletariat makes a revolutionary use of temporary divisions in the imperialist camp; with the other, the proletariat allies itself with the bourgeoisie of one country, sacrificing its revolutionary principles—towards a reactionary end, to which we shall refer later on.

Lenin made one kind of "agreement". When the Soviets were pressed to the wall by the advancing Germans, he readily accepted arms and ammunition from the French and English; he agreed to use their military specialists to blow up bridges and railroad lines in order to impede the German advance. The Soviets bound themselves to nothing. They created no illusions among the workers of the world concerning any "friendliness to the Soviet republic" or "nobleness of purpose" on the part of the Entente brigands. They concluded no secret (or any other kind of) treaty of alliance with France. They continued to agitate unreservedly for the overthrow of both sets of imperialist powers by their respective proletariats.

Under similar circumstances, the Soviets would act the same way today in the conflict with Japan. In face of a Japanese intervention against the U. S. S. R., or even a threat of such a step, the Soviets would be entirely justified in buying or accepting arms or ammunition from, let us say, the United States (if it could get them from this imperialist power which, far from standing aside, as Radek implies, is the fundamental counter-revolutionary force in the world

(Continued on page 3)

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IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Appeal to the S. A. P.

The Left Opposition Addresses the Centrist Party Congress

(Continued from last issue)

If one is of the opinion that in the S. U. the beginnings of a classless society are already in existence, it is not necessary to concentrate all forces for the development of a proletarian revolution in other countries. As the realization of a classless society in the S. U. will apparently lead by example to the introduction of socialism in other countries. Therefore the whole policy of the Communist parties is confined to a simple role: propaganda against the war of intervention against the S. U. Only people who do not grasp the international character of the proletarian revolution (like Brandler and Thaelmann and now in the S. A. P.—Rueck, Schaber, Dueby) can assert that the policy of Stalin is good and only the policy of Thaelmann is bad. Just as until 1923 the correct policy of the Communist Party of the S. U. exerted a fruitful influence on other Communist parties, so the false policy of the Communist Party of the S. U. now exerts a devastating influence on other Communist parties. Until 1923 the leading role of the C. P. of the S. U. influenced the C. I. positively, now negatively. From this follows the necessity of changing the policy of the C. P. of the S. U., the abrogation of the theory of socialism in one country from which all the strategic and tactical errors of the C. I. follow. So long as the only proletarian revolution exists in Russia, the leading role in the C. I. will remain that of the Communist Party of the S. U.

National Socialism vs. Leninism

If it is correct that socialism can be realized in the S. U., that a classless society can be built, then the victory of Fascism in Germany is not dangerous, at least not so dangerous that it can jeopardize the existence of the proletarian state. If the existence of the S. U. is determined only by national factors, then the events on the international arena, in China and especially in Germany are only of a secondary nature. And if the consequences of a possible seizure of power by the Fascists in Germany are underestimated and it is considered as a phenomenon of short duration then one can hold the point of view that the S. P. G. is now the principal enemy. Then the programs of "national and social liberation" and of "social Fascism" are correct, then a united front with the S. P. G. and with the unions is not necessary, then also is acceptable the policy of the "Red Trade Union Opposition" (R. G. O.—the C. P. trade union organization). Without a correct revolutionary theory there can be no correct revolutionary practice! It is not a matter of a few mistakes of the C. I. on "fine points" but of a whole system of backsliding from the positions of Marxism-Leninism. The Brandler and Thaelmanns could not grasp this and therefore their policy suffered a complete bankruptcy. Rueck, Schaber, Dueby are repeating the same thing today.

One cannot train Communist cadres without taking a definite stand with regard to the whole policy of the C. I. for the past 9 years. The policy of the C. I. in China shows how a revolution in colonial countries should not be organized. Contrary to the theses and statutes of the Communist International adopted at the Second Congress (Theses on the national and colonial questions, 1920, 9-66-77) which state:

"The Communist International should enter into a temporary collaboration, even an alliance with the revolutionary movement of the colonies and the backward countries, must not however combine itself with it, but must unconditionally maintain the independent character of the revolutionary movement—be it even in embryo form," the Comintern under the leadership of Stalin pursued a policy in China which aimed at the suppression of "the independent character" of the Communist party of China by all means. The counter-revolutionary party of Chiang-Kai-Shek's Kuo Min Tang was recognized as a party "friendly" to the Comintern, the Communists of China were ordered not to come out as an independent party which warns the proletariat and the peasants of the inevitable betrayal by the Kuo Min Tang and then leads them to the realization of the revolution, but to remain as a fraction of the Kuo Min Tang. They strove not to the proletarian dictatorship but to the "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants." The Communists of China were forced in the years of 1925-1927 to suppress workers' strikes and peasants uprising because of the union with a "friendly" party and for the sake of "national unity." This policy led to the tragedy of the Chinese revolution, to the murder of thousands of Communists and of an even larger number of workers and peasants by the blood-thirsty counter-revolution, by Stalin's allies of yesterday. The C. I. stands helpless in the face of present events in China. The Communist Party of China does not exist.

The Anglo-Russian Committee

The experiences in England are just as important. The history of the Anglo-Russian Committee should be studied by all revolutionaries who want to gain clarity on questions of the United Front and who want to understand the present weakness of British Communism. The bloc of the Soviet-Russian and English

trade unions was entered into against the protests of the Opposition for the purpose of diminishing the war danger and was sustained even after the betrayal of Purcell and others. In this way the betrayal of the reformists was covered up by the authority of the Soviet Union "in order to remove the war danger" and the growth of the Communist Party of England was made impossible. The reformists quit the committee after they no longer had any need of it.

You workers of the S. A. P. and the S. J. V. (the Youth Section) you want to be Communists. You cannot be that only through the adoption of general principles of Communism. You must learn from the experiences of the C. I. for the last 9 years. Without drawing the correct conclusions from this period of weakness and defeat of the C. I. one cannot become a Marxist-Leninist.

United Front and Cartels.

Without the C. P. G., S. P. G. and unions, no united front of the proletariat is possible. Many of you seem to forget this obvious truth. This can be seen from the cartels which you have established. We see that the cartels are made into discussion clubs in which one speaker after another tries to prove that the C. P. G. is incapable of carrying through actions, thus creating unbelievable illusions in the fighting strength of the cartels. We never denied the necessity of discussions, but it is clear to us that the aim of anti-Fascist cartels—or whatever other name they may bear—consists in the first place in extra-parliamentary actions. The first condition for this is the participation of the decisive proletarian organizations. Due to the fact that the cartels became meeting places of the bankrupt Brandler group, the Urbahns group and various other unimportant organizations, you made it impossible for yourself, workers of the S. A. P., to reach members of the C. P. G., their local organizations, as well as the S. P. G. and the Unions. You must learn this lesson from the past if you want actively to help build the class front of the proletariat.

The example of our organization in Bruchsal is instructive. Thanks to our group, there was established a united front with the S. P. G. with the unions and all other non-party organizations. This it seems is the only place in Germany where in spite of the existence of the Eastern group of the S. P. G. not an "iron front" was forced but a class front of the workers of Bruchsal.

We consider the question of a united front of the proletariat not a thing in itself. The necessity and significance of the united front becomes clear only when the closeness and full danger of Fascism is realized, as well as the necessity to defeat Fascism before the seizure of power, since after its victory this would be incomparably more difficult and bloody. If not impossible for a long period. None of the existing proletarian parties can do this work by itself. That is why we turn against the treacherous policy of the S. P. G. as well as against the false policy of the C. P. G. From this appraisal of the situation it follows for every worker who wants to struggle against Fascism earnestly and successfully that a real united front must be established between the various political camps of the divided working masses. The private anti-Fascist cartels consisting of yourselves, Brandler and Urbahns will not solve this problem as you have not the masses with you.

What Constitutes A Revolutionary Policy
Correct united front tactics are possible only on the basis of a clear revolutionary policy. Your party has in no way yet fully overcome reformism but repeatedly makes concessions to it. If you will remove this condition and fully embrace a real revolutionary policy you must struggle for the following Communist fundamentals:

1. The victory of the proletariat is possible only through an armed uprising, during which the proletariat destroys the bourgeois state apparatus and estab-

lishes the dictatorship of the proletariat which is the form of the rule of the working class in the transition period from capitalism to socialism.

2. The dictatorship of the proletariat is exercised through councils (Soviets) which exercise the widest proletarian democracy. They are led by a party which in struggle for the seizure of power gains the confidence of the proletariat and this can only be a Communist party.

3. The Communist party is the mind of the working class and must represent its historical interests. It leads the proletariat into struggle for power and after the victory toward the building of socialism.

4. The struggle for a socialist society is an international struggle. The Communist International is that organization which directs this struggle, subjects the temporary interests of the proletariat to the historical ones and its limited national aims to the international aims.

5. The "theory" of the possibility of realizing socialism in a single country is reactionary, it contradicts the teachings of Marx and Lenin.

6. The presupposition for the recognition of the revolutionary, that is, Communist world movement is the reform of the Communist International and of the C. P. which will remove the strategic and tactical errors of the present leadership, will re-introduce inner party democracy and will achieve the unity of the Communist ranks on the basis of Leninism.

7. The victory of Fascism in Germany will mean not only the bloody suppression of the German working class, but also the greater sharpening of the war danger for the Soviet Union.

8. One of the most important tasks in the present situation is the defense of the Soviet Union as the fortress of the international proletariat. Only the defeat of Fascism and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in one's own country can safeguard the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union.

Therefore, comrades of the S. A. P., fight all forms of reformism and centrism.

Forward to Communism!

Executive Committee of the Left Opposition of the C. P. G. (Bolshevik-Leninists)

Lovestone and the «Muddled Pseudo-Revolutionists»

(Continued from page 2)

today and, in the deepest sense of the word, the spearhead of the anti-Soviet movement in the camp of imperialism).

The Meaning of an Alliance

But the conclusion of a military alliance with America is another matter entirely. Such measures are not taken merely for the sake of remaining on paper. In the event that war actually breaks out between the Soviet Union and Japan, the United States will appear on the scene as the military ally of the former. It will be in a position to carry out its imperialist designs not merely against Japan, but primarily against China, under the convenient banner of defending the workers' fatherland from military intervention by Japan! The American bourgeoisie, which has always fastened the imperialist yoke upon weaker peoples in the name of the loftiest ideals—the "open door" in China or "democratic elections" in Nicaragua—could not wish for a more noble banner under which to sink its teeth into China than the "defense" of the Soviet Union from Japanese intervention!

Still more: Let us again assume the outbreak of a Japanese-Soviet war. On the basis of the "alliance", the Soviets are "legally" justified in calling for the dispatch of American aid to relieve its hard-pressed forces from the Japanese offensive. If Lovestone is a member of Congress by that time, we assume that he will vote war credits to the army and navy; perhaps, also, he will call upon the working class to suspend its war upon the bourgeoisie which is engaged, you see, in fighting to a successful finish its war in defense of the Soviet Union.

If not, he will be infinitely less con-

The Bureaucrats Analyze the Elections

How the Rank and File Party Members React to their «Analysis»

The article below, taken from our German brother organ *Die Permanente Revolution*, gives a good picture of the party bureaucracy's methods of "analyzing" election results and of the genuine reactions of the party membership to the set-backs the C. P. G. has recently suffered.

The result of the elections "lags behind the objective possibilities that the present situation offers us. The election results are unsatisfactory for the Communist party". (Rote Fahne, March 14).

"The Communists do not consider it necessary to shout out loud about their victory" (Pravda, March 17, 1932).

"From this point of view, the five million votes for the fighting candidacy of the C. P. G. in the first ballot must be described as a big victory" (Thaelmann on March 25. See Rote Fahne of March 30).

It can readily be seen from these quotations how, inside of 14 days the defeat of March 13, which the Rote Fahne expressed with the words "unsatisfactory result" became a "great victory" of the C. P. G. What is this about face based on? Is it really true that after a more thorough investigation, the election results must be evaluated differently the way the Rote Fahne did on March 14? Let us look at the figures more closely. We find that in almost all the decisive industrial districts the party lost many votes. For example, in the "Thaelmann fortress" Hamburg, in several of its proletarian quarters alone: St. Pauli, St. Georg, Barmbeck and Eimsbüttel, the party lost from 25 to 28 per cent of the votes it received in the last local elections. The Nazis too have had small losses there. Only the Hindenburg Front gained from these losses. An investigation of the results in the other districts in the Reich does not permit an optimistic evaluation for the C. P. G. It is significant that the optimism of the Rote Fahne came into view only after the article in the Pravda. The Pravda, however, must baptize the defeat as a victory, because Stalin can stand no de-

feats, his policy is infallible. His theory that "the social democracy and Fascism are twins" has suffered shipwreck, the S. P. G. and the Nazis have become still stronger, the party has become weaker. This must not and cannot be expressed openly. That is why the decline of March 13 has become a "big victory of the C. P. G." The tone has been given, the line has been drawn, and now the editors and orators can rave about the "big victory". Now it has become clear that "the correctness of the strategic and tactical line of the party has been confirmed completely" and the barrage of slander against all those who are of a different opinion, can continue even in an increased measure.

The Lies of the Party Press

The "victory" of the party at the presidential elections, which has been invented by the bureaucracy, cannot, however, placate the party members. They know well, how they must evaluate the results of the elections. The bureaucracy offers a cheap explanation to quiet down the membership. The social Fascist leaders are guilty, because with the slogan of the lesser evil they have held the workers back from giving their vote to Thaelmann. But this is precisely the task of the social democracy! That the leaders of the S. P. G. and the trade unions are betrayers—every Communist is well aware of. That it is the task of the enemy to fight against C. P. G., is only natural. The leaders of the S. P. G. can travel no other road than the one they have taken ever since August 4, 1914. To get excited over this is useless. But how is it possible that the S. P. G. succeeds in winning millions, yes, the greatest part of the German working class for the policy of the "lesser evil", even though they have no more reforms to offer to the workers? How is it possible that the C. P. G. has not been able to extend its influence in the working class, what with the socialist construction in the Soviet Union? These are questions which require an answer. But that leads too far: By answering such questions it must become clear how false the

strategic and tactical line of the party is. And this, the party bureaucracy can in no case permit to happen. Therefore, the cheap explanation, that the leaders of the S. P. G. are guilty for the defeat of the C. P. G.

Furthermore, "the counter revolutionary, deceptive maneuvers of the S. A. P. and the Trotskyists: For Thaelmann—against the C. P. G." are also to blame for the party's defeat. Only an editor of the Rote Fahne can write such lies about the Left Opposition. The brother organ of the Rote Fahne in France, *L'Humanité*, in the article by Perin of March 13, goes as far as to maintain that Trotsky has appealed for the election of Hindenburg. But the scribbles on the party press know very well that *Die Permanente Revolution* appealed to: "Vote for Thaelmann, the Candidate of the C. P. G." and "Despite the Thaelmann Course, Every Force for the Strengthening of the C. P. G." So much for the lessons the party press draws from the results of the March 13 elections.

By means of self-criticism the party will overcome all shortcomings and weaknesses, the party press writes day in day out. Is the examination of the political line of the party, and of its actions therefore in order? May the party members, for instance, say how they evaluate the results of March 13? What is self-criticism? Let us take a few examples: In Berlin there was a gathering of party functionaries after the conclusion from the election results to the effect that the party policy must be corrected. That was sufficient to arouse an uninterrupted hullabaloo on part of the party bureaucracy. One discussion speaker, excited by the continual interruptions, had to call out: "This is even worse than among the Nazis" and another: "Heinz Neumann may speak, but no workers!" Such self-criticism was too much for the bureaucracy and the meeting was adjourned abruptly. It was to be continued on Thursday, March 24. The bureaucracy needed this postponement, in order to eliminate all criticism. The following document, which we bring in full, is an exact picture of what took place:

"Berlin, March 21, 1932

"To All Sub-District Committees!
"To All Unit Organizers!
"To All Fraction Leaders in the Mass Organizations!

"What must absolutely be kept in mind in distributing invitations for the continuation of the conference of party functionaries on Thursday, March 24?

"1. The last party functionaries' conference was attended to the extent of about 5-6 unemployed party comrades. The functionaries from the most important front, from the factory front, were therefore almost entirely absent. That is why invitations must be extended in such a manner that more than half of the representatives are factory workers.

"2. Half of the comrades present at the last conference were in the party less than a year, and half of these in turn, less than three months. We must see to it that this time our really active party functionaries are invited and represented.

The sub-district committee, the unit organizers and the fraction leaders in the mass organizations are responsible for such a distribution of the invitations as will make it impossible in the future, for open enemies of the party to get access to our internal conferences through a careless distribution of invitations.

Only in this manner can the responsible party functionaries guarantee that the coming party functionaries' conference will be a real impetus to revolutionary mass work for the next few weeks and months in the struggle around the run-off elections and the elections in Prussia.

Secretariat of the D. E. C.

This is a concrete example of "self-criticism" in Berlin. Every party member who criticizes is an "open enemy of the party". In Hamburg, the District Organizer, Schubert went so far as to say at a conference of party functionaries that the poor results in the elections at Hamburg are due to the comrades in the Kampfbund (the party's anti-Fascist "mass" organization), who were only guarding the posters at night and slept in the daytime, when they should have been discussing at the unemployed registry offices. When those present protested against this shameful arrogance, Schubert declared: "Whoever does not maintain discipline to the end of the elections, stands expelled". This is the picture of the party's "self-criticism". Such "self-criticism" is the deception which makes it possible for the party bureaucracy to insult the members and to forbid any criticism of the policies of the party leadership.

But this cannot go on. The members are beginning to realize that the party leadership is leading them into the void. They will criticize. After the second ballot, the party members will resort even more to criticism. It is the task of the Left Opposition to pose the demand for free criticism in the party into the foreground. It is on this field that we must drive the first wedge.

—Die Permanente Revolution

Now on the Press!

Problems of the Chinese Revolution

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE 1925-1927 CHINESE REVOLUTION?
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WHAT IS HAPPENING IN CHINA NOW?
WHAT SHOULD THE COMMUNISTS DO?

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Here you have a classic instance of how generally accepted postulates can be prostituted to serve a reactionary purpose, of how truth, "logically extended", becomes a lie.

Economics, Politics and War

The Soviet Union grants foreign imperialist concessionaries certain economic rights, even allowing them to exploit Russian labor and accumulate capital. And yet, even though "politics is concentrated economics", it stubbornly refuses, in principle, to grant the concessionary any political rights whatsoever. With the introduction of the N. E. P., the exploiting Kulak was granted definite economic privileges, yet Lenin opposed granting him any political rights.

The worker makes a "commercial agreement" to work for his employer and to surrender the surplus value he produces so that his employer may accumulate capital. William Green "logically extends" this idea, he "concentrates" economics into politics, and tells the worker to vote for his employer at the polls. And since "war is a continuation of politics by other means", he helps

herd the workers into the trenches so that more capital can be accumulated at home.

The Soviet Union might allow the Japanese the use of the Chinese Eastern Railway for the "economic" purpose—let us imagine—of dumping Japanese products on the Chinese market and causing the ruin of certain native industries. Yet, Russia would rightly refuse the use of the Chinese Eastern for the transport of Japanese troops in a war against China, in spite of Lovestone's learned explanations that war is a continuation of politics which is only concentrated economics.

A revolutionary trade union, finally, would take proper advantage of a rift in the ranks of the manufacturers, or of antagonisms between different strata among the latter, and adjust its tactics in order to make the most gains for the workers. But it would not enter into an "alliance" with one set of manufacturers for the purpose of wiping out a rival set of manufacturers. (It is with some reluctance that we refrain from dwelling here on an analysis of the exult to which Lovestone's recent advocacy a "logical extension" of the policy pursued in the needle trades union under the regime of Lovestone-Zimmerman...)

No, we are against "military alliances" of the Stalin-Browder-Radek-Lovestone type, and yet we are entirely in favor of utilizing imperialist disagreements as well as of concluding "commercial agreements". If "logical extension" is to be spoken of at all, then it is only in this connection:

The reactionary theory of socialism in one country is predicated upon transforming the international Communist movement into a pacifist frontier guard defending the Soviet Union from intervention while it builds an isolated, national utopia. In endeavoring to build this national socialist fantasy, intervention must be waived off at any price. The price thus far has included the heavy payments made by the English proletariat for the Soviet alliance with Purcell; the payments made by the Chinese proletariat and peasantry for Stalin's alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek and Wang Chin Wei; the payments still being made for the pacifist confusion and delusion of the world proletariat by the signing of the Kellogg Pact and Litvinov's Kautskyism antics every six months at Geneva.

Lovestone exerts himself, and defames Lenin in the bargain, in an effort to present Radek's proposal, as well as the party's demand for the "expulsion of the Japanese diplomats", as isolated aberrations, as accidental deviations from the generally correct line. Not at all! They are entirely logical results of the fundamental line. The tree of national socialism can only bear chauvinist fruit.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

EDITORIAL NOTES

"UNDER RANK AND FILE LEADERSHIP"

One of the demands in the program of the lefts, who were elected to the convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, was for "a real strike under rank and file leadership". This slogan does not appear here for the first time. It did not originate with the workers who stood as the candidates of the Left in the International elections, and they should not be blamed for it. There is no doubt that this anti-leadership slogan was imposed upon them by their own "leaders", the Stalinists, whose "rank and file" ballyhoo is intended for the deception of others and by no means for their own guidance in relation to their own rank and file.

In their steadily losing battle of recent times with the traitorous leaders of the Right wing unions, the demoralized officials of Stalinism have been trying to outwit their opponents and to sneak into the leadership of the workers without their knowledge. This is the grand "strategy" which motivates the demagogic appeal for the leadership of the "rank and file". The sad results which these unworthy maneuvers have brought, not the least of which has been the disorientation of the Communist workers in the simplest and most elementary questions, justify a discussion of this ridiculous slogan from the standpoint of the A B C of Marxism.

The first thing which must strike the observant worker, and which in part accounts for the miserable failure of the slogan about rank and file leadership, is the howling inconsistency of its authors. On the one side they stand at the head of the party by virtue of appointment and rule it with the most bureaucratic arbitrariness. If one is looking for an example of "the leadership of the rank and file" he will never find the merest trace of it in the Stalinized party. The rank and file Communist who would venture to assert the modest right to say what he thinks in criticism of the leadership, to say nothing of the advocacy of the slogan which he propagates in the unions under party instruction, would soon be handed his passports. This is what has happened to many, and the workers in the unions know it. Integrity, common sense and a decent respect for ordinary human intelligence all argue against this sordid attempt to fool the workers with an idea that is flatly contradicted in the practices of the Amters and all the other Fosters.

But hypocrisy and dishonesty are prime ingredients of Stalinism; and, in addition, contempt for the workers. Abusing the faith of the conscious proletariat in the Russian revolution and the Comintern, they imagine they can sanctify anything by mere command. This is what misleads them into such self-contradictory policies in relation to the general labor movement. Ruling within the limited sphere of the party by decree, they forget that in order to influence the non-Communist masses it is necessary to convince them. And since the

masses take nothing on faith, but test everything out in life and learn from their experience, the slogans of the party which do not correspond to reality are unavailing. Thus it happens that such manifest absurdities as the "leadership of the rank and file" leave the masses untouched, and only succeed in deceiving and disorientating the Communist workers. In this case simple questions, long ago settled in the camp of the Marxists.

LENIN ON LEADERS AND MASSES

Twelve years ago Lenin wrote a pamphlet for the purpose of clearing up some misconceptions in the newly-formed Communist parties. One of these misconceptions was the prejudice, derived from syndicalism, regarding leaders and masses. Replying to the arguments of those "Leftists" in the German party who contrasted the one to the other he remarked: "What old and well-known rubbish! What 'left' childishness!" The simple explanations and ironical comments of the great teacher, regarding the masses and the leaders and the inter-relationships between them, apply so pertinently to the present aberration of the American Stalinists on the subject of "rank and file leadership" that a few quotations will be in order.

"One notices the superficial and incoherent use of the now 'fashionable' terms, 'masses' and 'leaders'. People have heard much and have conned by rote all the frivolous attacks on 'leaders'—contrasting them with the 'masses'—but failed to grasp the application and the inner meaning of these words."

"To a Russian Bolshevik... all talk of 'from above' or 'from below', the dictatorship of leaders or the dictatorship of the masses cannot but appear as childish nonsense. It is something like discussing whether the left leg or the right arm is more useful to a man."

"People bend every effort to elaborate something extraordinary, and in their zeal to be intellectual they become ridiculous. It is common knowledge... that the classes are usually and in most cases led by political parties, at least in modern civilized countries; that political parties, as a general rule, are led by more or less stable groups of the more influential, authoritative experienced members, elected to the most responsible positions, and called leaders. All this is elementary. It is simple and plain. Why then all this rigamarole, this new Volapuk?"

These citations are taken from *The Infantile Sickness of "Left" Communism*. Have the new members of the party ever seen this pamphlet, and have the old members forgotten it? These teachings, like all the fundamental doctrines elaborated by the Comintern under Lenin, have been declared out of date; they are buried under the filth and confusion of the Stalin regime. The Communist worker who wants to find his way back to the Lenin path might well begin with a study, or a reexamination, of the "Infantile Sickness".

After that he would never be able to go around shouting such absurdities as "the leadership of the rank and file". He would not be able even to listen to such an instruction from his own "leaders" without laughing under the table.

THE ROLE OF THE CONSCIOUS WORKERS

The chatter about "rank and file leadership" is a disgrace for Communists. Such horseplay can very well be left to the confusionists of syndicalism who object to the idea of a workers' political party on the ground that the masses need no leaders. This demoralizing nonsense only hampers the organization of the working class and thus serves the bourgeoisie. The mission of the Communists is to educate the workers, not to muddle and confuse them; to aspire, frankly, to lead them in their struggle, not to trail behind them and cater to ignorance and prejudice with demagogic slogans.

The working class under capitalism, is not and cannot be a homogeneous body. The enormous pressure of the ruling class ideology presses heavily upon it. Bourgeois ideas, disseminated through the press, the schools, the church, the movies, the political parties, and in other ways, demoralize and corrupt the thoughts of the workers. Besides that, the working class under capitalism is divided into various economic categories, with different standards of living and, to a certain extent, different immediate interests. The upper stratum, the aristocracy of labor, which is the most conservative, and at the same time the best organized, becomes a means of strengthening bourgeois influences over the class. The labor bureaucrats, with their high salaries and petty-bourgeois standards of life, act as the agents of capital in the labor movement.

As a result of all this, it is possible, under capitalism, only for a minority of the working class to free itself from bourgeois influences and ideas and to understand the historical class position of the proletariat. These are the conscious workers, the vanguard of the class. In order to influence the class in its own interest most effectively it is necessary for these conscious workers to organize themselves and to fight unitedly against the domination of the capitalists and their agents in the labor movement. From this arises the Marxist idea of the centralized workers' party. It is the first letter of the Marxist alphabet on the question of working class organization.

This principle of leadership, by the most conscious and resolute elements, applies to strikes and other daily struggles as well as to the class struggle as a whole. The agitation for "the leadership of the rank and file" negates this principle and sows confusion. By this it only makes the leadership of the reactionary agents of the capitalists more secure. This harmful and anti-Marxist slogan should be cast aside. Instead of it, the Communist workers in the unions, as in every other field of the class struggle, should frankly contrast their policy and their leadership to the policy and the leadership of the labor lieutenants of capital. This is the only way to teach the workers and help them in their struggle. There is no roundabout way.

—J. P. C.

The Negro and the Class Struggle

The National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition), by direction of the National Conference, appointed a commission to assemble material on the Negro question in America and to open a discussion in the League. The following article by comrade Oehler, a member of the commission, is a contribution to the discussion and presents his personal views. —Ed.

In modern Europe, where capitalism has long ago had its decisive battles with feudalism, there still linger remnants of the past, feudal carry-overs complicating the solution of the proletarian problems. This complication does not confront the workers of America, but in its place we have a variety of more conflicting inheritances. One of these was the carry-over of chattel slavery, a more backward system which gained supremacy over attempted feudalist inroads in new America by its economic advantages in the south for large scale agriculture production. The race form of chattel slavery in America gave impetus to this development.

The period when economic systems were gaining a foothold in new America cannot be separated from the class struggles in Europe at that time. The discovery of America which gave the feudal kingdoms greater land rights only accelerated the internal contradictions between the feudal land property relations and the developing bourgeois property relations. The commercial system of Europe was on the upgrade and the race for America reflected this. The discovery of America accelerated bourgeois development in Europe and logically expressed its growth in the colonies.

In Europe, feudalism ruled by the monopoly of land through the feudal estates and the Catholic church and by hindering the developing handicraft system, keeping it part of the feudal hand-tool production. Free land in America played havoc with feudal relations, not just because there was free land, but primarily because with this free land developed the bourgeois property relations. Bourgeois relations are made difficult by free land, but the presence of large tracts of usable free land in a new country smashes all feudal attempts at stability when capitalism moves in at the same time.

The Problem of Labor Power

Labor power and its control was the burning problem of the rulers of the colonies, not only its scarcity but also its control once obtained. Wage workers would soon disappear as free farmers, hunters and trappers. The white slaves and indentured slaves from Europe enabled the merchant and commercial classes to retain a sufficient supply of cheap labor power, but this could only be kept up by a constant influx from Europe. The land to the west was an escape for this labor supply. At the same time, however, this resulted in developing bourgeois agriculture relations in the northern part of the colonies.

In Europe, where capitalism was already at work appropriating those who

had escaped feudalism through the handicraft system or by free peasant farming, and turning them into an army of propertyless wage slaves, there was no further escape. Either work as wage slaves, starve to death, or be killed or imprisoned as beggars and thieves—these were the alternatives. In America the escape to the west was still open. But this "escape" laid the basis for the further development and strengthening of bourgeois domination in America.

In the south conditions were different. The kinds of crops and the climatic conditions called for a different form. The crops demanded large scale agriculture production, and, capitalist agriculture relations were yet in their infancy. Feudalism could answer this request but, it could not furnish serfs tied to the land and accustomed to the hot climate, when livelihood could be obtained by hunting and fishing, and trapping and free land for farming. The only suitable alternative, that rising bourgeois relations could tolerate was chattel slavery; bringing in large scale agriculture production, labor power bound in slavery, suitable for the climate. It was proven that the Indian could not serve this purpose. The white man from Europe had too easy an escape, even if it were possible to brand him as a chattel slave. The Negro race answered the need. Indentured slavery was the closest form to chattel slavery possible for the white man of Europe. It sufficed for the recruitment of a supply of labor in the north, but was not suitable for cotton and tobacco production in the south.

The traffic in Negro slaves was just as profitable as the traffic in indentured slaves. The chattel slave was more profitable for the south under the conditions. But in the latter period of Slavery in America the bourgeois relation had far outstripped the other forces and had shown that the wage slave was by far the most profitable for the master class. The conflict of these two antagonistic systems reached its climax in the Civil War. The forceful expropriation of the chattel masters' property in the form of the slaves put an end to the most dangerous internal enemy of the bourgeois system. However, this did not remove all the obstacles and give a free hand for capitalist penetration. The carry-over was as heavy as a mountain, hindering all speedy solutions.

The expropriation of the chattel masters of their property in the slaves, opened up new avenues for capitalist development and new markets for penetration. The dictatorship which the capitalists set up in the south after the Civil War soon reduced the chattel masters to submission to the new rulers of America. In fact, the dictatorship was becoming a boomerang. The former slave was taking his liberty seriously in an increasing degree. The exploiters of the wage slaves were not long in learning they had a hundred times more in common with the former chattel masters than with the former slaves. The freedom taken by the slaves had to be checked; the dictatorship against the chattel masters was modified when their resistance was broken.

en, when they came to terms—the terms of the northern capitalists. From them on the capitalist supremacy took on a form of democracy for the white rulers of the south, and a new form of dictatorship against the Negro masses who were driven into worse slavery than before.

The New Role of the Negro

The freeing of the Negro from chattel slavery opened the door to a tremendous supply of cheap labor for the American capitalist. In fact the supply was too great for developing capitalism to absorb. However, it remained in reserve, ever ready to be used as expansion would warrant. Although capitalist development in America was fairly fast, the influx of European wage slaves, already trained, kept in check the rapid transformation of former chattel slaves into wage slaves. The slaves' "freedom" turned out to be a bourgeois joke. The former slave found himself, free from his former master's obligation to feed, clothe and shelter him, and keep him well as property, but not free from the economic exploitation and political domination of the capitalists and plantation owners. Left "free", without economic means for a livelihood (land and tools), the Negro was free to starve to death, to submit to his former master in worse economic subjection than before, or to become a wage slave, providing he could find an employer. The "free" Negro, without land or tools, had only one road to travel as a class and race—to submit to the new forms of exploitation, since conditions were not ripe for a successful revolution to free themselves from their white masters and obtain the land and tools of production for themselves. As a race they adjusted themselves to the new condition—unassimilated as wage slave; not held as chattel slaves; reflecting the old and looking at the new, but representing neither. They started the process by seeking out an existence on the land and as servants of the white rulers; part slave, part serf and part wage slave.

At the time of the transformation only the Marxists realized the historic significance of the "freeing" of the chattel slaves. The history of American labor cannot be written properly unless this current is traced back and properly connected with the development of the white and negro proletariat and their allies in the coming revolution.

Westward expansion, internal northern American development and colonial expansion could tolerate concessions to the white rulers of the south in return for their political support as plantation owners. Rule the Negroes in your own state as you like so long as you support your political hegemony, said the northern capitalist; and besides you can make more profits by your support than by resistance. And just as the freedom of the American revolution amounted to so many words and pieces of paper for the workers and farmers, so much did the freedom of the Civil War amount to for the Negro masses.

—HUGO OEHLER.

(To be continued)

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BUREAUCRATIC ULTIMATISM

by LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from last issue)

Instead of aiding the social democratic workers to find their way through experience, the C. E. C. of the Communist party abets the leaders of the social democracy against the workers. The Welles and the Hilferdings are enabled to screen with flying colors their own unwillingness to fight, their dread of fighting, their inability to fight by citing the aversion of the Communist party for participating in a common struggle. The stubborn, dolish and insensate rejection by the Communist party of the policies of the United Front provides the social democracy, under the present conditions, with its most important political weapon. This is just the reason why the social democracy—with the parasitism inherent in its nature—snaps up our criticism of the ultimatic policies of Stalin-Thaelmann.

The official leaders of the Comintern are now expatiating with profound demeanor upon the need to elevate the theoretical level of the party and to study "the history of Bolshevism". Actually "the level" is falling constantly, the lessons of Bolshevism are forgotten, distorted and trampled under foot. In the meantime, it is by no means difficult to find in the history of the Russian party the precursor of the present policy of the German C. E. C.: he is none other than the deceased Bogdanov the founder of ultimatism or of "the up-and-outers" (Otzovists). As far back as 1905 he deemed it impossible for the Bolsheviks to participate in the Petrograd Soviet, unless the Soviet recognized beforehand the leadership of the Social Democrats. Under Bogdanov's influence, the Petrograd Bureau of the C. E. C. (Bolsheviks) passed a resolution in October 1905: to submit before the Petrograd Soviet the demand that it recognize the leadership of the party; and in event of refusal—to walk out of the Soviet. Krassikov, a young lawyer, in those days a member of the C. E. C. (Bolsheviks), read this ultimatum at the plenary session of the Soviet. The worker deputies, among them Bolsheviks also, exchanged surprised looks and then passed on to the business in the order of the day. Not a man walked out of the Soviet. Shortly after that Lenin arrived from abroad, and he raked the ultimaticists over

the coals mercilessly. "You can't—he lectured them—nor can any one else by means of ultimatums force the masses to skip the necessary phases of their own political development."

Bogdanov, however, did not discard his methodology, and he subsequently founded an entire faction of "ultimaticists" or "up-and-outers" (Otzovists): they received the latter nickname because of their tendency to call upon the Bolsheviks to get up and get out from all those organizations that refused to accept the ultimatum laid down from above: "you must first accept our leadership." The ultimaticists attempted to apply their policy not only to the Soviets but also in the parliamentary sphere and to the trade unions, in short, to all legal and semi-legal organizations of the working class.

Lenin's fight against ultimatism was a fight for the correct interrelation between the party and the class. The ultimaticists, in the old Bolshevik party, never played a rôle of the slightest importance, otherwise the victory of Bolshevism would not have been possible. The strength of Bolshevism lay in its wide awake and sensitive relation to the class. Lenin continued his fight against ultimatism even when he was in supreme command, in particular and especially, as regards the attitude to the trade unions. "Indeed, if now in Russia," he wrote, "after two and a half years of unheard of victories over the bourgeoisie of Russia and of the Entente, we were to place before the trade unions as a condition for their joining us that they 'recognize the dictatorship' we would be guilty of stupidity, we would impair our influence over the masses, we would aid the mensheviks. For the task of the Communists consists in being able to convince the backward to know how to work among them and not to fence ourselves from them by a barrier of fictitious and puerile 'left' slogans". (THE INFANTILE DISEASE OF "LEFTISM".) This holds all the more for the Communist parties of the West, which represent only a minority of the working class.

During the last few years, however, the situation in the U. S. S. R. has changed radically. The arming of the Communist party with sovereignty means the introduction of a new element into the interrelation between the vanguard and the class: into this relation

there enters the element of force. Lenin's struggle against party and Soviet bureaucracy was in its essence a struggle not against the faulty organization of departments, nor against departmental red-tape and inefficiency but against the apparatus laying down the law to the class, against the transformation of the party bureaucracy into a new "ruling" clique. Lenin's counsel, from his death bed, that a proletarian Control Commission be created independent of the C. E. C. and that Stalin and his faction be removed from the party apparatus was aimed against the bureaucratic degeneration of the party. For various reasons, which cannot be dealt with here, the party ignored this counsel. Of recent years the bureaucratic degeneration of the party has reached the extreme limit. Stalin's apparatus simply lays down the law. The language of command is the language of ultimatism. Every worker must perform and forthwith accept as infallible all the past, present and future decisions of the C. E. C. The more erroneous the policies become, the greater are the pretensions to infallibility.

After gathering into its hands the apparatus of the Comintern, the Stalinist faction naturally transferred also its methods over to the foreign sections, i. e., to the Communist parties in the capitalist nations. The policy of the German leaders has for its counterpart the policy of the Moscow leadership. Thaelmann observes how Stalin's bureaucracy rules the roost, by condemning as counter-revolutionary all those who do not recognize its infallibility. Wherein is Thaelmann worse than Stalin? If the working class does not willingly place itself under his leadership that is only because the working class is counter-revolutionary. Double dyed counter-revolutionaries are those who point out the balefulness of ultimatism. The collected works of Lenin are among the most counter-revolutionary publications. There is sufficient reason why Stalin should—as he does—submit them to such rigid censorship, particularly on their publication in foreign languages. Baleful as ultimatism is under all conditions—if in the U. S. S. R. it dissipates the moral capital of the party—it breeds double disaster for the Western parties which must yet begin accumulating their moral capital. Within the Soviet Union, at least, the victorious revolution has created material grounds for bureaucratic ultimatism, in the guise of an apparatus for repression. Whereas in capitalist countries, including Germany, ultimatism becomes converted into an impotent caricature, and interferes with the movement of the Communist party to power. Above all, the ultimatism of Thaelmann-Remmele is funny.

And whatever is funny is fatal, particularly in matters concerning a revolutionary party.

Let us for a moment transfer the problem to England, where the Communist party (as a consequence of the ruinous mistakes of Stalinist bureaucracy) still comprises an insignificant portion of the proletariat. If one accepts the theory that every type of the United Front, except the Communist, is "counter-revolutionary", then obviously the British proletariat must put off its revolutionary struggle until that time when the Communist Party is able to come to the fore. But the Communist party cannot come to the front of the class except on the basis of its own revolutionary experience. However, its experience cannot take on a revolutionary character in any other way than by drawing mass millions into the struggle. Yet non-Communist masses, the more so if organized, cannot be drawn into the struggle except through the policy of the United Front. We fall into a charmed circle, out of which there is no way out by means of bureaucratic ultimatism. But the revolutionary dialectic has long since pointed the way out and has demonstrated it by countless examples in the most diverse spheres; by correlating the struggle for power with the struggle for reforms; by maintaining complete independence of the party while preserving the unity of the trade unions; by fighting against the bourgeois régime and at the same time utilizing its institutions; by criticizing relentlessly parliamentarism—from the parliamentary tribunal; by waging war mercilessly against reformism, and at the same time making practical agreements with the reformists in partial struggles.

In England, the incompetence of ultimatism hits one in the eye because of the extreme weakness of the party. In Germany the balefulness of ultimatism is masked somewhat by the considerable numerical strength of the party and by its growth. But the German party is growing on account of the pressure of events and not thanks to the policies of the leadership; not because of ultimatism, but despite it. Moreover, the numerical growth of the party does not play the decisive rôle; what does decide is the political interrelation between the party and the class. Along this line, which is fundamental, the situation is not improving, because the German party has placed between itself and the class the thorny hedge of ultimatism.

—L. TROTSKY.

(To be Continued)

(From WHAT NEXT?—Vital Questions for the German Proletariat)

The S.P. «Lefts» Program

The "militant" socialists have forced their attention upon the American movement by issuing a "Militant Program of the Socialist Party of America". The noise the Militants created in heralding their opposition to the party fathers prompted O'Neal to give them a spanking, issued as a criticism in the New Leader. But like all bureaucrats and upholders of the crimes of the Second International, O'Neal splashed a lot of words, set up a few straw men and evaded the whole issue. No doubt this kind of criticism will spur the "militants" to new conquests. In this advance of the "militants", it is well to point out what their present step means and to lay bare some of the contradictions.

The deepening crisis has caused this stir and forces the more enlightened members of the S. P. to seriously question the crimes of the Second International. For the rank and file of the "militants" it is a step forward, but for those "leaders" who were formerly supporting the Communists it is a big step backward. At least, one will have to give these "leaders" credit for one thing. They have set themselves a big task. They intend to reform the Second International. Already sections of the more advanced workers in their rank and file are to the left of the "militant" program and are seriously questioning it.

The program is written in the fashion of a crafty lawyer who puts out a feeler, insinuating much, condemning considerably, but accusing no one in particular. The program points out some of the crimes of the Second International, but there is no hint as to who their American bed-fellows are. They seem to be afraid of stepping on somebody's toes. Like good politicians of the capitalist orders these "militant" leaders have left the door open for proper adjustments with the fathers at a later date.

The "Militant Program" accuses the Second International of crimes beyond class "redemption" and in the same breath advocates reforming this even of Capitalism. Such a position is even more tragic than the position of the liberal who admits all the evils of capitalism and then sets out to cure it.

The reformers of the Second International speak of class struggle saying, "The moment this Marxian concept is abandoned, not only in theory but in practice as well, at that moment Socialism loses its significance." We are told this in 1932 by the "militant socialists", but this universal, open abandonment of the class struggle by Second International was heralded unashamedly to the workers of the world in 1914 and ever since then, and it is from then on that "Socialism" has lost "its significance". No group of "Lefts" can blow life into what is already dead. If the "militant socialists" blow anything into the American party we can be sure it will not be Marxism. They can blow into the Socialist Party some radical phrases, and make it more presentable for conditions of crisis. In this stage of increasing class struggle, capitalism must bring into life the American variety of social democracy, so ably presented by the German "Comrades". If a few sincere but non-Marxian worker "leaders" allow themselves to be utilized together with the conscious fakers so much the better for the development of reformism in America, for the capitalists. The Second International served its master well in Europe. Why not give it a chance in America, even if it needs a little doctoring up for presentation? American capitalism had better make haste while there is time and construct some kind of a storm cellar for the coming class battles. Will the rank and file "militants" of the Socialist Party help in this process, or will they take the next step toward the Communist movement?

The program says, "It is a fundamental principle of Marxism that Socialism cannot be achieved as a result of a series of reforms within the framework of the Capitalist State." When the fathers of the party read this they became frightened, but as soon as they read the next sentence all their fear was quieted, for in its own peculiar way, in the language of the politicians, it lays the basis for the understanding of words and deeds. The next sentence of the program says, "Emancipation of the workers can begin only when the workers capture political power and constitute themselves the ruling class." Just another way of saying, we will shoot the capitalist to death with paper ballots. The question of what to do with the capitalist state (smash it) and what kind of a state will replace it, is left for people to guess as they please. This is no accident on the part of the "militant socialist leaders". These reformers of the reformers in America say the dictatorship of the proletariat is alright in Russia. But in America—that's a different question. Years ago the intense class struggle in Europe forced the "left" Socialists to accept the dictatorship in Russia as

a reality but in the next breath they said it was not for their country. And now, years later, the developing class struggle in America forces the "lefts" to say the same. Already we find some of the rank and file objecting to these clever formulations, this lip service to revolution and action for reformism. They demand another step.

The program says, "At the same time, we set ourselves firmly against dictatorship in this country as long as democratic means of transition to a socialist society are still available." We will vote the capitalists out of power, and these defeated capitalists will give us the key to every mine, mill and factory; and the next day they will report to work in overalls." So say the "militants", who are going to use the democratic means of transition to socialism. What a mess. Shapiro, Coleman, Sinclair and Blanchard and their like. What kind of a game do you call this? They may be able to convince some followers that they "don't know any better" but we know them from before.

Every one remembers the last part of the Communist Manifesto and the last sentence. It is well to know the last words of the "militant socialist" program: "We must create and promote a spirit of intelligent hopefulness. Such an opportunity as is at hand for all of us to hasten the emancipation of the working class of America may not come again for generations. We call for action. Let us close ranks and go forward to Socialism in our time." This gem of reform ignorance has two mistakes: ordinary and extraordinary. These reformers tell their followers that if they don't get busy and help them reform the reformers at once we may not have another chance for generations. We can settle this problem by informing the "militant Socialists" that they will not reform the Second International in this generation and in the next generation there will be no need because the Second International will only be a terrible memory for the victorious world proletariat.

Bourgeois Left Gains in French Elections

The first ballot of the French elections, last Sunday, although not decisive in its results, indicates a definite trend toward the bourgeois Left in the country. The die-hard policies of Andre Tardieu and his Right bloc, in control at the present time, seem to have driven broad layers of the French intermediate classes to the side of the moderate bourgeois parties. The Radical-Socialists under the leadership of the pan-European "pacifist" Edouard Herriot have already received 63 seats, the largest bloc of votes for any of the parties participating. The Left Republicans of Premier Tardieu received 37 seats, reducing their former strength considerably. The socialists with their 40 mandates also show a substantial gain. Comparisons with the results of the first ballot in the last elections (1928) demonstrate the trend toward the Left very distinctly.

The political line of Tardieu, particularly aggressive in its foreign relations, has opened up French industry and economy to counter-attacks by the other world powers. The high tariffs and the suspicious attitude aroused in the other countries has instigated the fear of "isolation" among the rather formidable middle layers of French society. The Radical-Socialists and the socialists have been for some time campaigning for disarmament and European "cooperation" and have been able to achieve a measure of success in their campaigns.

Growing unemployment and the worsening of the general conditions of the working class, due to the economic crisis which is first unfolding in all seriousness in France, produces still another and very important movement toward the radicalization of the masses. The socialists have, for their part, flirted with the idea of new reforms in their campaigns. That French imperialism, in its present precarious position, with an economic crisis on its hands and with a very wobbly and unrealistic political preponderance in Europe, will not be able to concede in any great measure to the road of social legislation, is a foregone conclusion.

The Radical-Socialists are quite conscious of this and hence the reports of their weariness of an alliance with the socialists. Despite the many protests and declarations of Herriot in the press, to the effect that he will not conclude any bloc with the Tardieu group, we cannot help remaining skeptical. The Radical-Socialists have the interests of the French master class well in mind, and just as in the past, they are apt to be more inclined to draw their conclusions from the eventual logic of French politics than from considerations of temporary gain implied in an alliance with the socialists.

Still, the socialists have been consistently making overtures to the Herriot

DEBATE

I. W. W. Representative
Communist Representative

Is the Program of the I. W. W.
Sufficient for the
Emancipation of the
Working Class?

AFFIRMATIVE:
C. B. Ellis
Editor, Industrial Solidarity
NEGATIVE:
James P. Cannon
Communist League of America
(Opposition)

on
SATURDAY, MAY 14th at 8 P. M.
at the
LABOR TEMPLE
14th Street and Second Avenue
ADMISSION: 20 Cents
Ausps: Joint Arrangement Committee

WEEKLY MILITANT DEPENDS UPON SUCCESS OF \$1,000 DRIVE

It is necessary to put the question bluntly: We depend absolutely on the thousand dollar press fund to keep the weekly MILITANT alive. In raising funds to sustain THE MILITANT and our other publications we have up to the present resorted to "normal" methods—soliciting subscriptions, renewals, etc. The situation of our press at the present time necessitates a much harder drive. We must put on more pressure, we must exert ourselves more and sacrifice more. The life of the weekly MILITANT is at stake.

The past year and a half has witnessed an unprecedented extension of our propaganda activities. It has seen the rebirth of THE MILITANT as a weekly, our penetration of the language field with a Jewish paper and a Greek paper, the issuance of a Youth organ and a whole series of Left Opposition books and pamphlets. All these steps were absolutely necessary in our struggle to delve deeper into the ranks of the American revolutionary workers. The word of the Left Opposition, in pamphlet and in newspaper form, in the English, Yiddish, and Greek languages, has been brought to new hundreds and thousands of class conscious proletarians. A good start was made in new directions.

Now we are faced with the problem of making all these steps permanent and durable achievements. Can this be done? It must be done, if we are to fulfill the historic task of the Left Opposition in America, if we are to continue the work of regenerating the Communist movement, of returning the Communist party to the road of Lenin, if we are to re-establish its Marxian basis.

The most important organ of propaganda and education that we have is the weekly MILITANT. Upon its existence, upon its maintenance depends the life of all our other organs. The terrific effects of the economic crisis with the monstrous unemployment it has brought about, make it impossible for us to get sufficient funds for the sustenance of THE MILITANT and our other papers by the ordinary methods. SPECIAL EFFORTS AND SACRIFICES ARE NECESSARY IF THE WEEKLY MILITANT IS TO CONTINUE IN EXISTENCE!

Funds are urgently needed. THE MILITANT requires your aid immediately. Let every comrade, every sympathizer, every reader of THE MILITANT get busy. Get subscriptions, get new readers, get DONATIONS. Send in your contribution and all the funds you collect immediately to the National Office. Do your share! Every cent, every helping hand is needed to keep the Weekly MILITANT going!

Now on the Press! Problems of the Chinese Revolution by LEON TROTSKY

THE 1925-27 CHINESE REVOLUTION WAS ONE OF THE FIRST WORLD-IMPORTANT POLITICAL EVENTS IN WHICH TROTSKY'S OPPOSITION TO THE POLICY OF STALIN MANIFESTED ITSELF IN THE CONCRETE. IN THIS BOOK, QUOTATIONS FROM STALIN'S OWN WRITTEN WORDS AND SPEECHES ARE GIVEN AS WELL AS THOSE OF TROTSKY'S AND HIS SUPPORTERS.

READ THIS HISTORICAL DOCUMENT. COMPARE THE PROPOSED POLICIES OF THAT DAY WITH SUBSEQUENT EVENTS IN THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, THEN DECIDE WHO WAS CORRECT. THE LEFT OPPOSITION DOES NOT FEAR YOUR JUDGMENT AFTER YOU HAVE SERIOUSLY READ AND STUDIED THIS BOOK.

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Money Is Needed

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

84 East 10th Street,
New York, N. Y.

The Strike in the N. Y. Building Trades

Between 30,000 and 40,000 New York building trades workers went on strike May 1st because of a failure to arrive at a wage scale agreement. The building trades employers association had previously, arbitrarily posted notice of wage cuts ranging from 25% to 30%. However, the immediate cause of the strike was the fact that the elevator manufacturers broke ranks and made a verbal promise to the elevator contractors' union of a day scale of \$11.20 instead of the \$10 announced in notices posted. The press carries statements to the effect that the leaders of the building trades council were otherwise prepared to accept the cut.

On Monday May the 2nd three unions still remained at work, the elevator constructors, the electricians and the iron and steel workers. But the following day the employers decided to make the shut-down complete and disperse with the service of these three unions also. The officials of the bricklayers union evidently still expect to gain special favors. Their previous agreement carries a "no strike" clause, and they now insist upon arbitration.

How serious is the building trades union leadership about the strike? It

should be remembered that it is not at all called in protest against the wage cut, but rather in protest against a verbal promise for special consideration for one union. Secondly, the leadership made no preparation whatever for strike. It has made no proposals to solidify the unions of the seventeen different internationalists to resist the wage slashes. It has made no proposals for strike activities to prepare against possible scabbing. Thirdly, it made no efforts to establish some semblance of concerted action on a national scale. It is perfectly true that building cannot be transferred from one city to another, nevertheless the lack of concerted action has permitted opening wedges to be made in many cities where the building trades workers have already submitted to drastic wage cuts. Lastly, the union leadership was willing to accept the wage cut decree, had the employers remained united.

Conditions of the Unions
It is of course correct for unions to make all possible use of any break in the ranks of the employers; but such can be utilized only provided the organizations are prepared to make a serious fight. Of what there is no indication whatever.

The building trades unions in New York as well as elsewhere, have suffered serious membership losses. In the main, this has been due to the fact that, with the widespread heavy unemployment members have been unable to keep up their dues payments and the unions have failed to maintain closed shop conditions. To resist in a serious manner the present attacks upon the wage scale it is first of all necessary that real efforts should be made to regain what has been lost and to strengthen the unions. That strength, however, can be expressed effectively only when the unions arrive at a basis of unity of action. That such is not yet the case is amply demonstrated by the fact that three unions could remain at work after the strike was called. Moreover, there will be little possibility of preventing strike breaking unless such unity actually exists.

Must Prepare to Resist
It should be clear to the building trades workers by this time that a reduced scale of wages will not at all serve to increase the jobs. On the contrary, it is the continued unemployment and the surplus of hands available which is being utilized by the employers to reduce wages and

thus reduce the standard of living everywhere. To this should be added, that acceptance of one wage cut leaves the road open for the employers to press for more.

No matter how much the building trades unions have suffered from their own inherent craft weakness, and from their corrupt leadership, they are still the best organized section in the country. In other words, this means that it is still up to them to lead the fight against the general wage slashing. The cuts already suffered should therefore become a serious warning that it is now high time to prepare to lead that fight and to prepare to lead it on a national scale.

Militant Builders

Attention Militant Builders! To each comrade and sympathizer, who during the final month of the drive, May 1 to June 1, accounts for \$15 subs or donations to any of our papers we will give a free copy of Volume 1 of comrade Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution. To each comrade who falls short of \$15 but reaches \$10, we will give a free copy of WHAT NEXT by comrade Trotsky. This is an opportunity no comrade can afford to overlook.

To the comrade who stands highest in the staff of Militant Builders at the close of the entire drive we will give free a bound volume of THE MILITANT. To the comrade who stands second we will give a free copy of THE PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION.

The record of the builders for the entire drive to date with the final month listed in parenthesis, is as follows:

C. Hedlund, (6) 11; V. Dunne, (6) 9; L. Roseland, (3 1-2) 5; M. Dunne, (3) 8; L. Nagy, (2 1-2) 3; C. Forsen, (2 1-2) 3; L. Basky, (1 1-2) 5; R. Sacharow, (1) 4; R. Ruskin, (1) 2; W. Curran, (1) 2; S. Zalmanoff, (1) 1; C. Cowl, (1) 5; F. Schumanoff, (1) 1; F. Barach, (1) 4; C. Johnson, (1) 2; S. Lessin, (1) 1; N. Berman, (1) 1; G. R. Herman, (1) 1; J. Ross, (1) 1; C. Skoglund, (3) 0; C. Coover, 2; J. Carr, 2; F. Cheloff, 2; G. Ray, 2; M. Gottlieb, 1; M. Koehler, 1; W. Wynne, 1; J. Carter, 1; H. Capellis, 1; W. Herman, 1; A. Swaback, 1; A. Glotzer, 1; L. Logan, 1; Kaldis, 1; M. Stierling, 1.

Stalinist-Lovestone Unity Negotiations

We have received the following two letters:

I.
Dear Comrades:
The unity negotiations with Lovestone have been going on for some time. Everything has been conducted in the quietest through secret personal conferences—and nothing has been put in writing on the party side. This precaution was explained to me as a measure "to prevent Lovestone from having anything to show which cannot be denied if the negotiations fail." My personal opinion, however, is that they will come to an agreement. You may not agree with me, but these are my reasons.

I do know that several meetings between them have taken place. I understand that the C. I. representative also talked to Lovestone, but am not absolutely sure of this. The negotiations hinge at present on the Brandler question. The C. E. C. negotiators demanded a statement repudiating Brandler as the main condition for unity. They also insisted that Lovestone issue such a statement personally, under his own signature, in addition to the statement by the group. This proposition was taken under advisement for some time.

Then another conference was arranged and Lovestone made the following reply: He will act together with the group and cannot issue any statement in his own name. The group will not issue any statement against Brandler before being readmitted into the party. However, if they were taken back into the party, they would "submit to party discipline" and carry out any instructions given them on any question.

A second demand of the C. E. C. I. was that the Lovestoneites issue a declaration to the effect that "the party line is right and has always been right". To this, Lovestone gave the same reply as above: no statements before the unity—submission to discipline, including declarations they are instructed to make—afterward.

Then the C. E. C. cabled the report to the Comintern and asked for instructions. A few days ago, the reply of the C. I., signed by Kuusinen arrived. It said: "Conditions not acceptable". This was reported to Lovestone. Up to the present he has not replied.

The old-time Fosterites who have prospered in late years, are not very enthusiastic about the return of the Lovestone group and the consequent sharpening of "competition" for the places, which for these people have come to mean life itself. But it is hard to get direct expressions from many of them. They are so afraid of getting cross-ways with "the C. I. line" that they wait to make sure what is expected of them before committing themselves.

The most significant result of the negotiations with Lovestone is the effect on those who, like myself, were disoriented by the "left turn". It was the expulsion of Lovestone that really arrested our trend toward the Left Opposition. It certainly makes one feel foolish to think about it now and to realize that the readmission of the Lovestoneites will complete the circle and leave us where we started—with nothing to show for our "strategy" but a bad taste in the mouth.

It will also interest you to know that the "Soviet-American military alliance" issue caused some repercussions, even in the apparatus. When that famous editorial came to the Daily Worker office—it was written, I am told, by the C. I. man—it evoked strenuous protest at first from Harry Gannes. He is something of an editor or half-editor there and began to mutter something about principles, Marxism, etc. You know he has occasional outbursts of this kind. However, he was promptly told that this editorial came from "the top" and he soon subsided.

Yours,
—P.

II.
From a Member of the Lovestone Group

Dear Comrades:
Last Thursday we held a general membership meeting of the group and heard the report on the unity negotiations with the party. Lovestone made the report.

He said the negotiations began several weeks ago soon after the unity mass meeting of our group in the Labor Temple. The first conference took place between Lovestone and the C. I. rep. The C. I. rep., according to Lovestone, proposed that the group return to the party and work everything out gradually. Lovestone demanded as a condition party democracy, a full discussion and following that, a convention.

The C. I. rep. said: "Do you mean to say that you want party democracy in (Continued on page 8)

IN THE CANADIAN MOVEMENT

The State and the Trade Unions in Canada

(Continued from last issue)

The doctrine of Criminal Conspiracy was accepted in the early colonies of British North America. The historical details are of no great importance here. The arrest of twenty-four striking printers in Toronto in the seventies of the last century, on a charge of conspiracy, brought home to the workers that there was no law in the Dominion corresponding to the English Trade Union Act of 1871. In 1867 the British North America Act assigned the subject of criminal law to the Dominion and property and civil rights to provincial jurisdiction. Consequently, Parliament in 1872 passed a Trade Union Act identical in most respects with the English legislation of the previous year. It was laid down that the purposes of a trade union shall not by reason merely that they are in restraint of trade be deemed to be unlawful so as to render any member of such a union liable to criminal prosecution for conspiracy or otherwise. (This is some sort of recognition of freedom of association.)

Conspiracy and the Right to Strike
Section 590 of the Criminal Code deals with the right to strike in these terms: "No prosecution shall be maintainable against any person for conspiracy in refusing to work with or for any employer or workman or for doing any act or causing any act to be done for the purpose of a combination unless such act is punishable by statute." Thus the trade unions in Canada are relieved of the incidence of conspiracy to a very limited extent. For, unfortunately for the trade unionist, nearly every important act "done for the purpose of a combination" in the course of a strike is "punishable by statute." The definition of a "trade combination" in the Code restricts it to the workers in the direct employment of the employer involved in the dispute. Picketing is punishable by statute as "watching and besetting." The strike of workers in "public utilities" before invoking the conciliatory provisions of the "Industrial Disputes Investigation Act" is an indictable offence. A sympathetic strike may therefore become a wholesale violation of statutory prohibitions, and on top of that, a seditious conspiracy.

Sympathetic Strike Illegal
The case of the King versus Russell grew out of the Winnipeg General Strike of May 1919. The leaders were arrested and charged with seditious conspiracy. In their defence it was urged that the strike was the lawful act of a trade combination under section 590. But the Manitoba Court of Appeal ruled that: "The immunity provided by section 590 of the (Criminal) Code does not extend to a general 'sympathetic' strike. A conspiracy to bring about a strike involving no trade dispute between the strikers and their employers is illegal. The law in Canada applying thereto is the same as it was in England before the Trades Dispute Act of 1906, to which there is no similar enactment in Canada . . ."

Following the Winnipeg strike, the Trades and Labor Congress proposed that the government amend the definition of a "trade combination" by adding the words of the English Act (1906) "workmen means all persons employed in any trade or industry whether or not in the employment of the employer directly or involved in a trade agreement". The memorandum of the Department of Justice was an illuminating reply wherein it was solemnly stated "as a principle of the common law . . . that a combination of persons to do an unlawful act or to do a lawful act by unlawful means, is criminal, and it is moreover actionable civilly, if there be special damage. Compatible with this rule a sympathetic strike cannot practically be worked."

In other words, trade unions, which, finding the craft form utterly inadequate in the struggle with capitalist consolidations would parallel the latter by industrial unions, federations and alliances, are liable to be charged with conspiracy, if they engage in militant action in support of their members working in a given shop for a given employer. But that is not all! Only a strike growing out of a trade dispute within these narrow limits is "legal". A strike for any political purpose, for the release of class-war prisoners, against the transport of munitions, against intervention in the affairs of the Soviet Union, for social insurance, etc., would all be held illegal conspiracies. As to whether they can be "practically worked", if the Department of Justice lives long enough it will yet learn many things contrary to statutory provision.

The vulnerability of the trade unions to prosecution for illegal conspiracy has become more acute by virtue of the operation of Section 98 of the Criminal Code (its starting point was an order-in-council issued under the War-measures Act).

The section in question reads as follows: "98. Unlawful associations. Any association, organization, society or corporation, whose professed purpose or one of whose purposes is to bring about any governmental, industrial or economic change within Canada by use of force, violence, or physical injury to person or property, or by threats of such injury or which teaches, advocates, advises or defends the use of force, violence, terrorism, or physical injury to person or property, or threats of such injury, in order to accomplish such change, or for any other purpose or which shall by any means prosecute or pursue such purpose

or professed purpose, or shall so teach, advocate, or defend, shall be an unlawful association."

Observe the neighborly conjunction of the words "force" and "terrorism" with "industrial or economic change". Does it require an undue stretch of imagination to conceive that in the electric atmosphere of a considerable "trade dispute" the word "force" may be construed to embrace forms even of slight moral pressure? Thus in his charge to the jury Judge Metcalf in *The King versus Russell* declared that "sometimes it has a deterring effect upon peoples' minds by exposing them to have their motions watched and to encounter black looks". The same judge, commenting on section 132 of the Criminal Code which defines "seditious words" as "words expressing a seditious intention", added that "seditious" is a comprehensive term embracing all those practices whether, by word, deed, or writing which are likely to disturb the tranquility of the State, and to lead ignorant persons to endeavor to subvert the government and the laws of the Empire". The statement of objects not only of a union which subscribes to a socialist aim which as the abolition of the wage-system, but even of an organization which adheres to the conservative slogan "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work" may in the course of any dispute of consequence become "words, deeds, or writings, likely to disturb the tranquility" of the employing class, their police and their courts.

Picketing is a Crime and a Tort
The right to strike, if at all effectual, must carry with it the corollary right to organize the unorganized and persuade them to join the strike. In this connection, Section 501 of the Code makes it an indictable offence for anyone who "wrongfully and without lawful authority, with a view to compel any other person to abstain from doing anything which he has a lawful right to do, or to do anything from which he has a lawful right to abstain . . . (f) besets or watches the house or other place where such other person resides or works or carries on business or happens to be". If, moreover, the "watching and besetting" amounts to a common-law nuisance, it is within the prohibition of the statute (Section 221) as "an unlawful act or omission to discharge a legal duty, which act or omission endangers the lives, health, property or comfort of the public, or by which the public are obstructed in the exercise or enjoyment of any right common to all his Majesty's subjects".

Rennes versus The King, a decision of the Supreme Court of Canada practically decided that "peaceful picketing was without legal sanction, there being no legislation in Canada corresponding to Section 2, subsection of the British Trades Dispute Act of 1906". As a "common-law nuisance", picketing is subject to be restricted by injunction. In *Canada Paper vs. Brown*, the court declared that "our Criminal Code fully reorganizes the right of a man to carry on his business without interference, let, or hindrance". Occasionally a court has said "Government by injunction is a thing abhorrent to the law of England and of this province." But abhorrent or not, the number of injunctions that issue to break strikes is on the increase.

"Incitement to Breach of Contract"
In the Dominion, the unions are subject to the doctrine of the courts that "for a number of persons to combine together to procure others to break contracts is unlawful, and if such others are induced to break and do break, their contracts, this constitutes an actionable wrong" and the unions will be mulcted in heavy damages". It is cold comfort for the trade union militant that the law on this subject is in a state of "chaotic uncertainty" and that many of the noble and learned law lords have confessed themselves baffled to draw a definite line between "acts whose real purpose is to advance the defendants' interests and acts whose real purpose is to injure the plaintiff in his trade." The British Act of 1906, as an aftermath of the famous *Taff-Vale Judgment*, and as a result of political pressure, provided that "an act done by a person in contemplation of a trade dispute shall not be actionable on the ground only that it induces some other person to break a contract of employment, or that it is an interference with the trade, business, or employment of some other person . . ." A further provision at that time relieved the unions of liability under the doctrine of "civil conspiracy."

The Criminal Code further makes certain statutory breaches of contract indictable offences. The worker connected with the supply of power, light, gas, water, or railroads who "wilfully breaks any contract made by him" etc., that is who may desire to strike without the preliminaries of notice, negotiation, or "conciliation" is subject to fine or imprisonment.

III.
This bare outline of the legal vulnerability of the trade unions in the Dominion, should indicate how fatal on their part would be a policy of "neutrality", of indifferently passing by, like the Biblical Levite, on the other side of the road, while the Government is throttling the revolutionary vanguard. The Trades Congress officialdom has on several occasions, under rank and file pressure, made "representations" to the government, for the repeal or "amendment" of the obnoxious sections of the Code. But something more is required than a legal brief, read to a cabinet minister by a bureaucrat deputation. Whatever concessions have been wrung from the capitalist class in the past have been along the way of mass struggle and political action. Unions which abandon their

militant functions for defensive or offensive purposes, invite legal and governmental strangulation at the hands of a capitalist class which in the epoch of imperialism can less than ever afford to yield concessions from sheer "liberalism".

The deep-going economic crisis must work a molecular radicalization in the ranks of "organized labor". The Communists should throw overboard the self-stultifying Stalinist approach to the old unions as "social fascist". That policy has only succeeded in wreaking the havoc of isolation, at a time when every

point of militant support in the mass organizations was necessary in defence of party legality. At that, despite the defeatist attitude to work in the reactionary unions, dozens of the most conservative locals and Trade Councils adopted the resolution circulated for the repeal of Section 98. The past has shown, proved, that where the charters of the A. F. of L. run up against the iron exigencies which impel the masses to action, such charters have the worth of a treaty guaranteeing Belgian neutrality.

—MAURICE SPECTOR.

Press Drive Under Way--2nd. Week

Although figures for the first week of the final month of the drive are not complete as we go to press (Thursday) we are able, on the basis of preliminary reports, to say that the drive has opened very encouragingly with \$100.00 towards our goal realized in less than a week. Our comrades and sympathizers all over the country are beginning to respond to our appeal for their assistance in making this drive a success. A comrade from Los Angeles writes, in renewing his subscription: "Just a few words about *The Militant* from an old party member. In the literature of the official party press of this country, each number of *The Militant* is like an invigorating breeze over a stagnant pool. Though disagreeing with the party on a number of questions *The Militant* is blasting its way to the hearts and minds of many party members and sympathizers by introducing healthy discussions among the radical workers."

Another comrade, from Chicago, writes: "Just a few minutes after reading the appeal for funds in *The Militant* I found the enclosed bill being waited in the breeze down Michigan Boulevard. The Chicago branch gets credit for this I understand." You bet!

Against our goal of \$1,000, we have already realized \$100. This is due principally to the splendid showing made by the New York and Minneapolis branches. The quotas and results which we give below tell a story more eloquent than words.

	Quota	Reported
New York	\$25	\$58
Minneapolis	\$200	\$27.50
Chicago	\$100	\$ 3.00
Toronto	\$70	
Philadelphia	\$40	
Cleveland	\$40	
Boston	\$40	
Newark	\$35	\$ 2.00
Kansas City	\$30	
St. Louis	\$25	
Los Angeles	\$35	\$ 2.00
Youngstown	\$10	
New Haven	\$10	
Montreal	\$10	
Duluth	\$10	
Springfield, Ill.	\$10	
W. Frankfort, Ill.	\$10	
Trenton	\$ 5	
Miscellaneous		\$7.00
	\$1,000.00	\$100.00

The good showing made by New York is the result of its successful affair held April 30 with which it opened the final month of the drive. As previously reported the admission price of 25 cents entitled the holder to an 8 issue sub to

The Militant. This unique idea conceived and carried thru by the captains of the New York teams, comrades Craine and Bord, resulted in 29 new subs being added to New York's total. These 29 trial subs together with 4 others which the branch accounted for during the past week make its total to date, 71 and place it at the head of the standing once more. Will it be able to maintain its lead in face of Minneapolis' determined drive is the question everyone is asking.

Minneapolis continuing its powerful drive accounted for fifteen subs to *The Militant*, 4 to *Unser Kampf* and 2 to *Young Spartacus*. But what subs? They amount to \$27.50. One is a sub comrade Hedlund, our leading *Militant* builder, got for two and a half years. Another is one comrade Curran got by persuading a member of the opposing team, comrade Zalmanoff, to sign on the dotted line. Comrades, this method should not be overlooked!

Comrade Coover's report bodes no good for the other branches. "The April *Militant* drive in Minneapolis is closed. The No. 1 Team, M. Dunne, captain, scored a total to April 30, of 51 1-4 points. Not bad. But the No. 2 Team, Bill Curran, captain, scored a total of 56 1-2 points, giving it a lead of 5 1-4 points. The No. 2 Team should be the guests at the press entertainment but it looks now as if it will take all the members of both team to do the honors for the guests at the entertainment when it is finally pulled off. We are going to give the other branches a trimming in the question of the quotas as well as the final stage of the drive. I think the above figures will take care of New York to date on the sub drive in spite of their excellent idea of giving an 8 issue sub with each 25 cents admission. You will hear more from Minneapolis in the future."

To this honor roll must be added comrade Sacharow's report of the doings of the Chicago branch. "The branch has been divided into two teams and we may yet finish the sub campaign with a bang." Go to it, Chicago!

The standing of the branches reads as follows:
New York, 71; Minneapolis, 64; Chicago, 12; Newark, 4; Boston, 4; Youngstown, 4; Miscellaneous, 25.
St. Louis, Philadelphia, and Montreal remain where they were last week at \$1 each. The total has risen to 137, an increase of 60 over last week. Excellent! But not enough! The other branches should snap into it. It is not late. Let us hear from them!

Now everybody into the second week of the drive! This is collection week. Let us see what can be done!

The Negro and the Class Struggle

(Continued from last issue)

Revolutions and civil wars are always followed by "counter revolution" (reaction, terror, etc. against the exploited) unless the workers are able to carry the law over to the point where they seize power for themselves. During the struggle, concessions are necessary to gain the support of the exploited for the exploiters' war. But once the former exploiter is defeated, the new exploiter makes haste to bring about a new alignment with the former enemy, under the hegemony of the new exploiter, against the exploited. The results of the civil war only confirmed this truth again.

The legal forms of capitalist rule were not sufficient for the needs of the plantation owners of the south. Lynch law was added—a necessary measure used against the whole exploited class whenever the formal legal means do not suffice to keep them in check. Lynch law exists for the Negro every minute of the day and night. But it is not the elimination of the lynch law that will free the Negro. Rather lynch law, as such, can only be done away with by the overthrow of capitalism. In the struggle to overthrow capitalism a necessary part is the constant struggle against lynch law and all forms of discrimination (discriminating law prohibiting admittance to public and private buildings, schools, universities, parks, etc.; restrictions regarding jury service and civil service; disfranchisement; prohibition of intermarriage; lease system, chain gangs, etc., and admittance to working class organizations, trade unions etc.)

The Negro in America—bourgeoisie, petit-bourgeois, farmer and worker—stands as an oppressed racial minority, a national minority. Of course they are a minority of the nation; and in this sense it is not so. A national minority are a people not only with racial differences, but a people with special differences of language, custom and religion, or with a separate national character or national interests. Politically speaking, national minorities always have the integral element of racial minority (race or branch of race). But a racial minority, in the hodge-podge of capitalist

society, does not necessarily signify national minority. On the other hand, racial oppression does not always mean the oppression of a national minority. This oppression may be inflicted on a national majority, as in the case of China and India. One could give countless examples of this kind in the past history.

America, the outstanding representative of Capitalism, is the best example to show the differences between a racial minority and a national minority. America is now a nation and its people take pride in their nationality, regardless of the descent, especially those Americans of the second and third generation of foreign descent. In the United States we find many racial groups making up the nation as "Americans". The Swedes, English, Spanish or French born in America, who may still have the "pure blood" of their race, can be considered as a racial minority (races of Europe) of the population of the United States. In this way they are catalogued mechanically as part of a national group. But, in spite of this, they cannot be considered as a national minority in the political sense.

The Negro was brought from Africa, from a system of Barbarism where nations as political states were only in the process of formation. He was hurried through the process and now is part of Capitalism. He brought with him racial characteristics, as well as traditions and modes of the past. However, his life in America has overbalanced that which was brought from the past, has modified it, has changed it. Capitalist America has forced him to adopt the language and religion and modes of the country and of the economic system as the DETERMINING FACTORS of this part of his make-up. The more complicated economic structure here in America has swallowed up the past. And, although it cannot be eliminated and expresses itself in the new make-up, it is not the determining factor of the American Negro.

As an oppressed racial minority it is one question, and the question is the race form of the class struggle. As an oppressed national minority it is another question. The attempt to construe the Negro question this way can only result,

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

A. F. of L. Fakers Betray Sign Writers

NEW YORK, N. Y.—

The strike conducted by Sign Writers' Local 230 of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America has ended in defeat for the workers. The union instead of renewing its agreement with the bosses which expired on March 30th was forced to grant a ten per cent cut. The rank and file of the union was persuaded by its bureaucratic leadership against its own interests to give the bosses the right to hire and fire and lay off at will. The union has also relinquished its control over overtime work. The bosses no longer need the union's permission to order the workers to work longer than the eight hours which now constitute the working day. There is now no practical difference in essentials between the unionized and non-union shops.

The union bureaucrats succeeded in putting through a change in the agreement: the bosses agreed to allow helpers to do apprentices' work and vice versa. This practically wipes out the difference between these workers. The helpers are a large majority of the workers in the trade. With unemployment at about sixty per cent, the bosses will give work to the helpers at the expense of the apprentices, satisfy temporarily and to some extent the dissatisfaction of the helpers, and enable the union officials to maintain their highly paid positions and the fiction that they serve the workers' interests. It is an old trick. Only workers ignorant of the fathomless corruption and treachery of A. F. of L. bureaucrats could be taken in by so palpably treacherous a maneuver.

In a union controlled by the workers in their own interests the formal elimination of the difference between helpers and apprentices already accomplished in reality, would be made a progressive step. Wide awake class conscious workers would fight to make this step conditional upon the introduction of the six hour day without reduction in pay and upon the same wage scale for apprentices and helpers.

The strike failed principally because the bosses were able to keep their shops running full blast without any difficulty. Scabbing by unemployed open shop workers and by members of the union was prevalent. To add their treacherous bit the union bureaucrats fooled the workers into picketing—not the shops where the scab displays were made—but the Broadway moving picture theatres where some of the signs were displayed!

To consummate their treachery the bureaucrats called upon a representative of the district council of the Brotherhood to put over the wage cut. This professional betrayer with a face as white as a cheese mouthed phrases about militancy, fighting, the working class, ad nauseam. His conclusion was—a ten per cent cut! The workers harried by the fear of permanently losing their jobs by trying to maintain an ineffective strike, and bamboozled by the district council representative's demagoguery, voted without dissent for the cut and the elimination from the agreement of the clauses demanded by the bosses.

Against the future attacks which their present victory will embolden the bosses to make, the workers must prepare. They must seriously undertake a campaign to organize the trade. As a prerequisite condition for this they must drastically reduce the enormously high initiation fees which is \$500 for helpers. (In our letter in *The Militant* of April 18th we used in this connection, the incorrect formulation: "they must abolish the initiation fees.") The workers must propose the same wage scale for apprentices and helpers. The division into apprentices and helpers no longer corresponds to any real difference between them and serves only the interests of the bureaucrats by enabling them to play off the helpers against the apprentices or the other way around. The workers must also set up as one of their demands the six hour day with no reduction in pay. The six hour day is entirely practicable in the trade and can put back to work many workers now vainly looking for jobs.

These demands are the essentials of a program for which the workers can fight in resisting the attacks on the bosses. In trying to realize these demands they will have to fight the enemy in the union—the bureaucratic misleaders. This should not deter them. It is the road all workers in the A. F. of L. have to travel in fighting for their interests.

—T. STAMM.

To the Greek Party Members and Sympathizers

As you know from our reply to the Greek Stalinist bureaucrats which we printed in No. 4 of *Communists*, we still maintain that the *Empros*, one sidedness with regard to the local Greek press is very detrimental to the Communist movement because it creates fatal illusions among the workers that it is possible for some capitalist newspapers to support the interests of the working class.

Thanks to our vigilance and the Bolshevik criticism of the rank and file workers, the Stalinist bureaucrats were forced to change slightly their one sidedness and to attack the *Atlantis*. But at the same time we warned you that only through your constant vigilance and criticism we will succeed to force the Greek Stalinists to occupy themselves against both the *Atlantis* and the *National Herald* and also to utilize the precious columns of the *Empros* for the most burning questions of the class struggle.

The Stalinist editor in a signed statement attempts to justify himself with petty arguments which have nothing in common with Communist principles and thus he commits the worst blunders.

He froths at the ignorance of the party members of New York City and of a certain leading comrade outside of New York—whose letter and name are wisely withheld from the comrades—because they are blind and therefore can't see his brilliant scheme of capturing the Greek workers from the opium of the capitalists.

His wisdom revealed to all the ignoramus that the *National Herald* is an anti-Soviet sheet and supporter of Tammany Hall and as such should be attacked and destroyed, but he is unable to attack the *Atlantis* because he lacks the documents.

You very well know that *Atlantis* is a monarchist paper and a supporter of the Republican party and therefore no different in any degree as a class enemy from the *National Herald*.

Ironically enough, the *Atlantis* of April 30th, in an editorial, attacked the Soviet Union for its friendly attitude towards the "barbarians of the Near East, the Turks", and lamented the fall of the Romanoffs who have always supported the Greeks and the Greek Orthodox Church while the Bolsheviks supported Kemal Pasha to defeat the Greeks in Asia Minor. No comment is needed.

Every capitalist newspaper, without exception, is either an open or a concealed enemy of the working class and as such should never be spared from the attacks of a Communist organ.

To every genuine Communist there is no difference between a Tammany of a Republican organ and therefore any leniency or preference is detrimental to the movement.

Demand from the bureaucrats for explain in detail the reasons for the pseudo-radical attitude of the two newspapers as we did in our thesis. Although at present they have lost the confidence of the workers this fact should not deceive us and put us to sleep, but ought to keep us alert in order to fight effectively every new attempt of the capitalists to organize new (types) forms of organizations and it is not at all improbable (in order to arrest the radicalization of the workers) that they may adopt a progressive (socialist) program.

Comrades: Do you expect the high priests of Stalinism to correct this petty bourgeois editor. Only through your Bolshevik insistence some changes can be effected. The bureaucrats may undertake the usual task of making the editor a scapegoat but this does not whitewash their responsibility. The appointment of another mercenary without your consultation and freedom of criticism will not cure the evil.

It is your duty to demand freedom of discussion without fear of expulsion. The fact that the editor himself admits that many comrades share our opinions in this specific question proves that our criticism is healthy and unmask the slanders and calumnies of the appointed leaders.

Read *The Militant* every week for new developments.

—EDITORIAL BOARD OF COMMUNISTS.

(Continued in next issue)

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

For a Turn in the Policy of the C. P. G.

BERLIN, GERMANY

"The attitude of a political party to ward its mistakes is the most important and surest criterion of the sincerity of the party and the actual fulfillment of its duties to its class and to the working masses. To acknowledge a mistake openly, to lay bare its causes, to analyze thoroughly the circumstances which brought it about, soundly to test the means for the eradication of mistakes—these are the characteristics of a sincere party, this means to fulfill its duties, to train and teach the class and then also the masses". (Lenin, Works, Vol. 25, page 243.)

About 36.6 million votes were cast in the run-off elections from this number Hindenburg received in round figures 19,350,000, the absolute majority, Hitler, 13,417,000 and Thaelmann 3,706,000. Hindenburg succeeded in winning about 800,000 votes as against the first election, Hitler about 2,080,000 while Thaelmann lost 1,276,000 votes. The 2.5 million voters who voted in the first election for Duestenberg went over in the run-off election mostly to Hitler.

De Rote Fahne of March 15th wrote immediately after the elections of March 13th that "the five million Thaelmann voters of March 13th are the most class-conscious, revolutionary determined part of the proletariat." The whole party press considered the votes cast for Thaelmann "as a clear avowal of revolutionary class struggle." Doubtless, a great number of votes lost by Thaelmann in the run-off elections are to be found among the abstainers. The results of the election in a series of proletarian districts, however, give a terrifying picture of the confusion created by the Stalin-Thaelmann leadership in the Communist ranks of Germany. In Red Wedding, in Berlin, Hindenburg received 98,398 (during the first elections 96,843), Hitler 49,616 (35,851 and Duestenberg 12,274). Thaelmann 77,755 (90,693). Similar changes from Thaelmann to Hitler occurred also in Neukölln, Friedrichshain and Spandau, where at least 1,000 Communist voters gave their votes in the run-off elections to Hitler. Such is the picture in Berlin. In the country it stands out even in bolder relief. In the voting district of Leipzig, Duestenberg received on March 13th 36,000 votes. Thaelmann lost 23,000, Hitler won 59,000. In the district of Dresden-Bautzen: Duestenberg had 77,500 votes. Hindenburg won 15,000, Hitler 92,000, Thaelmann lost 38,000. In the district Chemnitz-Zwickau: Duestenberg had 35,000, Hindenburg won 35,000, Hitler 70,000. Thaelmann lost 50,000 votes. Similar and more striking results are to be observed in Mannheim, Frankfurt O. M., Hesse and other districts.

Die Rote Fahne cannot deny the fact of the swinging over of Communist voters to Hitler. It was forced to admit it in the issue of April 12th where it states that "the attempt of the Hitler and Hindenburg parties to break through the Communist front was repelled." Only a very small number allowed itself to be misled into casting its votes for one or the other of the bourgeois candidates. What do these words mean? They mean nothing else but that in a time especially favorable for a Communist advance, a Communist party states with satisfaction that its class enemy, which is doomed by history to disappearance, has not succeeded in breaking through the Communist front and that—nevertheless, where it did succeed—the whole question was only of a small number of Communist hangers-on. This the bankrupt party bureaucracy writes at a time when the Communist Party of Germany could day in and day out have made inroads into the reformist and petty-bourgeois camps.

How could matters go so far, however, that Communist voters give their votes to Hindenburg and even to Hitler? Were the party comrades in the shops and employment exchanges then really fully armed against the theory of the "lesser evil" of the S. P. G.? They reproached the S. P. G. workers as being for Hindenburg and therefore also for the reaction. This was correct. But this argument could not carry great weight since the leadership of Thaelmann plunged the party into the policy of "referendums" together with the Nazis. The S. P. G. workers replied to them: Well, if you, Communists, carried through together with Hitler the referendum in Prussia against Severing-Braun and are now pursuing the same policy in Saxony and Oldenburg, why can't we come out against Hitler with Severing-Braun? If for you Hitler is the "lesser evil" then Hindenburg can be the same for us!

In this way the party bureaucracy has robbed the party comrades of the possibility of convincing the S. P. G. workers. The theory of the "lesser evil" can celebrate victory due to the help rendered by the Thaelmann leadership.

How could Hitler obtain Communist votes? One must not forget for a moment that the majority of the party members consist now of new members recruited between the years 1930-31-32. These youthful elements naturally lacked Marxian training and Marxian traditions. It was the duty of the Communist party to supplement what was lacking through struggle and training. This could not happen because the policy of the party, particularly during these years, is a whole chain of back-sliding

from the Marxian line. How were the new members trained? On the basis of the people's revolution, on the basis of programs for national and social liberation, on the basis that the S. P. G. is now the main enemy, on the basis of "leave the trade-unions" (R. T. U. O. policy), on the basis of common referendums with the Nazis, on a rejection of the United Front with the S. P. G. and other workers' organizations. Is it any wonder then that a number of the youthful strata of the proletariat so trained should, out of despair over the failures of the party, give its votes to the class enemy in order to "cut the knot faster"? Are the party members of Magdeburg to blame who declared in a party conference that they had voted for Hitler in order to hasten the decisions, since Remmele had stated "after the Fascists, we come"? Their action is a product of the criminal policy which the present party leadership pursues. Not they are to blame but rather those very Stalinist theoreticians who confuse the Communist ranks. Is it not frightful when the Vorwärts, the organ of the party of organized betrayal of the interests of the proletariat, dares to write on the 11th of March of the "betrayal of the C. P. G."! Not the "counter-revolutionary" Trotskyists supply the S. P. G. leaders with arguments but solely and alone the present Thaelmann leadership.

The Fascist danger is great but the proletariat is not yet beaten. The recent demonstrations in the country, and especially in Berlin, show an upsurge of the Berlin proletariat not witnessed in many years. The Communist demonstration as well as that of the "Iron Front" filled the Lustgarten and the neighboring streets. Contrarywise, the demonstration of the Nazis was very small. That means that the proletariat is absolutely clear that the decision between them and the Fascists will be carried out into the streets. Significant of the demonstration of the "Iron Front" was the fact that

the S. P. G. speakers were applauded only when they spoke of the extra-parliamentary struggle against Fascism. Their speeches on the republic and the Weimar constitution were listened to in silence by the demonstrators. The fact that the Reichsbanner workers no longer, as formerly, withdrew before the Fascists but instead, actually defended themselves against them, shows that they are prepared against the will of their leaders to fight on the streets.

These heartening tidings the Thaelmann leadership does not know how to use. Instead of the constant prattling that Severing is a "social Fascist" and of writing in several passages of the editorial in the Rote Fahne of April 7th that "Severing cannot prohibit the S. A. (Fascist Storm Divisions)" it is the task of the party to use Severing's "actions" for the purposes of the revolution. The fact that the Fascists are ready to go so far as to poison the water-supply in the proletarian quarters by means of aniline dyes in order to come to power—as the documents from Wiesbaden testify should have served as the occasion for the party to carry through a decisive turn in the united front question. Here the possibility was given for the approach to the S. P. G. and to the trade-unions for the purpose of establishing the "class front of the proletariat". What a tremendous impression—just imagine—would this united march of the Berlin proletariat have made on the bourgeois and the Fascist. Such an outpouring would have filled three Lustgartens—a million Berlin workers on the streets.

And now in the Prussian elections it is not a question of normal parliamentary elections. Much more is involved! The policy of legalism of the Fascists is to come to a definite conclusion with this. They are still afraid of an open conflict with the working class although the workers are not yet fused into a united front. The conquest of the state apparatus in Prussia by legal means is to serve them as the necessary condition

for the successful outcome of their extra-parliamentary struggle for power. It is not the task of the Communists to support the Braun-Severing Government against the Fascists, that is clear. Still less is it the task of the Communists to support the Fascists, to make easier their road to power. The problem of the party now is to place itself in the forefront of the struggle against Fascism.

Lenin demanded of a Communist party the re-examination of its policies, the open acknowledgement of its mistakes. This must take place now, re-examination of the whole policy of recent years, acknowledgment before the working class of mistakes made. Turn towards the S. P. G. workers and trade-unions, scrap the national-Bolshevik theories—a united front with the S. P. G. and the free trade unions. It must not happen as lately in Hamburg that the Reichsbanner workers attacked by Fascists refused the aid of Communists with the words: "You are exactly like the Fascists". Stop all referendums together with the Fascists. This makes the gulf between the S. P. G. and C. P. G. workers only greater.

The comrades of Charlottenburg-Berlin have voted in four of the party units with 85 votes to 15, against the theory of "social Fascism". This is a tremendous step forward in view of the conditions within the party. All worker Communists must follow this example. Tear into tatters the "general line" of the policy of defeat put forward by the party bureaucracy! Demand internal party democracy! Set everything into motion for a turn in the party policy! Demand the extra-ordinary party congress! Without a thorough reform of the party no victory over Fascism, no struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat is possible. Only in the way of Lenin—by an open change of policy before the whole class, by taking into account the currents among the masses, by pushing them forward with a correct policy—only in this way is the victory of the proletariat conceivable.

—PERMANENTE REVOLUTION

(April 15, 1932)

GERMAN SKETCHES

While the editorials of the Permanente Revolution permit the foreign comrades to get a good view of the fundamental lines of development in Germany, we should like to supplement them with the following few character sketches, so as to lend concreteness to the picture.

Minister of the Interior Groener

The most typical and the most prominent representative of the present method of domination of the German bourgeoisie is undoubtedly this Snaubian general who conceals beneath his demonstrative mufli the head of the Prussian warrior heart. The good old Prussian warrior heart. The head of the government, the Catholic Bruening, remains in the background, in line with the very best Jesuit traditions. It is preferable for them to have the General act as the symbol of the successes, and in the last analysis, of the failures of the regime of emergency decrees. The German bourgeoisie—which is still attempting to veer in its course between Fascism and democracy and is therefore forced, as never before, to conduct a policy of negotiations, of betrayals, of masked brutality—could not have found a better representative than this imperial general who was elastic enough, on the day of the collapse of the Empire, to save himself through an immediate and determined collaboration with the people whom he only yesterday had called traitors to the country, with the actual traitors to their class, with Ebert, Scheidemann and Co.

The policy which General and Minister of the Interior Groener carried out in the 14 days that intervened between the first and second ballots of the presidential elections, permits one to get a good grasp of the present as well as of the future orientation of the German bourgeoisie. In these weeks there took place the "sensational exposures" of Severing regarding the putschist plans of the Nazis, Groener, who is still in power—today, perhaps together with the social democrats and tomorrow most certainly, together with the Nazis is doing everything to discredit and to cow his faithful social democrats. Coolly smiling, he declared that these plans had also been

made known to him, but that they had not particularly excited him. He negotiated with the Nazis in their complaints against Severing, although he has always very glibly referred to them as people guilty of high treason. He openly handed a rebuff to the representative of Severing before the state court. He negotiated with the Brunswick Nazi government and has, without being in any way contradicted, assured them of his accord with their policy. He did not take the slightest measures against the so-called crown prince, who according to ancient Hohenzollern custom, broke his "word of honor" regarding his non-participation in politics and who openly agitated with adventures have left him, for the election the feeble means which his very intense tone of Hitler.

Only after Groener had been praised a short few weeks ago as a hearth of democracy by the social democrats and only after he had undertaken all these measures to strengthen Hitler and to weaken the social democracy, when he had already been able to get the results of the second ballot—for Groener is a very cautious gentleman—only then did he proceed to "prohibit" Hitler's private army, the Storm Divisions (S. A. Sturm Abteilungen).

We must not nurture too many illusions over this "prohibition". It took place days after the Nazis had been informed about everything, that is, after they had safely been able to bring everything that was of any value for them in this military apparatus—underground. Since their party apparatus can continue to function legally, the proscription has not weakened the Nazis in the least, as the increased terroristic acts against persons, buildings, meetings within the last few days indisputably prove. Aside from this, the act of Groener has once more given them the halo of the only honest fighters against the present system in the eyes of many among the unemployed and in this manner, they have received considerable aid for their campaign in the Prussian elections. On the other hand, it has enabled Hitler to rid himself of the organizational influence of dissatisfied and unreliable elements who were concentrated precisely in these Storm Divisions. It may also be assumed that the proscription will disappear shortly after the Prussian elections.

The S. P. G. has likewise been strengthened considerably in its election campaign through this act, especially in so far as the C. P. G. is concerned. But the S. P. has paid dearly enough for this advantage. The real price they have paid is not yet known, but we can already hear that it will be "voluntarily" dissolve its Reichsbanner. The Austrian game with "general disarmament" is being repeated. While the Fascists will within a short time be in a position to reconstruct their armed divisions, the reformist organizations will stand at the end of this whole comedy, disorganized and with empty hands.

These are the undisputed and lasting results of the apparently contradictory, glamorous policy of Groener, treacherous in every respect against all parties involved.

Berlin, April 17, 1932
—BAUER.
Other sketches will appear in the forthcoming issues of The Militant.

Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition

The German Revolution of 1923 and the «Lessons of October»

A sharp dividing line marks off the period of the growth and progress of its decline and opportunist degeneration under the regime of Stalin-Zinoviev-Bucharin. This line is drawn by the revolutionary events in Germany towards the end of 1923 and the disputes that arose in the Russian party and the international around the lessons to be drawn from them. Just as the Bolshevik party grew steel-hard in the study of the 1905 revolution and the refutation of the Menshevik conception of its nature and problems, so Bolshevism today can be strengthened only in the study—not merely of the successful October revolution of 1917, but also of the defeated revolutions in Germany of 1923 and in China of 1925-1927. It is to an appraisal of the missed revolution in 1923 that comrade Trotsky devoted himself in his famous work "The Lessons of October".

The German Situation in 1923

The autumn of 1923 found Germany confronted with a revolutionary situation of the highest order. The country was passing through a violent crisis, greatly accentuated by the French occupation of the Ruhr which threatened to give Europe the acute war aspect that the Versailles Treaty was supposed to have ended. Not only were the masses of the workers expressing their mood by flocking to the standard of the Communist party—which was then reaching the highest point it has ever attained—but even the petty bourgeois, disgruntled, declassed and impoverished was being rallied in great numbers to the organizing center of the revolution. The nationalists and Fascists had by no means been made blind ahead! A mistake has been made which we will easily and swiftly repair by putting the "Left" faction at the head of the party and removing Brandler and Thaelheimer. With a "Bolshevik" leadership and the revolutionary situation still at hand, the whole mistake will be made good and, incidentally, our wisdom and prestige will not only remain unimpaired but will be greatly enhanced in the minds of the party members.

Every day brought increasing difficulties for the bourgeoisie desperately seeking for a way out of its crisis. Every day brought new accretions of strength to the Communists. The widespread network of factory councils was in the hands of the revolutionists. Every important factory had its militant "proletarische Hunderschaften", the well-knit nucleus for tomorrow's Red Guard. In Saxony and Thuringia, coalition governments had been formed by the "Left" social democrats and the Communists which, despite the radically false policies pursued in them by the Communist ministers, gave an index of the tremendous strength commanded by the party. So ripe was the situation that, as Trotsky says, "it became quite clear that the German bourgeoisie could extricate itself from this 'inextricable' position only if the Communist party did not understand at the right time that the position of the bourgeoisie was 'inextricable' and did not draw the necessary revolutionary conclusions."

The tragic outcome of the German revolution of 1923 was due, however, precisely to the fact that the German party leadership, and more than that, the leadership of the Communist In-

ternational, did not understand what it should have, and by its capitulation without a struggle, enabled the German bourgeoisie to get that breathing space which, with subsequent aid from the United States in the form of the Dawes Plan, was the direct precursor of the so-called stabilization of Europe and the decline of the revolutionary wave.

In the face of its imperative tasks, with all the chances in its favor, when the moment came to strike the German party leadership simply quit the field of battle, permitted the armed intervention of the reactionary troops without offering resistance, and surrendered its positions without firing a shot. Only in Hamburg did heroic rear-guard street battles take place as a result of the failure of the Central Committee to arrive in time with the instructions changing the plan of battle previously arrived at.

How was it possible for such a situation to develop, with all the disastrous consequences which it subsequently entailed? The then leaders of the International, Zinoviev, Bucharin and Stalin, explained the whole thing away with a deceptive simplicity: Brandler and Thaelheimer, the heads of the German party, were to blame. The whole trouble lay, you see, in the fact that they had played a "parliamentary comedy" in the coalition government in Saxony and had failed to strike the decisive blow at the right time. But, add the Russian trinity, (and in this they were echoed by Brandler and Thaelheimer), the revolutionary situation is still ahead! A mistake has been made which we will easily and swiftly repair by putting the "Left" faction at the head of the party and removing Brandler and Thaelheimer. With a "Bolshevik" leadership and the revolutionary situation still at hand, the whole mistake will be made good and, incidentally, our wisdom and prestige will not only remain unimpaired but will be greatly enhanced in the minds of the party members.

In other words, the "art" of their leadership consisted exclusively of learning nothing from the events, of teaching nothing about their essential lessons, of finding a scapegoat upon whom the blame for the difficulties might be shifted, and of preserving intact the myth of bureaucratic infallibility.

The Russian Opposition, in the figure of comrade Trotsky, proceeded from an entirely different standpoint. It aimed at such an objective analysis of the events, at such an extraction of the lessons presented by the defeat, as would not only reveal who and what were at fault but would serve as a source of instruction to those Communist parties which still had before them the final struggle for the seizure of power. This aim was brilliantly achieved in "The Lessons of October".

The essence of this document lies in a masterful comparison of the problems confronting the Bolshevik party on the eve of its insurrection and how it solved them successfully and resolutely, with

the problems confronting the German and Bulgarian party leaders on the eve of their insurrections and how they failed to solve them with either resolution or success. An excellent summary of the key points in this work was made subsequently by comrade Trotsky himself.

"The ideas set out by me in the «Lessons of October» retain their full strength even now. Yes, even more, they receive confirmation over and over again after 1924."

"Among the numerous difficulties in a proletarian revolution there is a particular, definite, specific difficulty. It arises out of the position and tasks of revolutionary party leadership. Even the most revolutionary parties run the risk of confronting the events, slogan and measures of struggle of yesterday that are being sharply precipitated, with the new tasks and requirements. And there cannot, after all, be a sharper turn of events than that required by the armed uprising. It is right here that the danger also arises that the policy of the party leadership and the party in general does not correspond to the action of the class and the requirements of the situation. During a relatively tranquil course of political life, such a contradiction can be straightened out, even though with losses, yet without a catastrophe. It is precisely time that is lacking to eliminate this contradiction and to redress the front, so to speak, under fire. The periods of the highest accentuation of a revolutionary crisis are by their very nature always only brief. This contradiction between a revolutionary leadership (vacillations, a temporizing attitude despite the assault of the bourgeoisie) and the objective situation, can lead in the course of a few weeks and even days to a catastrophe and to a loss of what took years of work to prepare. . . .

"... (In Germany) the situation was ripe and the leadership lagged behind. By the time this contradiction had already changed, the masses receded and the relationship of forces became fundamentally worse."

"The German defeat of 1923 naturally had many national peculiarities. But it already contained many typical features, also, which signified a general danger. This danger can be characterized as the crisis of the revolutionary leadership on the eve of the transition to armed uprising. The depths of a proletarian party are already by their very nature far less susceptible to bourgeois public opinion. Certain elements of the party leadership and the middle layers of the party will always unfailingly succumb in larger or smaller measure to the material and ideological terror of the bourgeoisie. Such a danger should not simply be rejected. To be sure there is no remedy against it suitable for all cases. Nevertheless the first step towards fighting it—is to grasp its nature and its source. The unfailing appearance or development of Right groupings in all the Com-

munist parties in the 'pre-October' period is on the one hand a result of the greatest objective difficulties and dangers of this 'jump' but on the other hand the result of a furious assault of bourgeois public opinion. There also lies the whole import of the Right groupings. And that is just why irresolution and vacillations arise unfailingly in the Communist parties at the moment when it is most dangerous. With us, only a minority within the party leadership was seized by such vacillations in 1917, which were, however, overcome, thanks to the sharp energy of Lenin. In Germany, on the contrary, the leadership as a whole vacillated and that was carried over to the party and through it to the class. The revolutionary situation was thereby passed up. . . . All these were not of course the last crises of leadership in a decisive historical moment. To limit these inevitable crises to a minimum is one of the most important tasks of the Communist parties and the Comintern. This can be achieved only when the experiences of October 1917 and the political content of the Right Opposition inside our party at that time are grasped and contrasted with the experiences of the German party in 1923. Therein lies the purpose of the «Lessons of October»."

The publication of this work at the beginning of 1924 aroused a terrific storm in the ranks of the Russian party bureaucracy. The vials of wrath of the ruling clique were poured out to the last drop upon Trotsky's head. What Zinoviev, Rykov, Stalin and Co. were concerned with was not so much the Marxian criticism to which Trotsky submitted the conduct of the German party leaders, but the fact that in drawing his striking analogy with the 1917 insurrection in Russia, Trotsky had revealed that vacillations and capitulatory tendencies similar to Brandler's had existed in the very highest spheres of the Bolshevik party.

The bureaucrat and the opportunist live from hand to mouth, and just as they refuse to see or hear, they dislike to look backward, or to have their own past spoken of and analyzed. Add to this the fact that the cliques which were then busily engaged in usurping the control of the party was doing it by attempting to revise the truthful record of the October insurrection, and by unloading all responsibility for the German defeat, and you have the reasons for the furious assault which they promptly launched against Trotsky and the Opposition.

(To be continued)
—MAX SHACHTMAN.

SPECIAL ATTENTION

If you have one or more copies of the paper edition of the "Draft Program of the Communist International—A Criticism of Fundamentals" which you can spare, send it at once to Pioneer Publishers and we will reimburse you for it. We need twenty-five copies to make up the 100 for the bound volumes of all the pamphlets.

Stalin - Lovestone Parleys

(Continued from page 1)
the Russian party bloc? That would mean the end of Stalin? (This is what Lovestone told us. I don't know whether it is so, or not).

The C. I. man then told Lovestone to send a letter to the Polcom of the party making his proposition for unity. This letter was sent. Weinstein forwarded a copy of the letter to Moscow and negotiations were suspended for a while until the return of the party delegation then in Moscow.

When the delegation—Browder, Stachel and Wicks—returned, the negotiations were resumed. "Then", said Lovestone, "the party approached us for another conference this time. The party representative was Stachel. Stachel assured Gitlow that 'the whole trade union policy would be revised gradually'."

Gitlow said the group stood on the basis of the letter sent to the party. Stachel said he would report the interview to the Polcom and that an answer would be forthcoming. Up to Tuesday night the answer had not been received.

—B.

(Comment on the above letters will be found on page 4)

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Arne Swabeck

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EDITORIAL NOTES

CENTRIST-RIGHT WING UNITY?

The Party members who have taken the official fulminations against the Lovestonites "renegades" in good faith, may be somewhat surprised to learn about the secret unity negotiations between the Party C. E. C. and these same "renegades", which have been going on now for some time. The letters printed on another page of this issue of *The Militant* from two sources, give the essential facts about these negotiations. Behind a barrage of official denunciation of the Lovestonites on the one side, and accentuated protests against the "ultra-Left course" on the other, the chiefs of the Centrist and Right wing factions are calmly talking business together. This much is clearly established. Of course the Party members, who—so to speak—have an interest in the matter, were neither consulted nor informed about the negotiations. It has been a long time since the bureaucrats of Stalinism found it necessary to take the Communist workers into their confidence or to seek their approval before an action.

There is nothing really surprising, from a political standpoint, in the fraternal conferences of the Right wing and Centrist factions. Neither is there any principle barrier to an actual consummation of the unity between them, although this does not appear the most probable outcome at the moment. The theoretical premise of each of the opportunist factions in the same—the reactionary theory of socialism in one country. Lovestone's "exceptionalism" for the United States is only an American translation of Stalin's exceptionalism for Russia. Revolutionary internationalism is a dead letter for both. Stalin doesn't care a fig for the policy of the American party as long as its support for his regime in the Russian party is assured. Lovestone will vote for anything in Russia, China, Germany, and all the rest of the world as long as he can have the American party to play with. In this mutual accommodation of special interests there is the basis for a bargain. It happened before. Why can't it happen again? Such are the real thoughts in the minds of the horse-traders as they sit down quietly together to talk over terms.

Lovestone would prefer to wait for further developments in the American movement before taking any decisive steps one way or another. But he is not allowed to forget for a moment the fearful insecurity of his groups position. He is shaking under the pressure of the discontent in his own ranks like the lid on a steaming kettle. The debacle of the Right wing on an international scale could not fail to have powerful repercussions within the Lovestone group, which includes not a few workers devoted to Communism. The reaction of these workers against the orientation toward Muste and the S. P. "militants" convinced Lovestone that a decisive step in that direction could not be made without great internal difficulties. The shuttling back and forth between the Left-reformist groups and the Party—which characterizes the Lovestone politics—reflects the contradictions within the membership which have already resulted in numerous defections and small splits.

The Stalinists are not restrained from another deal with Lovestone and Co. by scruples over principle, since they have no principles; or, to put it more precisely and correctly, no principles of their own. Their entire equipment in this respect consists of ideas furnished to them by the Right wing and those borrowed in snatches from the Left Opposition and misapplied. They have not been able to dispose of the Right Opposition by the method of routine denunciation.

In the trade union field, and especially in the strategically important sector of the needle trades, the Lovestonites, feeding on the crude errors of the Party and adapting themselves to the pseudo-progressive wing of the bureaucracy, have strengthened their position. The Stalinists confronted with a collapse of their policy in the trade unions, are seeking a way out by means of maneuvers and deals. Why not a bargain with Lovestone, which includes—it must be remembered—Zimmerman?

Who is there to object to such a proposition in the leading circles of the Party, and for what reason? Certainly not those who shared the responsibility for the whole perfidious course of Lovestone over a period of years and only left him at the last moment, under command of Stalin. A serious objection on principle grounds can hardly come from Foster who, we are informed in a recent article by Minor, is now "the foremost leader of the Party". Foster believes in the "third period" trade union policy as much as we believe in reincarnation after death. Foster once proposed a bloc with Stigman. Why should he guile over a bargain with Lovestone and Zimmerman.

The whole affair is a shocking revelation of the hollowness and futility of the official Party campaign against the Right wing. Those who were deceived by this "left turn"—which was calculated to disorientate the proletarian elements in the Party and arrest their development in the direction of the Left Opposition—may begin to come to life again and re-examine all that has transpired. There are signs of this. A unity with the Right wing—even though it takes the form of an organizational capitulation, as in Russia—will not be without a serious political effect. It is the method of Stalinism, which has no independent line and is incapable of formulating one, to appropriate, in whole or in part, the platform of opponents after their organizational defeat. The "defeat" of Bucharin and his retention in the Party was followed by a swing to the right. Let the revolutionary workers in the Party look out for such a "defeat" and "capitulation" of Lovestone and his group.

WEISBORD BLOWS THE WHISTLE

There are more ways of judging leaders and would-be leaders of the revolutionary labor movement than to read their programs and theses, just as there are more ways of judging Texas steers than to measure the length of their horns. Sometimes a little act is more revealing as to the real character of a politician than a dozen statements and a hundred promises. A few weeks ago we mentioned Weisbord's action in taking his erstwhile comrades to court in connection with the reams of advice he has offered to us on the art of "leadership", and concluded that advice from such a source would bear a close inspection. Now the same Weisbord, in order perhaps to throw a clearer light on the merits of his messianic claims, has demonstrated, by another action, his conception of how to wage the revolutionary struggle against the class enemy. For one who had read his "theses", this performance will help to explain them; for those who haven't read the theses, it will make a study of them superfluous.

In the April 20th issue of the *Class Struggle* we read the following remarkable summary of the marine workers' trial, in which Weisbord, starting in where the State's Attorney left off, invokes the testimony of the police stool-pigeon, Hoyle, against the Lovestone group. He writes:

"It was stated by the witness for the state, Hoyle, and reported widely by the

press, that when he went for the dynamite with Soderberg he went from 'A Communist hall on East 27th Street' (which could be none other than Lovestone's headquarters) with several girls and in a car driven by a certain doctor. When the dynamite had been procured and they had returned, according to Hoyle, they stored the dynamite for the night and part of the next day at the same headquarters.

"If this evidence is correct, then we see why Lovestone who expelled Soderberg after he had been arrested, never published his expulsion and why Lovestone . . . later entered the defense himself. Did he feel they were all in the same boat?" (Our emphasis).

Let us rub our eyes and read this over again. Hoyle, whom Weisbord gives the euphemistic title of "witness for the state", is the stool pigeon and provocateur whose "evidence" sent the three marine workers to prison for long terms. Everything he said on the witness stand was denied by the three workers in the dock, and by that fact the testimony of Hoyle is completely discredited in the court of working class opinion. It has no more standing there than the hounding demagoguery of the district attorney, the biased rulings of the judge or the class verdict of the jury.

But Weisbord is not satisfied merely to put Hoyle on the witness stand again in the columns of his filthy sheet, and to dress up the stool-pigeon as a dignified "witness for the state". He has to bring out some of his testimony more clearly and to give it new implications against others in addition to those already sent to prison. To Hoyle's reference to "A Communist hall on East 27th Street", he finds it necessary to add in parenthesis: "Which could be none other than Lovestone's headquarters". And then he sharpens up the police-tip with the observation that "if this evidence is correct" (when was the evidence of a stool-pigeon ever "correct"?). It shows that "they were all in the same boat".

There is very little need for a revolutionist, or for an ordinary militant worker for that matter, to comment on this attempt to "put the finger" on the Lovestone group. The thing, like a policeman's badge, speaks for itself. But Weisbord, who published this rotten provocation, advertises himself as a Communist; more than that, as a leader of Communism; and still more, as an "adherent of the International Left Opposition". It is just the possibility that some unsuspecting worker might take these pretensions at face value that impels us to offer two words of comment.

The Left Opposition is opposed to the Right wing group of Lovestone; and Weisbord, as the above-quoted testimony would indicate, is not at present friendly to it. But there the similarity of positions comes to an end. We fight the Right wing on principle grounds with the method of political argument addressed to the workers; Weisbord blows the whistle for the cops. Between these two methods there is a chasm that no bridge can span.

—J. P. C.

Oppositionist Speaks at Party United Front Meet

HILLSIDE, N. J.—

May Day was celebrated by the workers of Hillside, N. J. Sunday afternoon in the Workers' Home of Hillside under the auspices of the United Front May Day Committee. The Communist Party, the Unemployed Council, the Hungarian Sick Benefit Organization, the Hungarian Workers' Singing Society, the Slavish Int. Lab. Defense, the Polish Workers' Club, the Lithuanian Workers' Club, the Jack London Club and the Newark Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) were the organizations represented at the meeting. The speeches were delivered by comrades West and Freeman of the Party and comrade Louis Basky of the Left Opposition. When capitalism rapidly developed to

On the Anniversary of Marx's Birth

I.

May 5 is one of the notable days in the annals of working class history. That date, in 1818, inaugurated a period which closed with March 14, 1883, and embraced the life-span of the greatest thinker of our epoch, and for that matter of all times, the life-span of Karl Marx. It became a life-span of profound teaching, the significance of which we can begin to perceive today, but which remains to be fully recorded only by future generations.

Karl Marx belongs to the revolutionary proletariat. It alone can properly appreciate him and his life's work. It alone can carry forward the great heritage which he has left it and which today enables it to stand erect, conscious of its growing maturity and of its true position as the life-beating pulse of mankind. It is that heritage which lends the directive force to a working class moving onward to higher goals.

Karl Marx, a towering giant in the realms of thought and action, was a product of his age. His birth almost coincided with the stormy ushering in of the capitalist stage of society. His life became dedicated to the elaboration of the theoretical system which bears his name. A system built entirely upon the dynamics of the material world and itself throwing new life-giving fermentation into human society and setting new forces into motion. A system which has stood the test in storm and in stress, which has been assailed by its critics, calumnyed by its enemies and cunningly revised by the sleek soldiers of fortune who picked the proletarian movement as a fruitful hunting ground. But after each assault, after each effort to blunt its edge, it emerged again, bolder in conception and more clearly understood. This is because it is not constituted of scholastic or dead formulas, each one to be applied separately, because it is a live theoretical system covering the whole range of the social and revolutionary sciences. A theoretical system which cannot be understood when viewed merely in its separate parts, but only when viewed as a whole, as a solid structure from its foundation stone to the roof.

To understand properly the Marxian system it is necessary first of all to learn to approach its study with the Marxian method of viewing all material things in motion. The purely static, or scholastic approach will get us hopelessly lost. It is necessary that its thoroughgoing proletarian impulse and revolutionary spirit penetrate every fibre of our material and mental make-up. That must, so to speak, be in the blood.

The Marxian system took form and assumed life and blood during the first stormy period of the capitalist cycle, when capitalism rapidly developed to

ward a position of mastery. It had as its immediate background the two im-

portant events, the great French revolution and the industrial revolution in England. It therefore took form essentially as a summing-up of the developing conditions. The Marxian system, which, of course, takes into account the discoveries of certain preceding thinkers, is a logical conception of the main social and economic phenomena of the present epoch.

The tumultuous events of the class struggle during the active, mature life of Marx became the great historical laboratory, from which not only the proletariat emerged definitely as a class, but which also helped to work out and to test his theoretical system. Of these main events must be mentioned in the first instance: The revolutions and counter-revolutions on the European continent, the organization of the First International and the Paris Commune. Each step of development Marx followed, not as a mere onlooker, but actively intervening with clear and decisive counsel to the proletariat and with scorching criticism virtually burning up the adversaries. He attained to mastery of each situation and drew the fundamental lessons which became the future guide for the proletarian revolutionists. Today we can follow that counsel and trace its logical development; how it shaped and took form and was put to the test in the fire of these important events of the class struggle.

Marx kept in intimate contact with and studied the social and economic concepts and movements which had preceded him and of his time. He had early become influenced by French socialism and made himself acquainted with the ideas of the utopians. He utilized what was progressive in them but quickly settled account with their abstract "eternal truths" and "pure reason". He assumed the leadership of the first international revolutionary organization of proletarians, the Communist League, which, when transformed from the Federation of the Just, had become converted to his views. It openly proclaimed itself a Communist organization, and finally settled with its old mystical concepts, when shortly before the February revolution of 1848 in France it accepted the program written by Marx in collaboration with Engels—the Communist Manifesto.

Marx studied the conspirative proletarian organizations of France, and elsewhere, which were mainly influenced and inspired by the sentimental utopias of Fourier and the revolutionary gospel of minority, conspirative action of Blanqui. He soon concluded that these were not the tactics to be pursued. He had witnessed the development, both of the pure and simple trade unionism in England as well as that of the Chartist movement, which, during the brief period of its existence, embodied, in an abbreviated picture, the whole course of the proletarian struggle. The vehement conflict with the anarchic schools of thought—from the purely petty bourgeois idealist, to the more revolutionary but narrowly futile propagandists of the deed of Bakunin, and finally with the anti-authoritarians—forms some of the most strenuous chapters of Marx's life.

While Marx had nothing but disdain and scorn for the vulgar economists of his time he set to work patiently at the herculean task of unraveling the economic laws of the various stages of society. For the study of these laws he made use of the discoveries already made by the classical school of bourgeois economy; which generally begins with William Petty in England, Boisguilbert in France and ends with Ricardo in England and Sismondi in France. He stripped this material of its idealist veil of the capitalist economic laws being "natural laws", and presented them as

laws dictated by historical relations of production corresponding to a given degree of development of the material forces of production. What had so much puzzled this school of economy Marx discovered and embodied in his concept of the production of surplus value.

But above all Marx participated in building the revolutionary proletarian party. From the founding of the Communist League and presentation of the Communist Manifesto, there is a continuous thread of building and teaching. It next appears in the lessons drawn from the fateful events of 1848-50. Again, in the theoretical and practical work within the First International, beginning with 1864. In the serious lessons drawn from the Paris Commune and finally, in 1875 in the criticism of the Gotha program. This criticism which can perhaps be termed the last outstanding act of Marx was occasioned by the program draft for the fusion congress of the two German socialist groups, the Lassalleans and the Eisenachers. Marx subjected that compromise program draft to a merciless criticism in which he again summed up in brief sentences the essence of his concepts.

Here we have, through a whole chain of events and activities, conclusions compressed into a theoretical system, each part of which forms a harmonious whole. The essence of Marxism stands out today as incontrovertibly as when proclaimed in the final paragraph of the Communist Manifesto:

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

We recall that many have been the attempts to construct a new system and invest it with the name of Marx by tearing out of their context some casual remarks made by Marx on episodic questions in order to destroy the real essence of the system itself. As a part of the general foul revisionism, we know, it brought disastrous results to the proletarian movement of the Second International. Most outstanding were the attempts to distort, to cover up and to repudiate the concept of the proletarian dictatorship and to substitute for it the peaceful democratic means at all costs. Often, in accomplishing this, was recourse, and for that matter still is being, taken to the observation made by Marx in the seventies on the possibility of peaceful revolution in England and in America, leaving out, of course, Marx's qualifying clause. In the seventies, as we know, conditions obtained which could indicate these two countries as possessing certain exceptional characteristics; and it is from actual conditions, from the specific stage of capitalist relations that Marxian strategy and tactics proceed in each instance. The conditions of these certain exceptional characteristics no longer exist today. That gives the episodic character to such an observation which only reformist snivellers can still attempt to distort. Revolutionists will have nothing in common with that but will endeavor to comprehend the Marxian system in its totality and in its real essence.

—ARNE SWABECK.

Another article on "Marx and Marxism" is to follow next week —Ed.

In the struggle with syndicalism and other currents in the working class movement in recent years the cause of Communism has been compromised by the ignorance of the official Stalinists and their abusive hooligan methods. This damage must be repaired and the struggle restored to its proper basis.

This is the significance of the debate to be held at the New York Labor Temple, 14th Street and Second Avenue, on Saturday, May 14th, at 8 P. M.

Stalinist Zig-zags on the Question of the «United Front»

by LEON TROTSKY

The former female social democrat Torhorst (from Duesseldorf), who has come over to the Communist party, spoke in the name of the party, in mid-January, in Frankfurt. In her official report, she said, "The leaders of the social democracy are sufficiently exposed, and it would be only a waste of energy to continue our efforts in this direction, with cooperation from above." We quote from a Frankfurt Communist newspaper which lauds the report highly. "The leaders of the social democracy are sufficiently exposed." Sufficiently—so far as the spokeslady herself is concerned, who came over from the social democracy to the Communists (which, of course, does her honor); but insufficiently—so far as those millions of workers are concerned who vote for the social democrats and who put up with the reformist bureaucracy of the trade unions.

It is hardly necessary, however, to cite an isolated report. In the latest proclamation to reach me, DIE ROTTE FAHNE (January 28, 1932) argues once again that the United Front can be established only against the social democratic leaders, and without them. Proof: "None will believe them who has lived through and has experienced the handiwork of these 'leaders' for the last 18 years." And what, may we ask, is to be done about those who have participated in politics less than 18 years, and even less than 18 months?

Since the outbreak of the war, several political generations have matured who must recapitulate the experience of older generations, even though within a greatly diminished scope. "The whole point of the matter is", Lenin coached the ultra-Leftists, "that we must not assume whatever is obsolete for us to be obsolete for the class, for the masses."

Moreover, even the older generation that did pass through the experience of 18 years hasn't at all broken with the leaders. On the contrary, it is just the social democracy that still retains many "old-timers", who are bound to the party by long standing traditions. It's sad, sure enough, that the masses learn so slowly. But in a goodly measure to blame for this are the Communist "pedagogues" who have been unable to disclose palpably the criminal nature of reformism. The least that can be done now is to utilize the situation; and at the same time when the attention of the masses is strained to its highest pitch by mortal danger, to subject the reformists to a new and perhaps, for the nonce, a really decisive test.

Without so much as hiding or mitigating our opinion, of the social democratic leaders, we may and we must say to the social democratic workers, "Since, on the one hand, you are willing to fight together with us; and since, on the other, you are still unwilling to break with your leaders, here is what we suggest:

Force your leaders to join us in a common struggle for such and such practical aims, in such and such a manner; as for us, we, Communists, are ready." Can anything be more plain, more palpable, more convincing?

In precisely this sense I wrote—with the conscious intention of arousing the sincere horror of blockheads and the fake indignation of charlatans—that in the war against Fascism we were ready to conclude practical military alliances with the devil and his granddam, even with Noske and Zoergiebel.

The official party, itself, violates its stillborn policy at every step. In its appeals for the "Red United Front" (with its own self), it invariably puts forward the demand for "the unconditional freedom of the proletarian press and the right to demonstrate, meet, and organize." This slogan is clear cut through and through. But whereby the Communist party speaks of proletarian and not only of Communist papers, meetings, etc., it thereby, in fact, puts forward the slogan of the United Front with that very social democracy that publishes workers' papers, calls meetings, etc. To put forward political slogans, which in themselves include the idea of the United Front with the social democracy, and to reject the making of practical agreements to fight for these slogans—that is the height of absurdity.

Muenzenberg, whose practical horse sense occasionally falls foul of "the general line", wrote in November (DIE ROTTE AUFBAU), "It's true that National Socialism is the most reactionary, the most chauvinistic and the most bestial wing of the Fascist movement in Germany; and that all true left circles (!) are most vitally concerned in interfering with the growth in influence and power of this wing of German Fascism." If Hitler's party is "the most reactionary and most bestial" wing, then Bruening's regime is, at least, less bestial and less reactionary. Muenzenberg, here, is

stealthily flirting with the theory of the "lesser evil". To preserve a semblance of piety, he goes on to differentiate between different kinds of Fascism: mild, medium, and strong, as if it was a question of Turkish tobacco. However, if all "the left circles" (and have they no names?) are interested in the victory over Fascism, then isn't it imperative to put these "left circles" to a practical test?

Isn't it self-evident that Breitscheid's diplomatic and equivocal offer should have been grabbed with both hands; and that from one's own side, one should have submitted a concrete, carefully detailed and practical program for a joint struggle against Fascism; and have demanded joint sessions of the executives of both parties, with the participation of the executives of independent trade unions? Simultaneously, one should have carried energetically this same program down through all the layers of both parties and of the masses. The negotiations should have been carried on openly in the eyes of the entire nation: daily accounts should have appeared in the press without distortions and absurd fabrications. Such an agitation by its directness and incisiveness would tell with far greater effect on the worker than the incessant din on the subject of "social Fascism". Under such conditions, the social democracy could not hide for a single day behind the pasteboard pageant of "the Iron Front".

*The French periodical *Cahiers du Bolchevisme*, the most preposterous and illiterate of all Stalinist publications, pounced greedily upon this reference to the devil's granddam, never suspecting of course, that she has a long standing history in the Marxist press. The hour is not distant, we hope, when the revolutionary workers will send their ignorant and unscrupulous teachers to serve their apprenticeship with the above-mentioned granddam.

—L. TROTSKY.

(To be Continued)

(From WHAT NEXT?—Vital Questions for the German Proletariat)

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1932

PRICE 5 CENTS

Comrades, Readers, Friends!

An emergency exists. The life of the weekly MILITANT is at stake. Unless we raise our \$1,000 press fund we shall be forced to retrench.

It is not our habit to exaggerate. When we say that the life of the weekly MILITANT is at stake we mean exactly that. For a long time we have been struggling against a deepening financial crisis of our own. It has developed to the point where we are forced to say categorically—the life of the weekly MILITANT is at stake.

To every comrade, every reader and sympathizer falls the duty of coming to the aid of our press. Comrades active in the press drive should double and triple their efforts. Those not in it should immediately put to himself the question—what can I do to help the Opposition press?

The first form this response should take and, at the moment, the most important, is a donation. Upon reading this appeal every comrade should send us as much as he can spare. No amount is too large, no amount is too small. And every bit helps.

Upon our own members devolves the added duty of canvassing their friends

NEW YORK PICNIC—MAY 29th

The drive now going on for the Left Opposition Press will culminate in New York on the last Sunday of this month—May 29th—in the form of a picnic to be held at Tibbets Brook Park. At the same time it will be the occasion when the comrades and sympathizers of the Left Opposition in New York will greet the return of comrades Morgenstern and Goodman, our two Philadelphia comrades now serving jail sentences for "sedition".

Food and refreshments will be on hand. We will have a brief social program, games, rowing, ball-playing and other enjoyments. Keep the date open—Sunday, May 29th.

Militant Builders

Comrade Hedlund is still at the head of the list although a number of comrades are slowly cutting down his lead. Those who figure on overtaking him with ease are counting without their host. They fail to take into account that Minneapolis is undertaking a systematic canvass of all their subscribers and sympathizers. In this work comrade Hedlund will, no doubt give a good account of himself. On the other hand comrades who want to win one of the prizes described in the last issue should hustle.

The staff and its record to date is as follows with the figures for the month of May (in dollars) in parenthesis: C. Hedlund (6)—11; V. Dunne (6)—9; L. Roseland (3 1-2)—5; M. Dunne (3)—8; L. Nagy (2 1-2)—3; C. Forsen (2 1-2)—3; A. Buehler (2)—2; M. Rosen (2)—2; O. Coover (2)—3; L. Basky (1 1-2)—5; R. Sacharow (1)—4; R. Ruskin (1)—2; W. Curran (1)—2; S. Zaimanoff (1)—1; P. Carlson (1)—1; F. Barach (1)—5; F. Schulman (1)—1; F. Barach (1)—4; C. Johnson (1)—2; S. Lessin (1)—1; N. Berman (1); G. R. Herman (1); J. Ross (1); H. Milton (1-2)—1; T. Drobny (1-2)—2; J. Carr (1-4)—3; C. Skoglund—3; F. Cheloff—2; G. Ray—2; M. Gottlieb—1; M. Koehler—1; W. Wynne—1; J. Carter—1; H. Capelis—1; W. Herman—1; A. Swaback—1; A. Glotzer—1; L. Logan—1; A. Kaldis—1; M. Sterling—1.

Bring the Unity Negotiations into the Open!

The revelations in last week's MILITANT about the secret negotiations between the Party leaders and the expelled Right wing have awakened a new interest among the Communist workers in the question of unity. And the informal discussion arising from it, according to the reports we have received, is not confined to the horse-trade behind the scenes between the Centralist bureaucrats and the Lovestone group. The revival of sentiment for unity with the Left, that is, with the bona fide revolutionary faction, is noticeable.

There is a logic in this development that was never thought of by the machinists. In part, it is an expression of the fundamental solidarity which the proletarian militants in the Party feel toward the Left Opposition. It is also a sign of resentment against the under cover maneuvers to readmit the Right opportunist leaders; the proletarian element want a revolutionary counterweight in the Party. Therefore our choice will be heard in the back room conferences, even though we are not there as invited guests. The time is opportune for a restatement of the attitude of the Left Opposition on unity.

and acquaintances for subs and donations. Every comrade on his metal! No stone must be left unturned. Wherever a spark of sympathy exists for our ideas and our struggle the question must be put bluntly—How much can you give to save the weekly MILITANT, to help the Opposition press?

Our readers too can participate in this work. They should not wait to be canvassed. They should respond at once. If possible they should canvass their friends and acquaintances. If they are not in a position to do this they can send in the name and addresses of likely contributors. We will approach them. But in the first instance they should respond with a donation.

The response to this appeal must be immediate; it must continue until we reach and pass our quota of \$1,000. Comrades, readers, sympathizers, will you help?

The Party and the May Day Demonstration

The May Day demonstrations organized by the Communist Party this year, when taken throughout the country as a whole, were bigger and more impressive than any before in its history. Even when we discount any wildly exaggerated figures of numbers participating and accept a realistic estimate of, for example, about 40,000 in the New York march, 20,000 in Chicago and 8,000 in Minneapolis, it affords a good cross section of the splendid working class response. First of all, this, of course, bears testimony to the effects of the yet deepening crisis moving the American workers toward the Left. But it is also worth noting that, while the Socialist Party this year ventured into street demonstrations of a sort in several cities, it attracted only much smaller numbers. In this comparison we exclude Milwaukee, where the Socialist Party is in control of the city administration.

We have, therefore, in politically backward America a growing response to Communism, a distinct growth of Communist influence. That is clearly expressed in the May Day demonstrations. Also we have an ever more distinct expression of the fact that the new forces set into motion gravitate toward the official Communist Party. That is in the nature of things and holds bright prospects for the party's future. But it should be a telling answer to those disappointed "revolutionists" who persist in looking for revolutionary awakening separate and apart from the party. They will themselves only remain hopelessly outside of the movement.

In practically all of the major cities the party further affirmed the right of the working class to demonstrate for its demands on the International Labor Holiday. In this sense the demonstrations were militant turnouts. And we can say this, even when discounting the disgraceful scene of attacks upon Left Oppositionists in Minneapolis. But yet, compared to these turnouts, the party weaknesses as an actively moving force in the class struggle are all too apparent. Such a comparison reveals an enormous gap which must be closed.

Experiences from Recent Struggles

The gap is revealed most glaringly in the fields where the party leads actual struggles. We are not speaking in this instance of the question of militancy de-

DEBATE

J. W. W. Representative
Communist Representative

Is the Program of the J. W. W.
Sufficient for the
Emancipation of the
Working Class?

AFFIRMATIVE:

C. B. Ellis
Editor, Industrial Solidarity

NEGATIVE:

James P. Cannon
Communist League of America
(Opposition)

SATURDAY, MAY 14th at 8 P. M.
at the
LABOR TEMPLE

14th Street and Second Avenue
ADMISSION: 20 Cents

Auspices: Joint Arrangement Committee

played in such struggles—though that is important in itself and cannot be disputed—but we are speaking here purely in the sense of how does the party lead and what support has accrued to its leadership. We will mention only some of the outstanding examples. There is, first of all, the Pennsylvania and Ohio miners strike of last year. A splendid struggle with excellent militancy displayed. Yet it did not result in a strengthening of the miners positions, organizationally or otherwise. It failed entirely to unite the Left wing and progressive forces in the mine fields. Today there is very little of the National Miners union organized in these districts. We experienced the Paterson and Lawrence textile workers strikes. The party, through the T. U. U. L. union had the leadership of a section of the workers in both places. Yet it conducted a strike policy which resulted in a comparative strengthening of the A. F. of L. forces and a weakening of the Left wing. Practically the same situation has resulted from the recent strike of the New York needle trades workers. To this should be added the fact that the struggle for the unemployed, despite the very large demonstrations at the beginning of the crisis today, has narrowed down to a movement almost exclusively of the conscious vanguard alone.

What is the Policy Pursued?

How can such a contradiction be possible? We witness a splendid response to the May Day demonstrations organized by the party while in actual struggles it fails to really win the working class confidence and loses ground. The reason for this must be sought essentially in the policies and methods the party leadership pursues. It is not to be sought merely in the question of insufficient party contacts in the factories, nor in the smaller items which are being brought out in so-called self-criticism. Voluminous theses and resolutions have been written on these questions without, however, striking at the essential issue. With a correct policy and a correct orientation these difficulties—although they are considerable—could nevertheless easily be overcome. What is involved is essentially the failure of an orientation which will unite the workers in struggle.

The important question confronting the Communist Party today is particularly the one of a correct united front policy. We have no intention at all to propose that a united front policy is a universal solution for all times and under all conditions. On the contrary we think that the method pursued in the May Day demonstrations of a purely formal united front appearance does not at all serve the purpose. May Day demonstrations have become a revolutionary tradition and should be so maintained. It would be far more correct for the party to conduct these demonstrations in its own name, also in the formal sense, and call upon the working class to give its support on that basis. For the participation in the coming elections this is more so the case. The party has the duty of presenting a Communist program and entering Communist candidates and appealing for the working class support to Communism. To assume a formal guise of a united front election activity is merely to confuse the essential issues and does not help in the least.

The matter of actual struggles for the elementary needs of the workers is, however, an entirely different affair. And that holds true under politically advanced conditions as well. In Germany today, the threatening danger of Fascism demands imperatively the working class united front. In the United States today the conditions of the working class struggle demands it just as imperatively.

Tom Mooney Must Be Freed!

Free Tom Mooney! Free Tom Mooney! shouted tens of thousands of workers in New York's May Day parade. Free Tom Mooney!—with a spirit the rain could not dampen. One knew that all over the United States hundreds of thousands of his fellow workers were shouting the same demand with the same spirit. It was the voice of the class conscious vanguard, the future troops of the revolution, demanding the freedom of the living symbol of their struggle against capitalism. One had only to hear the measured beat, the deep tone of their shouting to realize how profoundly stirred they were by the monumental hypocrisy and brazen impudence of that watch-dog of capitalism, his excellency, the governor of California, he, who "convicted" himself of Mooney's guilt and refused to free him.

Free Tom Mooney! It was the response of the American working class to the impassioned cry of Mooney himself against this latest insulting verdict of capitalist class justice. Mooney's letter of April 23 to Ralph says clearly that his place is in the ranks of this vanguard, in the front rank of the war against capitalism. Tom Mooney—has today grown to be a mighty oak, admittedly too dangerous to be at liberty during this desperate economic crisis, because he symbolizes the onward march of the revolutionary workers toward a better civilization—"You have continued in the role of your predecessors in making of me a symbol of the cause of labor. I accept the high honor you have conferred upon me with the greatest of humility. This service I will ungrudgingly render to my class, with the greatest of devotion, loyalty and fidelity. I give—gladly and willingly—my very life to the cause of the toilers all over the world, regardless of race, color, creed or nationality. I will never cease this holy struggle until every last instrument used in this dastardly frame-up is completely liquidated and a classless society will replace what now passes for civilization." This is revolutionary talk.

Under the circumstances, for what better mandate to organize the movement to free Mooney could Communists ask? Mooney is ours even in his thinking. Will we take his mandate and mobilize the masses behind the vanguard? This depends now upon the leadership of the Communist Party.

This has been amply demonstrated in the very strikes mentioned above. The building of a serious Unemployed Movement is quite inconceivable without an approach to the existing workers organizations for united pressure to obtain the demands which in reality involves the employed and unemployed alike. A serious movement for the liberation of Tom Mooney, the Scottsboro boys and all class war prisoners requires this tactic. And above all, the defense of the American working class in the present reactionary onslaughts upon their elementary rights and conditions demand a definite change toward employing the united front tactic.

—A. S.

OPPOSITIONISTS SLUGGED IN MINNEAPOLIS ON MAY DAY

By comparison with standards established during the past few years, the Minneapolis May Day demonstration was a gratifying event. Without doubt it was the largest turnout of workers for a parade and demonstration since 1924. The method of assembling the workers from the different sections for general mobilization at Bridge Square was well

(Continued on page 2)

The responsibility is theirs. The rank and file has already demonstrated its determination to fight. What is necessary now is to begin without delay a serious approach to the whole working class with the idea of setting them in motion for the freedom of Mooney. They must be approached in the first instance through their organizations.

We do not care how reactionary the leaders of the reformist organizations are, the cause of Mooney is dear to their rank and file. And our mandate gives us the right to be heard. If for the nonce the shouters of names, the Stalinists, will restrain their vocabulary of epithets and denunciations, will substitute for slander and abuse the simple proposal of a united front of working class organization on the sole issue of freeing Mooney, the Communists can and will succeed in winning the support of the workers. Of the possibilities which this would open up for the fight for relief and for Communist influence, we need not speak here.

The Stalinists insist nowadays upon being assured in advance of the leadership of any movement they enter. For example this is what they proposed to the Marine Workers' Defense Committee. Failing this they make every attempt to smash the movement. They smashed the Mooney conferences in Staunton and Belleville, Illinois last winter because they could not slander their way into the leadership. In Minneapolis and St. Louis—the same story.

Mooney has almost guaranteed that the Communists shall lead the movement for his freedom. What are the Stalinists waiting for? Do they want personal

appointments written on the stationery of the Comintern and witnessed by a notary? What holds them back? What limits them to demonstrations of the vanguard and street runs?

They have reached an impasse. The masses, it is now clear even to them, are not their property and do not obey their beck and call. They must now go to the masses in their organizations and work with them as equals. For this they have every requisite in the objective situation and every help from Mooney. But for this they must throw overboard their fake united front from below and their ideological weapons of slander and abuse.

This turn is not easily made. There are the "counter-revolutionary" Trotskyites who have been agitating for this turn right along. They will lose face when the party rank and file sees that the "counter-revolutionists" were correct after all. Bureaucratic prestige is no small matter. It is not to be lightly thrown away.

The party rank and file can resolve this dilemma. It can raise its voice through discussion and resolution. It can and must say that it demands the immediate calling of genuine united front conferences of all working class organizations on the sole issue of fighting for Mooney's freedom.

For its part, the Left Opposition will continue to hammer home this theme. And when the conferences are convened, as in time they must, we will enter them to fight with the party rank and file for the freedom of Mooney, for the unity of the Communist vanguard and the advance of Communism.

—T. S.

France After the Parliamentary Elections

The victory of Herriot's Radical-Socialist party in last Sunday's run-off elections in France only culminated the recent trend toward the bourgeois Left in that country. The Radical-Socialists who, as one of the writers in the capitalist press so aptly puts it, are neither socialists nor radicals, gained some forty-three seats, rising from 113 to 156. The socialists, the French section of the Second International received an increase of twenty-three seats making their present total in the Chamber of Deputies 129. All the Right wing bourgeois parties lost heavily, especially the party of Tardieu. The Communists retained their 12 seats (Two former Communist deputies in the French parliament had been expelled from the French party and that accounts for the false figure of 10 representatives ascribed to the C. P. in the old house by the bourgeois press. The acknowledged parliamentary leader of the French Communists, Marcel Cachin, suffered defeat in a constituency from which he had been returned to the Chamber time and again for years.

The capitalist press expresses surprise that the French moderates should attain such an advance so shortly after the constant gains of the reactionaries in Germany. But there is nothing at all to be surprised in all this. The Radical-Socialists have not for one moment concealed their intention to uphold the traditional French policy, the unconditional defense of the treaty gains of the world war, through which France has obtained her immoderately expanded political domination in Europe. On the other hand, the French politicians know full well that a reactionary regime in Germany will be even more dependent upon French "good will"—because of the in-

ternal situation such a regime would produce in the Reich—than the present Bruening government. Taking all this into consideration, it costs the French bourgeoisie very little to provide a safety valve for the growing dissatisfaction of the masses languishing under the rapidly progressing economic crisis—in this self-same Radical-Socialist party.

Despite the election trick of Tardieu—the attempt to utilize the assassination of President Doumer by a White Guard Russian for the purpose of creating a wave of reaction through misrepresenting the assassin as an "agent of the Comintern"—the "coud reasoning" of the republican bourgeoisie prevailed in the elections. Herriot and his followers are preparing to take the helm. Their position, as a result of last Sunday's poll is so strong that they are not directly obliged to any of the other parties for support. Naturally, the leaders of the socialist party, greedy for the ministerial chairs, are making all sorts of overtures to the victors. But, from indications in the press, it appears that the latter are more inclined to bargain with the Centre parties, allegedly for the purpose of avoiding any serious repercussion on the Bourgeoisie that might result from the constitution of a "Left" cabinet. Painleve, the Herriot men's choice to succeed Doumer in the presidency according to the latest newspaper reports has withdrawn in favor of Lebrun, the candidate of the Centre-Right, so as to "maintain national unity and the continuity made necessary by the President's death." If this report is true then a definite trend toward collaboration between the election victors and Tardieu is in order.

The results, in so far as the Communists are concerned, are not very encouraging. The French party has barely been able to hold its own, at a time when increased unemployment, wage reductions and general poverty sweep the country. Reports are still forthcoming as to how the party carried on its election campaign, but judging from the results, it could not have been anything but defective. In France, which is commonly known to be the hearth of reaction in the world today and which also figures most prominently in all plots and planned attacks against the Soviet Union, the importance of influencing the working class in a revolutionary direction, is self-evident. To allow the reformists and the bourgeois demagogues to canalize the resentment of the toiling masses of France at this time is especially dangerous. The future will bring far greater tests than the elections. If the French Communists are to be prepared for them, the policy of the party which is closely bound up with the entire policy of the Comintern must be re-orientated accordingly. The results of the French elections represent another warning for the Communists and the revolutionary workers. They point to the necessity we have stressed time and again, of reexamining the fundamental principles, strategy and tactics of our International.

The Police Shootings in Melrose Park

Last Friday witnessed another manifestation of Capitalist democracy in this land of the free and home of the brave. In one of the suburbs of Chicago, in Melrose Park, the brave defenders of law and order opened up a volley of machine gun fire on a meeting of unarmed, defenseless unemployed workers who had gathered to protest against police brutality and to demand the elementary right of free speech, of demonstrating in common against the ravages of the capitalist economic order which has reduced some twelve million toilers to starvation in the United States alone.

Nine workers were wounded, three of them seriously. The shooting took place with the approval and under the command of the local authorities of Melrose Park, known for their intimate connections to the local industrial nabobs, the American Can Company. American legionnaires, racketeers and reactionaries of every description participated on the side of the authorities. In reporting the event, even the capitalist press had to assume an apologetic tone, in line with its general hypocrisy. The Melrose Park incident will take its place together with the Chicago massacre of

last summer and the Detroit murders of this winter, as a characterization of the desperate methods the ruling class employs against workers who dare to voice their discontent with the economic conditions it imposes upon them.

It is by such examples that the bosses intend to cow the hungry unemployed to abject submission in the face of their misery. But these methods have been tried before. The millions of jobless and their families will not suffer in silence. They will fight. They are realizing more and more that the only way out for them is through struggle.

Determined and against outrages of the Melrose Park type can be understood as a necessity by all workers. The Communist party, having the interests of the working class at heart at all times, sensing its needs at every moment and pointing out the road to it at each step, must take the lead in unfolding such a broad action by penetrating into every trade union, into every factory, into every workers organization with a proposal for an extensive united front against police brutality and the right of free speech and assembly for the workers.

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

A Criticism of the Needle Trades Article

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Dear Comrades:

My attention has been called, somewhat belatedly it is true but still in time, to the article in the April 15 issue of *The Militant*, entitled "Left Wing Victory or Treacherous Bargain." The appearance of an article of this type over the signature of J. P. Cannon is cause for great concern—concern for the revolutionary integrity of *The Militant* and apprehension for the honest detachment of comrade Cannon. It is quite in order for the Right wing of the C. P.—the Lovestonettes, to besmirch themselves with fabrication woven out of their own disordered minds, but for *The Militant* to fall a victim to as openly treacherous and perfidious a piece of work that has ever been attempted by the Schlesinger Right wing, is to almost believe in the possibility of the impossible. Amongst a few misleading statements comrade Cannon makes, is one that "The third group, the weakest numerically and one that came to life only recently and has played very little part in the life of the local, is the 'Left wing' group directed by the C. P." This statement is absurd. The slightest knowledge of the situation in the International L. G. W. U. and especially Local 9 points out clearly that the strongest forces of the Left groups are concentrated in Local 9. The Left group of Local 9 was the first to defeat the \$3.75 tax, proposed by the International administration. In the elections for the Executive of Local 9, last December, the predominant Kirtzman-Lovestonette Bloc was so uncertain of its ability to retain control over the Local that it opened a speakers' bureau, approved John Lewis vote-stealing methods, etc., (all ancient history). Here was a perfect opportunity for the I. L. G. W. U. administration to order the election illegal and corrupt and call for new elections, thereby practically assuring the defeat of the Kirtzman Bloc. It did not grasp this "opportunity". The reason is apparent and especially to the Right wing forces. Another inaccuracy: "The Left wing group", states comrade Cannon, "came to life only recently." By inference this would compel one to believe the group was formed "recently". Not so. It is a fact that the group has been in existence since early 1930 and was incorporated in the officially organized Left wing groups in March, 1931. All these misstatements pale into insignificance beside the major charge, the idea of a secret deal. Does comrade Cannon know that a leaflet was distributed publicly by the Right wing group endorsing the Left wing candidate. Was this also part of the deal? The cloakmakers knew all along that the "Rights" had endorsed the "Left" slate. There was no mystery about this such as Cannon's article attempts to create. Does Cannon believe the discredited Right wing endorsement through a leaflet would rebound to the credit of the Left group. Certainly not, one would have to be dull and stupid to believe this! Manifestly, this was an attempt on the part of the bloc and infamous Schlesinger group to swing votes to the fake progressives. This is borne out by the bloc of the Right and Center in Local 1 and a separate Right wing slate in Local 22. The bloc between these two "opposing" camps in the recent Dress Strike betrayal is additional evidence, if more is needed.

Otherwise comrade Cannon's remarks on the "Company Union and slogan of 'Unity' are absolutely correct and valid. I can only conclude that comrade Cannon was misinformed by a few overzealous Left Oppositionists. I hope to see this letter appear in the columns of *The Militant* as a sign of good faith on the part of the Editorial Board of *The Militant*.

Yours for Unity in the Class Struggle,
—A. BOJARSKY.
(Reply to comrade Bojarsky's criticism appears on page 4.—Ed.)

The Bureaucrats Act against Oppositionist on Waterfront
NEW YORK, N. Y.

When that old fogey, Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union, back in 1921, threw out members of the Union from the hall, after they had fought militantly on the picket line for over three months, because they exposed the sell-out policy of his leadership, I thought that American seamen would never allow such a bureaucracy to grow again in their unions. But history seems to repeat itself.

When I stepped into the Marine Workers Industrial Union hall last Monday morning, as I have done almost daily for the past eight months, I was immediately accosted by half a dozen huskies and ushered into the office for the purpose of identification concerning the author of an article that appeared in *The Militant* of February 2, which dealt with general conditions on the waterfront.

After some fruitless efforts at questioning and record searching, I went back into the hall and was there immediately surrounded by Hudson, secretary of the union, and his Chinovniks, some of whom smelled strongly of bootleg liquor. All of them crowded around me with insulting remarks. When a certain Gallagher pointed me out as the writer of the article, Hudson thundered, shaking his fist under my nose: "Get the hell out of this hall or we'll throw you out. You dare write articles about me in *The Militant*!"

I protested that I am still a member of the union, and that if I have done anything wrong, I have a right to get an open hearing before the membership. Hudson, again swinging his fist, threatening, replied by shouting: "See this—here is your hearing."

In due respect to the property and the office equipment of the union, which would have been damaged in the scuffle had the provocateurs succeeded in starting it, I left the hall, calling to the attention of the comrades the actions of the bureaucracy.

Readers will recall that the article in question criticized the point of view of this same Hudson that American seamen are "relatively better off than the other workers", that they have not felt the effects of the crisis and that their wages have not been cut generally. The official party has often encouraged criticism—self and otherwise—from the membership. But it seems that standards and limitations are established by the few bureaucrats who are in control of the apparatus.

If anyone were to say that all this "encouragement" of criticism is merely a ruse of the official leadership, the average rank and file will object: that is the correct line of the party and the union—the line laid down by Lenin. But let a member from the floor arise and attempt genuine discussion. Instantly he finds himself jeered and made uncomfortable. The bureaucrats appear to want only yes-men.

The sincere worker and honest critic has to fight his way. He is almost certain to be unpopular, to be in a minority. Often he finds himself outside of the union and forced to go into another organization. When I walked out of the union hall, several members followed me and expressed their disagreement with the actions of Hudson and his gang. They told me that my criticism had been correct and has in some respects already been effective in the activities of the union. The delegates to the Soviet Union are no longer selected as formerly, but under pressure from the rank and file, are now being elected from among the membership. The article of Hudson we quoted has been condemned and likewise the splitting tactics of the functionaries.

It is a common truth that everything that is good and healthy in the Soviet Union can be traced back to the program of the Left Opposition. This is also true on every smaller battlefield. The Opposition has to show the way, in spite of the attempts of the bureaucrats to discredit it.

The bureaucracy of the M. W. I. U. has its roots not only in the National Office or in the party. They can be traced down through the R. I. L. U. to the very doorsteps of Stalin. The manifestations of new life in the Marine Union are certainly heartening. But they are only temporary and we cannot hope for any real change of policies until the Left Opposition is readmitted into the Comintern and the Russian party. Only with the readmission of the Left Opposition under the leadership of comrade Trotsky will all the ill—all the splits and groupings—vanish and the Communist forces once more united against the capitalist class and its lackeys.

—PAUL SCHWALBE.

From a Railroad Worker

Dear Comrade:

I wrote to the railroad worker L— at Kansas City. I also wrote a similar letter to a railroad fireman at Everett, Wash. L— is a locomotive engineer on the Kansas City Terminal Ry., and a member of Division No. 824, B. of L. E. The brother at Everett is, S—. He is local grievance man for his Lodge at that point on the Great Northern Railway, Cascade Division. I ran a locomotive on that Division in the summer of 1907. I was a visiting member of brother S—'s Lodge several times that summer. The Lodge is No. 601. I sent brother S— a Six months sub. for *The Militant*. I am working on both S—, L— and other progressive minded railroad workers throughout the country with the view of building up a minority Left wing, on a National scale, inside of the Railroad Unions upon a program of definite proposals. Economic development has already made the workers more responsible to practical proposals and slogans, even if they instinctively know that they are proposed by Communists.

On Sunday, April 24th, C. R. Hedlund attended a Union meeting of all Twin City Lodges of Locomotive Firemen. This meeting was the culmination of several months efforts on the part of the Left wing locally under Communist guidance. We are working on the idea of setting up a local machinery for the holding of periodical Union meetings of all railroad workers to break down craft isolation and permit the R. R. workers to get together in big meetings and there to take up some of the most burning questions for discussion and treatment. This will give the Left wing the opportunity to furnish the rank and file with program and leadership, and it will also give us an opportunity to expose the bankruptcy of the Brotherhood bureaucrats and their do-nothing policy.

Although all Firemen's official meetings are supposed to be strictly secret and admission is only gained by submission of secret password and grip. C. R. Hedlund was not only admitted to address the meeting but was invited to remain until its close and was also permitted to participate in the discussion. He spoke to the meeting on the role of the two administrations of the B. of L. E. and the B. of L. F. & E. were playing in trying to keep him and other militants from joining the ranks of our organized brothers. I also stressed the vital necessity of amalgamating these small and helpless 21 railroad crafts; on paying labor officials union wages and not a thousand dollars per month when one half of the union membership was out of work of any kind; and for us full-time workers to divide the work with those brothers who have been laid off until such time that we can mobilize a movement to secure a six hour day: He also urged the necessity of providing for Union meetings of all R. R. workers. All of it was enthusiastically received. He was then successful in getting the B. of L. E. members invited also to their next Union meeting which will take place in the Lodge Hall of No. 814 of the Firemen on the evening of May 24th.

May Day in Minneapolis

(Continued from page 1)

thought out. The sections in the various parts of the city and along the line of march up Nicollet Ave. to the Parade Grounds, were adequately and effectively directed. If those workers who followed the marchers along the sidewalks are taken into consideration, the numbers participating in the meeting and march will easily reach 10,000.

Literally hundreds of placards and banners of revolutionary significance were carried by the marchers. Communist party banners almost without exception. Communist literature was the only kind on sale, Communist buttons and tags calling for a struggle against imperialism war, were everywhere in evidence. It was, beyond the slightest possibility of a doubt the official party's demonstration.

Merely to say that the Party led the demonstration would be to ignore the real attitude of the party leadership. The party really dominated this May Day. From the first propaganda letter to the last word from the platform on the Parade Grounds. This was done by the simple expedient of mechanical exclusion of all workers and organizations who were even suspected of harboring any difference on any political question. During the weeks just before May Day, after the call had been issued. The Communist League (Left Opposition) on several occasions sent representatives and delegates to the meetings which were called "united front" meetings. In each case, our comrades were denied admittance to the hall and refused all opportunity for work within the "united front".

Now it must be clearly understood by the workers who read this article, that the Communist League and most of its friends, knew beforehand what to expect from the party leadership and were therefore prepared. After being rudely excluded from the meetings of the committee on agreements, our comrades and friends proceeded, under instructions from the League, collectively and as individuals, to work for the success of the demonstration. The League issued a special leaflet calling upon the workers to turn out for May Day and support the central demonstration. Our comrades and their close supporters were instructed to assemble in the different sections and join the marches to Bridge Square, to take an active part in the meeting and to assist in every way possible in making the main march, a militant and impressive event.

Our loyal and effective work for the success of the May Day meeting most effectively branded as lies, the vicious tales circulated by the party leadership. They were, of course, not content to let our conduct in the meeting further expose them and decided to provoke trouble at any cost. This took the form, in the march up Nicollet Ave., of an attack upon three of our comrades, who were in their places in the column.

These comrades, M. and G. Dunne and Louis Roseland were conducting themselves as Communists should, they were carrying Communist literature which called upon the workers to join the demonstration. Several of the party workers guards, acting no doubt, under the mistaken idea that they were doing their duty, grappled with these comrades, tore the literature from them and trampled it under foot. During the scuffle that ensued, reinforcements were called by one of the lesser bureaucrats, who jeered as our comrades were overpowered and Roseland was slugged about the head, receiving a bad cut over the right eye. This display was the most violent act of the day, by the Party workers but by no means the most alarming manifestation of non-Communist attitude towards workers.

At the entrance to the Parade Grounds, worker guards had been stationed in impressive numbers. The task that had been assigned them was, to prevent the comrades of Trotsky from entering the grounds with literature of any kind on their persons. Further, the guards demanded that our comrades keep silent, not to discuss with the workers. The demand was "No Communist leaflets, no talking at this 'united front' meeting".

Only a few short weeks ago, right here in Minneapolis, the police made the same demands upon the very worker guards who carried out this task. The bosses' cops backed up the demands also with threats and with slugging.

It is not our purpose to intimate, in any way, that the worker guards are in league with the police. Not by any means, but we know that it is our duty to bring to the attention of the worker Communists, the false attitude forced upon them by the doubly false and badly frightened leadership. Only terrified bureaucrats could issue this kind of instructions or condone such actions in the ranks of the party of Lenin. Communism made gains in Minne-

:: ORGANIZATION NOTES ::

From time to time we have in these columns emphasized the activities of individual branches. Naturally in this respect the bigger and better established ones can show a better record, but that is only a quantitative difference. A review of the work accomplished during the winter months, which are now about coming to a close, would affirm our contention of steady but slow growth, though not yet to the point of taking advantage of the opportunities available.

With but one exception every branch increased its membership during the winter. Three new branches were added. They have so far shown up well. In Cleveland we have as members among others the very early Left Oppositionists such as John Brahtin, Joe Keller, Leo Gleisser and others. This branch undertook extensive propaganda activities from its inception. It held weekly open forum meetings, the secretary reporting excellent audiences usually composed of native American workers in the main. But the branch has taken up work also in other fields. It has organized a Jewish workers club and *Unser Kampf* now enjoys a good circulation in Cleveland. The new branch in Youngstown is numerically smaller and therefore has had to contend itself with more modest activities. In the main the comrades there have conducted individual propaganda, making some very valuable contacts and extended the *Militant* circulation. From our new branch in Newark, N. J. we have already carried several reports which give testimony to its substantial activities.

Regular open forums have been conducted during the winter months by the branches of New York, Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Louis and for a while in Kansas City. The St. Louis branch, despite its small numbers, made particular energetic efforts in this respect. Some very excellent meetings were held and a general good attendance came to the forum. As a result new members have now been taken into the ranks. In St. Louis the

Communist movement has never been numerically strong, which first of all accounts for the smallness of the Left Opposition. Yet our members from the beginning led in important activities in the city, particularly in unemployment demonstrations. After that it suffered a relapse and disappeared for a while but became reorganized again and is now going forward. It has now many new good contacts.

Spartacus Youth Clubs have been organized so far by the branches of New York, Minneapolis and St. Louis. Jewish workers clubs have been organized in New York and Cleveland. Study classes have been conducted this winter by the branches of New York, Chicago, Minneapolis, Philadelphia and for a while in Boston. While the Philadelphia branch has gained new members it has lately suffered under the handicap of two of its most active and leading comrades Morgenstern and Goodman serving a term in prison for their revolutionary activities. Both comrades will, however, be released by May 17th and can thus soon be welcomed back into the active ranks, again strengthening the Philadelphia branch and the Left Opposition as a whole.

Our members have everywhere taken their place in the ranks of the general working class struggle and given an account with credit to themselves. It is necessary, however, to state that on this score there is still much to be desired. But the obstacles in the way are mainly the ones of the natural limitations set for an opposition group. For example in many instances the party bureaucrats yet succeeded in setting up barriers to our participation in "United Front" activities. But in regard to this we can also affirm that these walls of isolation are being broken through.

Our Toronto branch has recorded irrefutable proof of this. At the onslaught by the reactionary authorities upon the official Communist Party, our branch took its position, after some hesitation as to how to proceed, squarely for the party defense. It made valuable contributions for effective united front organization of the defense. So much so that its co-operation became quite generally accepted—at least without any open bureaucratic hostility. Our members were in the thick of the defense work and thus able to demonstrate in actual practice our readiness for a united fight for the Communist principles. That practical example helped to further the prestige and strengthen the sympathetic contacts for the Left Opposition. It is to be expected that the Toronto branch will now go forward to new growth.

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polis on May Day. We of the Communist League (Opposition) understand this. The League comrades are proud of their part in these achievements.

—RA.

THE MILITANT

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Pioneer Publishers Notes

The Spanish Revolution
The Spanish Revolution which began a year ago is not yet completed. Things are happening in Spain, and the reformists of all description are retarding the forward movement of the proletariat. Only a correct Communist policy can lead the Spanish workers and exploited farmers to full emancipation from the capitalist yoke. Read what Trotsky has to say in his two pamphlets "The Spanish Revolution", 10c; and "The Spanish Revolution in Danger", 15c. We have only 60 copies left of the first pamphlet. Get yours before they are all gone.

Germany
To fully understand the events as they are shaping themselves in Germany at present, every militant worker should read "Germany, the Key to the International Situation" a small Ten Cent pamphlet. Trotsky has written a new book on the subject, supplementing this— "What Next?—Vital Questions for the German Proletariat." We expect to go to press with this book in a month. It will consist of about 200 pages and sell at 50c.

Bound Volumes of Pamphlets
All the pamphlets marked with a * in our list of publications, printed elsewhere in *The Militant*, will be bound into one volume and sell for \$2 a copy. We have a limited number of 100 copies. To make sure you get yours, send your order at once, enclosing payment.

Draft Program
The "Draft Program of the Communist International—A Criticism of Fundamentals," is entirely out of print. We need 25 copies of the paper edition to complete our 100 copies for the bound volume. If you have a copy send it to us and we will reimburse you, or credit you with the price toward the purchase of one of the volumes of pamphlets. "Strategy of the World Revolution" is the second part of this criticism.

China
"Problems of the Chinese Revolution," a book of 480 pages, will be ready for shipment within two weeks. Paper cover, \$1. Cloth bound, \$1.50. Send your order now as we need funds to rush out the book on Germany immediately after this book.

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Certificate holders are reminded that they are entitled to 33 1/3% discount from their purchases of our publications. The certificates are now ready and will be mailed to all those who paid their full amount of \$10. Those who can afford to buy a certificate now are strongly urged to do so as it will greatly help us to extend our publishing work, to include all the Marxian classics. If you have already purchased one of these certificates, send in your name and address to Pioneer Publishers.

Make Our Press Drive a Success!

We go to press in the middle of the second week of the final month of the press drive. We are therefore temporarily unable to comment on the results of the collections. This we will do next week.

The results of distribution week are full of interest. For example, comrade Milton of the New York branch went out to Union Square with a bundle of three hundred copies of recent back numbers of *The Militant*. By announcing "Communism or Fascism in Germany by Leon Trotsky" in a loud voice, he disposed of all he had in about fifteen minutes. An hour later he repeated. It was the same wherever we distributed free.

Because of the free distributions the results fell off a little. We are confident that next week we will more than make up for this slight lull. Our sympathizers are still responding with excellent spirit. A comrade writes from Rockford, Ill., "Although the times are very hard and I have been unemployed for a whole year now, I would not miss one single copy of *The Militant*. So I went out and loaned a dollar from a close friend of mine in order to put up my sub. I will try to take advantage of the sub drive and see if I can't earn me a copy of Trotsky's *WHAT NEXT?* and at the same time stabilize the circulation of *The Militant* here in Rockford." Go to it, comrade!

The quotas and results to date are as follows:

	Quotas	Results
New York	\$ 325	\$ 63.00
Minneapolis	200	29.50
Chicago	100	3.00
Toronto	70	
Philadelphia	40	
Cleveland	40	
Boston	40	
Newark	35	2.50
Kansas City	30	2.00
St. Louis	25	
Los Angeles	20	4.00
Youngstown	10	
New Haven	10	
Montreal	10	
Duluth	10	
Springfield, Ill. ..	10	

Sixteen subs were reported last week bringing the total for the entire drive up to 203. Eight of these were brought in by the New York branch tightening its hold on first place. Minneapolis will have to step on it if they want to regain their lost honors. The standing of the branches now is: New York—79; Minneapolis—65; Chicago—12; Newark—4; Boston—4; Youngstown—4; Kansas City—2; Miscellaneous—30; St. Louis, Montreal and Philadelphia remain where they were at one each. We call attention to the appearance in the standing, for the first time, of Kansas City. Keep it up, K. C.!

For the remaining weeks of the drive all emphasis must be placed on the financial end of it. Remember that the life of the weekly *Militant* depends directly upon the success of the drive. No effort must be spared. Money must be raised. Wherever there is a dollar it must be piled loose from its owner. All sympathizers should be canvassed for donations. Sympathizers should not wait to be canvassed. They should respond at once. No amount is too large, no amount is too small. Everybody do what he can! Let us insure the regular appearance of the weekly *MILITANT*.

Make use of the combined Sub rate of \$2.00 for a year's Sub to *THE MILITANT* and *YOUNG SPARTACUS*.

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IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Int. Right Wing on Verge of Disruption

Leader of Czech Group Protest Brandler-Thalheimer Slanders Against Trotsky

We are bringing below a letter sent by Alois Neurath, one of the chiefs of the Brandler Right wing in Czechoslovakia, to his Berlin friends. The whole spirit of this document is indicative of the ferment that is taking place in the Right wing International. Faced with serious tests of Communist struggle, the fungus growth of Brandlerism is rapidly disintegrating. The splitting away of the Walcher-Froelich group in Germany, the decomposition of the Right wing in Czechoslovakia and Austria have caused a panic among the summits of the Brandler organization. Brandler has sent out a heart-rending appeal for an international meet of the stress on the extraordinary importance of the American Lovestone group participating in it. What will Brandler do when he discovers that his American bulwark is also breaking up and capitulating to the Stalinists? That is not very hard to guess. . . . The internal situation in the camp of world Communism is clearing up. The collapse of the Right wing will only permit the voice of the Left Opposition to be heard all the more strongly by all the worker Communists.

Prague, March 28, 1932

To comrades Brandler and

Thalheimer:

Dear Comrades:

In the last number of the *Arpo* (Arbeiterrötte) the Berlin organ of the Brandlerites you publish, under the heading "Trotsky as the guardian saint of the S. A. P." a calumny of Trotsky. That is nothing new. Trotsky has been slandered and calumniated by the *Arpo* for months. You have never even attempted to take an objective position toward the views of Trotsky. You have, moreover, avoided taking such a position as long as the opposition which has been grouped about you internationally, exists. More than two years ago, at the international conference in Berlin, we decided at that time to carry on this discussion in the *Interkom* (international discussion bulletin of the Right wing). These decisions remained paper decisions, although, aside from the Austrian group, no other section of the international opposition approved of your position in the Trotsky question.

These facts and the results of your latest national conference have made necessary the convocation of an international conference. The question of the decision with regard to the minority (Walcher-Froelich) was, as I said in my brief salutatory address, not simply a German affair, but a concern of the international opposition. After your national conference, there still remained the hope that you will make up for lost time by putting this question up for discussion before an international conference. The convocation of an international conference, in so far as I know, has been demanded by all groups of the opposition. It has become urgently necessary not only on account of the position toward Trotsky and the German minority, but also and particularly on account of your evaluation of the C. I. policy as well as that of the Russian section in the C. I. Your thesis, that the C. I. policy in the entire world is false, but inside of the U. S. S. R., correct, would most certainly not be approved at an international conference. In this sense I spoke at our National Conference in Asch. We were prepared to wait for the international conference, to clear up all the disputed, fundamental questions there. You are not thinking of calling an international conference. Without any regard for the views of the comrades in the other countries, you hold firmly to the thesis that whatever is being done by the C. I. in the U. S. is correct, that

whatever it does in the rest of the world is false—in the *Arpo* and in *Gegen den Strom*. Naturally, you have the right of propagating this view in the name of your group. But since the unification of the various foreign groups has resulted in an international opposition, the impression must not be given, as long as no discussion has taken place, that your position is in accord with that of the other groups. That is by no means the case.

How unsufferable this condition has become, may be seen, among other things, from the position you take toward Trotsky. In the article cited above, you reprint part of Trotsky's work *What Next*. You add there the remark "And with regard to the step Walcher-Froelich have taken, he says that it means a step forward".

You have, of course, read Trotsky's pamphlet quite thoroughly. You are therefore consciously calumniating, for you know well that Trotsky did not write that, but the contrary, Trotsky writes: "The minority considers an independent and active policy necessary, that is directed not only against Remmele, but against the course and the regime of the Stalin bureaucracy in the U. S. S. R. and in the Comintern. If we interpret the position of Walcher-Froelich correctly, on the basis of the as yet inadequate material we have at

hand, then it means a step forward in this question."

This is what Trotsky writes, and at that, at a time when he could not have known that Walcher and Froelich had given up their organizational independence and gone over directly to the S. A. P. Trotsky therefore emphasizes the independent policy of this group and calls that a step forward. Why, then, do you deceive the readers of the *Arpo* so manifestly? Why the manifest calumny? Does Trotsky welcome their going over to the S. A. P.? These are just the methods of the present C. I. and of the papers of their sections. When, on the basis of such slanders, you come to the conclusion that Walcher is creating out of the S. A. P. an auxiliary troop for Trotsky's Russian factional struggle, you overlook entirely and completely that another conclusion must follow from this: Namely, that you want to make not only out of the C. P. G. O. (Brandler group), but of the other opposition groups, auxiliary troops for Stalin in the Russian factional struggle.

The opposition arose and could only exist in the struggle against Stalin's national and international policies, since and in so far as these policies, in their entirety contradict the Leninist fundamentals. When you returned from the Soviet Union, you yourselves took that

position. Only gradually you left this position. Since you could not and did not want to attain a firm position against Stalin's policies, disintegration has become the fate of the C. P. G. O. The international opposition cannot avoid this fate, if it will not decide to take a critical position toward the internal policy of the C. P. S. U. as well as to the whole policy of the Comintern, the mistakes of which have their roots in the erroneous policy of the C. P. S. U.

Precisely the events in Germany make it the duty of all oppositionists to draw the line, clearly and distinctly, before the criminally erroneous policy of the C. I. Personally, I am completely in accord with the views Trotsky has expressed on Fascism, on the tasks of the C. P. G. and particularly those contained in his great work, *What Next*?

In my opinion, they contain the most astute analysis of the present situation in Germany from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism, the clearest presentation of the present tasks of the C. P. G. and the opposition, respectively. To be honest, it is impossible to vacillate between the fundamental views which Trotsky develops and the present C. I. policy. Either the one or the other. You have decided—that is perfectly clear today—for Stalin, only you do not want to say so openly. The revolutionary working class will decide—the longer it takes, the more certain will be their decision—for the fundamental views developed by Trotsky. This my firm conviction. . . .

With Communist greetings,
(Signed) NEURATH.

The Negro and the Class Struggle

(Continued from last issue)

But the solution cannot be brought closer by artificial slogans, such as the slogan of Self Determination. We must minimize the desires of the Negro Petty-Bourgeoisie and enlarge the form of the proletarian interest of the Negro who is, like the white worker, choked with bourgeois ideology. National minorities must be won as allies to the proletariat, if they are oppressed minorities. But in winning them as allies we do not approach the workers of this nationality or race as such. This would be national opportunism. We approach these workers as workers. We know the bourgeois element of the national minorities under Czarism were no better and often worse than the dominating bourgeoisie against the workers. Likewise the Negro bourgeois elements have already proven they can outstrip their white masters. We want allies, but not on the basis of concessions and compromises on principles. But the Negro proletarian is no Negro ally—he is a worker. The cropper and dirt farmer are allies and must be won as such. But in this relation the Negro industrial and agriculture worker is decisive.

A compromise on principle means that the "allies" have captured the proletariat. The program of the Communists (Marxists) is the only one possible for the American Negro for social, political and economic equality and freedom. The road is the road of class struggle, not that of "preparation stages"—self determination, democratic dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry, four class party, workers and peasant parties, peoples revolution, etc.—which give the petty-bourgeois Negroes organizational and political control. Preparation stages in struggles are necessary, but not compromises on principle, passed off as preparation stages.

We must consider slogans and tactics for the race form of the class struggle. This is essential in order to defeat the bosses' policy of divide and rule. Slogans and tactics against the legal and extra-legal discrimination and lynch laws are the order of the day. A will to fight the battles of the Negro masses, as the party has already de-

monstrated, is a big step forward. Let us not step backward into the swamp of national reformism.

The Negro of America was not snatched from a State or Nation in Africa with national aspirations and ideologies. Neither has America given the Negro as a Negro the material base for nationalism as such. The class struggle of the Negro is not cloaked in a national form (influence) that calls for the slogan of self determination at special stages and under special conditions in the struggle. It is cloaked in the race form. The American Negro bourgeois elements are no ally of ours. The problem is complicated enough without adding the national complex to it, which in this case can only result in national reformism.

The racial form of social conflicts has taken the national form where the racial group obtained an economic unit. This has been the case in the past. Blood ties, gens and clans in the process of development from primitive Communism through the stages to an exploiter's society, naturally crystallized as such. But the American Negro presents no such picture. His is a different and far more difficult problem.

The Socialist tells us in substance, that the workers must not seize power in backward countries. We must let the bourgeois revolution take its course develop its industries (nationalism), and then we will win it over. Stalinism tells us that we must move the American Negro into the feeling of national consciousness through the slogan of Self Determination. Of course Stalinism will say, "No, not national consciousness". But we will answer: The slogan of Self Determination for a racial group that does not have a material base for such has even less logic than the socialist position. At least, these non-Marxists speak of a material base for bourgeois power, in one form or the other, in back-

ward sections. When the proletariat takes power, the Negro worker will take his place as an equal with the white worker. Where the Negroes are the majority (parts of South, etc.), this majority will dominate the Soviets.

The Negro worker and farmer, being even more suppressed and exploited than his white brother requires special consideration from the revolutionary party, even though, economically, he is a worker or dirt farmer. This double exploitation and class suppression is carried out through the race form of the class struggle, which does not include the national form in the political sense. Stalinism says, because the Negro constitutes a doubly exploited racial minority, and regardless of the argument on nationalism, it is proper to present the slogan of Self Determination for oppressed racial minorities as well as national minorities.

Let us consider it in this light for a moment, in spite of the arguments already presented. Adding to what has been said about the slogan of self determination, we must say that it can only be realized, so far as the American Negro is concerned, after the overthrow of capitalism in the South, which means the overthrow of American imperialism as such. Is this transition step needed then? The victory of the proletariat includes within it the solution of the double exploitation of the Negro masses. As for the Negro bourgeoisie, the Negro and white workers will take care of them just as they will take care of the white exploiters. The Soviets of the South will solve this problem, even though special efforts will have to be leveled against reactionary ideological carry-overs. But the main struggle against the reactionary ideology is not a problem of the Negroes, but of the whites.

But how about the slogan as a means of winning the Negro masses today for the proletarian revolution? Yes, the

GERMAN SKETCHES

Lieutenant Scheringer

These days, the former Reichswehr Lieutenant, Scheringer, was sentenced to an additional two and a half years of fortress confinement by the Reich's Court for so-called Literary High Treason. This is a purely arbitrary act, an act of revenge on the part of the bourgeoisie against an outsider who is striving toward Communism. It is an act that demands the sharpest protest from all proletarians, one that casts ample light on brutal class justice in Germany. But for Communists, the question cannot end there. For, it is also a question of ideological struggle against all those who wipe out the boundaries between Fascism and Communism and it has become a vital question for the Communist party at a moment when at least 200,000 followers of the C. P. G. voted Fascist in the second ballot of the presidential elections. But Scheringer, whose pamphlets have been far more spread among the younger generation of the C. P. G. than the Communist Manifesto, is the ideological pioneer of this development. Scheringer is not even today a Communist, but a National-Bolshevik. L. Trotsky wrote very correctly about him in August 1931:

"Scheringer and Stenbeck-Fermor (another recent national-Bolshevik proselyte—Ed.) regard the task of the Communist party very graciously as that of a direct continuation of the Hohenzollern war. They are prepared—temporarily in words—to accept the 'people's revolution', if it can serve them as a means of mobilizing the workers for their 'revolutionary' war."

Three months ago, at a public meeting in Berlin, in which the present writer was the speaker, Count Stenbeck-Fermor raised a hue and cry about Trotsky's "calumny" of Scheringer. But for a clarification of the actual state of affairs, it is sufficient to quote what Scheringer—whom we cannot deny a clear, firm and incorruptible character—said on April 8, 1932 before court:

"For me the desire of national liberation was the point of departure that led to my development toward Communism. As long as the working class is oppressed by the capitalists of Germany itself, a national liberation is impossible."

"Only social liberation will give the laboring people a fatherland and this social liberation can be attained only by the revolutionary working class under the leadership of the Communist party. That is also the way by which we shall come to national liberation."

The words of Karl Liebknecht: "Our enemy is in our own country" are given this variation by Scheringer: "Our enemy is not in Russia, but in the capitalist West."

But the *Rote Fahne* and its Brandlerist lick-spittles far from carefully and tactfully criticizing this declare it to be 100 per cent Bolshevism. It is being proved more and more that it was not Scheringer who came to the party, but

slogan will win over many petty-bourgeois elements on the basis of national reformism. But we don't want the Negro petty-bourgeoisie as allies on that basis. The Negro worker, industrial and agricultural, is not even in this problem, because we do not use a slogan of self determination for workers. We win them as workers, even though different racial and sectional (youth and women, etc.) tactics are necessary.

—HUGO OEHLER.

The above is a discussion article. The views expressed are those of the author. Others will follow on the same subject.—Ed.

the party who came to Scheringer. Today, when the fruits of this fatal development are already becoming visible, the warning words of L. D. Trotsky in August 1931 are doubly appropriate:

"The party may, of course, utilize even such individual metamorphoses as a means of disintegrating the camp of the Fascists. The crime of the Stalinist bureaucracy—yes, the direct crime—consists in this: that it declares its solidarity with these elements, that it identifies the voice of the party with their voices, that it renounces the exposures of their nationalist and militarist tendencies, that it transforms the thoroughly petty bourgeois, reactionary-utopian and chauvinist pamphlet of Scheringer into a new bible of the proletariat."

Comrade Pruegel.

It is hard to assume that before April 10, anyone outside of East Reinickendorf, a working class district of Berlin, ever heard of comrade Pruegel, and it is hard to assume that he will play a very great role in the future. He is one of those hundreds of small functionaries, who, after five years of graveyard silence in the party, has dared in an unclear, timid but nevertheless distinct voice to get up against the bureaucrats in a membership meeting, to reject the blather about the guilt of the members for the defeats of the party and to begin to discuss the political mistakes of the party leadership, particularly in the question of the united front. That is why this unfortunate comrade Pruegel serves the bureaucrat Ulbricht, the "leader of the Berlin proletariat", as scapegoat to the extent of a whole page in the *Rote Fahne* of April 10. The bureaucracy is beginning to feel the ground tremble under their feet. They are faced with an elementary unrest which led to such outbreaks at the Berlin party workers conference after the first ballot in the recent presidential elections, that the conference had to be adjourned and the next one packed with especially picked people. (Permanent Revolution published documents on this affair). The bureaucracy is pouncing on these nameless functionaries with a mixed feeling of hatred and fear. They want to uproot the germs, they want to crush these nameless objectors before the Opposition finds leaders with names.

Externally, the party shows, despite the heavy defeats, as yet a firm and fearless appearance. Internally, the disintegration has reached an extraordinary degree. The spirit of ideological and actual capitulation, raised on the garbage heap of the "national program", has taken the form of numbers in the 200,000 voters who went over from Thaelmann to Hitler in the run-off elections. In the party itself it has long been obvious. The sympathies of the unemployed Communists for the "honest, active" Nazis, the readiness with which they discuss with them and not with the social democratic workers, the anxious and almost sympathetic reading of the Nazi press, the open opinion that Hitler should be voted for "in order to hasten the decision"—all these are enough alarm signals.

All this will, however, force the Pruegels, if we take Pruegel as an example, to throw off their reservedness. Already five units in Berlin-Charlottenburg have adopted a resolution against social Fascism with a crushing majority. The workers' Opposition is beginning to bear fruit. We greet those nameless fighters who no longer fear the filthy attacks of the bureaucracy. Only in their struggle lies the guarantee for the salvation of the party and for victory.

—E. BAUER.

Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition

The German Revolution of 1923 and the «Lessons of October»

(Continued from last issue)

In 1917, the main leaders of the Bolsheviks, before and after Lenin's arrival from Switzerland, had adopted anything but a revolutionary position. Kamenev and Stalin had been for supporting the bourgeois republic "from the Left", and for the continuation of a "revolutionary war" in defense . . . of the Provisional government. Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Nogin, Lunatcharsky, Losovsky, Yaroslavsky, Molotov, Tomsky—all of them were either opposed to the October Insurrection or in favor of a Menshevik-Bolshevik coalition government. Some of them—like Zinoviev and Kamenev—adopted such a position, even after the Bolshevik seizure of power, that Lenin, who had worked together with them for decades, did not hesitate to denounce them as "strike-breakers and deserters".

Trotsky's recollection of these facts and his explanation of them, their causes and effects, opened up a new campaign against "Trotskyism", in which, as had already become customary, the real issues objectively raised by Trotsky were deliberately concealed or smothered under by the bureaucracy. What might have been a brightly illuminated campaign of instruction and enlightenment for the international Communist movements on the art and problems of insurrection was treacherously converted by Zinoviev-Stalin-and-Co. into a lynching campaign against the Opposition and its leader.

It is interesting to note, in passing, the characteristic manner in which the campaign was conducted on an international scale. Letters and telegraphic commands were dispatched by Zinoviev through the Comintern apparatus to the Central Committees of all the national Communist parties with the demand that Trotsky's "Lessons of October" be repudiated and the "Old Guard" of the Russian Central Committee endorsed. Everywhere the wheels were set into motion for the routine of adopting resolutions without discussion or understanding. Petty bureaucrats were found in every party who were ready to condemn or endorse whatever they were told to; those that refused, were systematically undermined, attacked and harassed until their places were taken by obedient apparatus servants.

In the United States, more characteristically, the party membership was browbeaten and blackjacked into a condemnation of "The Lessons of October" without ever having read it! The obscure "Imprecor" containing the document was never sent here. The work was published only long afterwards in England, by a non-Communist, and although perhaps one or two people out of a million in this country have ever read it, the American party was nevertheless one of the first to rush to the assistance of the Comintern bureaucracy with a sharp condemnation of the "Trotskyist attack upon

the Old Guard". Since then such a procedure has been raised to the level of a routine system. . . .

The attempt was subsequently made, as we mentioned, to make Brandler the scapegoat for the whole defeat. This attempt was resisted by Trotsky, who knew the real source of the catastrophic policy pursued. Because he opposed the policy of finding scapegoats, the legend was thereupon circulated that Trotsky was a defender of the German party leaders. There is not and never was the faintest sign of truth in the legend. Not only did Brandler and Thalheimer promptly join Zinoviev and Co. with a condemnation of "The Lessons of October" (they were among the first, as a matter of fact), but it was later proved by documentary evidence that it was Stalin and Zinoviev who not merely defended Brandler but have been the ones mainly responsible for the German policy in 1923.

In 1928, after Zinoviev had broken with Stalin, he made public a letter which Stalin had written to him and Bucharin on the eve of the German defeat. The letter gives us the measure of the man, his limited, myopic outlook, his disastrous political course, his ineradicable co-responsibility for the calamity in Germany and its subsequent consequences.

The confidential archives of most of the other leaders would undoubtedly reveal similar documents to indicate that in 1923 they played the same role in the

German revolution, with fatal results, as they sought to play in the Russian revolution of 1917 but were prevented from playing by the sharp intervention of Lenin and Trotsky.

The defeat of the German revolution, plus the crushing of the September 1923 insurrection in Bulgaria and the Estonian putsch of 1924, marked a sharp turn in the history of the Communist International. It not only opened up the epoch of "bourgeois stabilization" in Europe and the ebbing of the revolutionary high-tide, but inaugurated a period of reaction in the Soviet republic and the international. Above all, it was the objective cause for the introduction and the triumph of the reactionary theory of "socialism in one country". It is with this question, and with the Fifth Congress—the first non-Leninist gathering—of the International, that we shall deal in the next article.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB NOTICE

The Spartacus Youth Club has changed the night of its meeting. It will now meet Friday evenings, 8:00 P. M. at Stuyvesant Casino. This will enable many comrades to attend who could not do so when the club met on Sunday. The next meeting will take place Friday, May 13, 8:00 P. M. at Stuyvesant Casino, 2nd Ave., and 9th St.

Now on the Press!

Problems of the Chinese Revolution

by LEON TROTSKY

THE 1925-27 CHINESE REVOLUTION WAS ONE OF THE FIRST WORLD-IMPORTANT POLITICAL EVENTS IN WHICH TROTSKY'S OPPOSITION TO THE POLICY OF STALIN MANIFESTED ITSELF IN THE CONCRETE. IN THIS BOOK, QUOTATIONS FROM STALIN'S OWN WRITTEN WORDS AND SPEECHES ARE GIVEN AS WELL AS THOSE OF TROTSKY'S AND HIS SUPPORTERS.

READ THIS HISTORICAL DOCUMENT. COMPARE THE PROPOSED POLICIES OF THAT DAY WITH SUBSEQUENT EVENTS IN THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, THEN DECIDE WHO WAS CORRECT. THE LEFT OPPOSITION DOES NOT FEAR YOUR JUDGMENT AFTER YOU HAVE SERIOUSLY READ AND STUDIED THIS BOOK.

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EDITORIAL NOTES

BRING THE UNITY NEGOTIATIONS INTO THE OPEN!

(Continued from page 1)

Since the position of the Left Opposition on the subject of Party unity, as on all other important issues, is founded on principle, a consistency in its expressions on the matter from time to time can be noted. From our first statement in regard to unity at the Plenum which confirmed our expulsion three and one-half years ago, through the various occasions on which we again raised the question in timely communications to the Party until the present day, we have been guided by the example and teaching of our incomparable leaders, the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists. Just as they, in their platform and in all subsequent declarations, affirmed their desire to remain in the Party, and their willingness to defend their views by the normal processes of Party democracy and Party discipline, so we have always protested against our enforced separation from the Party. We never made any special demands that were not taken for granted and enjoyed by every party member in Lenin's time, and we do not take them now.

Our chief concern, that transcends all other considerations, is the return of the Party and the Comintern to the foundation principles of Marxism. Since 1923, first within the Party and afterward as an expelled group, we have advocated, on all the important questions of the day, the Marxist line of the International Left Opposition against the opportunist and adventurist zig-zags of official Centrism. These views, the correctness of which has been confirmed in every case by the events of the class struggle, we still maintain. We have nothing to repent and nothing to retract.

Unity for us cannot be the formula for a reconciliation with the treacherous policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy, but a condition for the more advantageous struggle against it. The rectification of the truly enormous errors and crimes, not the least of which are the ruinous splits that have been imposed upon the workers' vanguard, will take place only in the course of the most relentless Bolshevik fight against the bureaucrats of Stalinism, and will be finally assured only with their downfall. In order that the workers who sincerely desire the unification of the Party may have no illusions as to its actual meaning, this must be said directly, openly and plainly.

They are deceivers of the Communist workers who, abusing their good will, preach "unity" and capitulate the general sentiment for it without speaking of the principle causes of the demoralizing and splits. No better are those worthless intrigues who dicker over "unity" in a dark corner without even informing the workers what is going on, like commission merchants with so many head of livestock at their disposal. No, the first step toward a genuine unification of the Communist forces must be a frank statement of the different positions and the present attitude towards them. All the wishes in the world will not bring unity for struggle in any other way.

This is not to say, of course, that the differences must be settled beforehand, or that the platform of the Left Opposition must be accepted as a condition for unity. We have never demanded that. The demand of the Left Opposition is for Party democracy, as Lenin's party defined and practiced it. A free and open discussion of the disputes within the framework of the Party. A convention whose delegates are fairly and honestly selected on the basis of the discussion. A leadership freely elected by the membership and subject to its control. The right of the minority to work in

the party and to advance its viewpoint a second, a third or a tenth time on proper occasion, within the limits of the party constitution. This is the way Lenin's party clarified its policies, corrected its errors, chose its leaders and safeguarded its unity.

Nobody has invented any other method, and nobody can. The Stalinist substitute only succeeded in derailing the Party from the Marxist track, crushing the initiative of the membership and celebrating its "monolithic unity" with split after split. It is the horrible bankruptcy of this Stalinist substitute that compels the Party membership to think of unity again in terms of Leninism, and to seek a way for the inclusion of the Left Opposition.

There is no doubt that the present objective circumstances accentuate the harmful results of the splits and the consequent weakening of the Party before its class enemies. The sharpening of the class struggle at home, the increasingly heavy blows dealt to the militant workers by the entrenched reaction, the rumbling of impending revolutionary struggles abroad—all this gives a powerful impulse to the sentiments for unity within the Party ranks. (The Left Opposition, which has no special interests separate from those of the class and the vanguard, will do all in its power to strengthen this current and help it to realize its aims. From this point of view the last meeting of the National Committee of the Communist League decided to approach the Party once again with an appeal for unity and a series of practical proposals for its realization.)

The first of these proposals, which will be transmitted to the Party within the week, will ask the reinstatement of the Left Opposition without any conditions except the rights of Party democracy, and with an undertaking to assume any duties or responsibilities whatever which are assigned to us by the Party.

The second proposal, to be applied immediately while the matter of formal reinstatement remains pending, is that the Party accept the cooperation of the Left Opposition in the class struggle actions, in the trade unions and other organizations and on every front where the pressure of the class enemy is heaviest. The Left Opposition will take its place in the front ranks of every struggle without exception and will demonstrate its revolutionary qualities there now as it has in the past. The Oppositionists are ready to prove by deeds their right to work with the Party militants. They will prove by deeds their right to be in the Party.

In the Party or temporarily outside of it, cooperating with the Party in united front struggles or denied the right to participate in them—whatever the circumstances of the moment, the Left Opposition will retain its principle positions, and above all its internationalism. We are united for life and death with the true inheritors of the October revolution, the Bolshevik-Leninists of Soviet Russia and the international organization of the Bolshevik-Leninists which now embraces the world. We do not seek a solution of the problem of unity on a national basis; we do not separate our cause from theirs. If we are readmitted to the American Party our first demand in free discussion will be:

Reinstate the expelled oppositionists in Russia and all other sections of the Comintern! Recall Trotsky from Constantinople and Rakovsky from Siberia! Release the thousands and tens of thousands of Bolshevik-Leninists from the Stalinist prisons and exile camps and restore them to their rightful place in the Party. That and only that will give a revolutionary, international substance to the slogan of Communist Unity.

REPLY TO COMRADE BOJARESKY

A worker who apparently agrees in part with the trade union policy of the Communist League has criticized the article on the elections in Local 9 of the I. L. G. W. U. which appeared in the issue of April 16th. In order that his differences may be fairly presented, his letter is printed in full on the correspondence page. The doubts we expressed about the genuineness of the victory of the Left wing in the Local 9 elections are attributed by the writer of the letter, comrade Bojarsky, to misinformation about the conditions in this local and the relation of forces between the contending groups. If that were really the case we would have no hesitancy in acknowledging and correcting the error, since honest information is the prerequisite for intelligent and enlightening discussion. But a closer investigation of the matter, including the consultation of a number of informed workers in the needle trades, to whom comrade Bojarsky's letter was shown, has convinced us that our first article was correct, in fact as well as in inference.

As a proof of the strength of the Left group in Local 9 comrade Bojarsky says it "was the first to defeat the \$3.75 tax proposed by the International Administration." If the Left alone had fought this tax, and the other two groups—the Right as well as the "Progressive Bloc"—had defended it, then the defeat of the tax would indeed have been an indication of the strength of the Left. But this is not exactly so. The "Progressive Bloc" was also against the tax, and since this group controls the administration of the local, which in itself is a demonstration of its strength, it is manifestly wrong to conclude that the defeat of the tax showed the supremacy of the Left. We sympathize with the "patriotic" loyalty to the Left which our correspondent shows. But we do not in the least help the cause of the Left by closing our eyes to realities and making exaggerated and easily refuted claims regarding its accomplishments.

Comrade Bojarsky also disputes our statement that the "Left wing group in the local came to life only recently and has played very little part in the life of the Local." Against that he says the group "has been in existence since 1930 and was incorporated into the officially organized Left wing groups in March, 1931." Here again, in our opinion, the criticism is not a refutation. We did not speak of the "existence" of the group, but of its "coming to life" and "playing a part in the life of the Local." These expressions were used deliberately. After the practical elimination of the Industrial Union from this field the Left wing workers in shops under control of the Schlesinger union were obliged to register again. Their eventual formation into a group within the old union was inevitable. But they could not play a really effective part in the struggles within the union. And why? Because the policy of the Party and the official Left wing made it impossible.

First the Party and the Industrial Union declared the I. L. G. W. U. a "company union" and forbade an organized struggle within it. (See the resolutions of the Industrial Union Convention.) It denounced as a "reformist illusion" of the Trotskyites, the idea that it could be transformed into an organ of the class struggle. This insane policy could not stand up under the test of the actual developments. Then the Stalinists "changed" it—in the typical Stalinist way, without saying so, and without changing the theory which motivated it. As a result there was a period during which the Left members were organized into a group within the "company union" for the purpose of splitting away little sections. This middle-headed strategy also suffered a collapse. How can you build a real fighting force within a union if you announce in advance your intention of breaking it up?

Thus it was only recently, that the Party, while still muttering the "com-

On the Anniversary of Marx's Birth

(Continued from last issue)

Karl Marx in his early youth became a disciple of Hegel. It is not our purpose here to attempt to take up the Hegelian concept more than to say that it represented one of the first serious and thorough endeavors to break with the philosophy of the past—particularly that of the middle ages—which conceived of all things as fixed, constant and eternal, and to formulate in its place a new logic in accordance with the universal process of evolution. The essence of this was the dialectic.

To Marx, the dialectic became the method of investigation of social and economic phenomena. Through it he formulated his materialist conception of history, which belongs entirely to Marx and Engels. But with that discovery he also separated the dialectic method from the Hegelian mysticism and idealism. It became dialectic materialism. It revolutionized the science of history.

By the means of the materialist conception Marx was able really to explain the course of history, not only in so far as it relates to the past, but also its future stages. That became possible because this conception proceeds from the basis of the economic conditions of each society. It holds that the relations of production, of each given stage are the foundation for its social order, the foundation for its legal and political superstructure, as well as for its division into contending classes. Marx did not discover the existence of classes or the class struggle. That was known long before him. But he added the contribution that its existence is bound up with, and is the result of, certain phases of the material production. He added also the essential contribution that the oppressed class today, the modern proletariat, in achieving its own emancipation must thereby liberate society as a whole from class divisions. Now this will be accomplished through its various stages Marx stated in precise formulation in his letter to Weydemeyer, written in 1852, in part it reads as follows:

"... the class struggle leads necessarily to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat; this dictatorship is but the transition to the abolition of all classes and to the creation of a society of free and equal."

There could be no clearer exposition of the materialist conception of history than this statement. It pictures the results of the relations of production, and the social organization necessarily following from it, traced to its logical conclusion. Yet it skips none of its stages, but clearly and decisively specifies the form of class rule of the proletariat during the transition period, the period between capitalism and Communism and "company union" idiosyncrasy, gave directives for a more sensible participation of the Left group in the internal affairs of the Local. The fight against the tax was one sign of this turn. The participation in the recent elections was another. But there is yet a long way to go. The correction of the Left policy has only begun. A radical change must yet take place, both in theory and practice, before the Left wing can even become a serious contender for supremacy. To contend that this supremacy has already been demonstrated comrade Bojarsky had to deceive himself as to the obvious facts.

After the reports of the convention of the International and the Plenum of the Industrial Union are received we will return to this subject again. Meantime both the Militant and the *Unser Kampf* will be glad to print the opinions of the needle trades workers as to the facts and the inferences to be drawn from them. How does the Left wing stand now and how can it regain its lost positions? Letters on this theme, whether they coincide with our views or not, will be welcomed.

—J. P. C.

the economic transformation of the one into the other. Truly, with the discovery of the materialist conception of history, Socialism became elevated to a science. Yet, how pitiful are those contemptible charlatans who claim adherence to scientific Socialism but reject the Proletarian Dictatorship—that is, under the guise of the common phrase, "it might be all right for Russia, but not in America." The truth about them is that they do not at all accept the essence of Marxism—the forcible overthrow of the capitalist system. They do not accept this sum and substance of all Marx's teachings—the Proletarian Dictatorship. There is not a shred of the revolutionary in them.

Engels says of the Communist Manifesto, that, "the fundamental proposition, which forms its nucleus, belongs to Marx." Here is traced, distinctly in the light of the materialist conception, the historical development which established the capitalist system, from the serfs of the middle ages to the burghers of the earliest towns; and next, to the first elements of the bourgeoisie. Shattering the feudal guild monopoly emerged the manufacturing system. "Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionized industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, Modern Industry. . . . Each step in the development of the bourgeois was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class. . . . the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative State, exclusive political sway." The Manifesto could therefore lay down the postulate that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle and that the proletariat must elevate itself to become the ruling class led to this goal by its revolutionary vanguard.

To this we shall here add further only by quoting the proposition: "In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations." Apparently forgotten, within leading circles of the Communist parties today, are these words. Apparently forgotten is also the conclusion which Marx drew of the social, the international character of the proletarian revolution. In its place has been substituted the theory of Socialism in One Country with disastrous consequences to the world Communist movement.

Viewing the developments in the great French revolution in historical retrospect Marx noted its continuous upward progress. The rule of the Constitutionists was followed by that of the Girondists and then by the Jacobins. Each advancing force needing the indispensable support of the next succeeding one. "When each party, in turn, had conducted the revolution as far as it could or dared, and wanted to cry halt, it was pushed aside by the bolder spirits who had hitherto supported it, and cleared away by the guillotine." But the proletariat, as Marx observed, had not yet emerged as a separate and distinct force out of the third estate.

In the fateful events of 1848-50, and preceding them, in the July days, 1830, in France as well as the large scale strikes in England in 1842 and in Silesian weavers' insurrection in 1844, the proletariat had emerged as a distinct class but still remained an appendage of the middle class parties. Marx noted that these movements, inspired by Communism on the continent and by Chartism in England could no longer be looked upon as chance phenomena, but were an expression of the aspirations of an oppressed class. And, after the June defeat in France of 1848, Marx could draw the conclusion for the proletariat

which groups itself "more and more around revolutionary Socialism, around Communism." . . . "This Socialism," he said, "is the declaration of permanent revolution, the establishment of the Class Dictatorship of the Proletariat as a necessary step towards the abolition of class distinctions in general, towards the abolition of all the conditions of production on which class distinctions depend, towards the abolition of all the social relations which depend on these conditions of production, towards the revolutionizing of all ideas which emanate from these social relations."

Once again we can add, that here we have, on the basis of the concrete proletarian experiences, the materialist conception of history applied and set down with an indelible imprint for the future.

The revolutionary events during Marx's life time closed with the Paris Commune. The proletariat had then reached a distinct independent class position, though not yet, as Marx observed, a position of revolutionary maturity and preparation. It had not yet created its revolutionary party. Its heroic attempt to maintain a proletarian regime was circumvented essentially because of these weaknesses. And it was on this experience that Marx, in his address to the General Council of the International, made his masterful analysis, culminating in the terse statement: "But the working class cannot simply lay hold on the ready made state machinery and wield it for its own purpose." In these words are again forcefully reiterated the conclusions from the realistics of the material world. Today they serve as the proletarian revolutionary strategy.

Our task is today, clearer than ever, to proceed on the foundation of Marxism and to fully comprehend what Marx embodied in his thesis to Feuerbach: "Up to the present the philosophers have but interpreted the world; it is, however, necessary to change it."

We witness today the completion of the process of a dialectic cycle in human society. We have reached the last and final period of the capitalist epoch. The blood and tears in which the pages of the history of its birth were written are again being shed at this stage of its violent decay and collapse. It is giving birth to a new and higher stage. The world is being changed. A glorious beginning was made by the proletarian revolution in Russia. In that we saw the theoretical system of Marx applied and brought to its first victorious conclusion. But in that we found also the closest approximation to the life long revolutionary friendship of Marx and Engels in the unshakable friendship and harmony of views, during the decisive revolutionary events, of Lenin and Trotsky.

The gigantic vision, the enormous and all embracing perspective unfolded in the closing paragraph of the concise statement of his materialist conception of history which Marx embodied in his introduction to the "Critique of Political Economy", is about to be realized. It reads as follows: "The bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production . . . the productive forces developing in the womb of bourgeois society create the material conditions for the solution of that antagonism. This social formation constitutes, therefore, the closing chapter of the prehistoric stage of human society."

—ARNE SWABECK.

MINNEAPOLIS, ATTENTION!

The Minneapolis comrades have arranged a **JAMBOREE** for Saturday night, May 21st, 8 P. M. at the home of the Ulrichson's 4827 Colfax Ave., N.O., for the benefit of the Left Opposition Press and as a send off for the N. E. C. comrades leaving for the Plenum. All comrades and sympathizers of *The Militant* and *Unser Kampf*, as well as *Young Spartacus* are urgently invited to attend. An unusually interesting program is promised. Johnson, Curran and Miles Dunne have their heads together. Nuff said. Bring your friends!

—THE COMMITTEE.

Stalinist Zig-zags on the Question of the «United Front»

by LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from last issue)

Everyone should read *THE INFANTILE DISEASE OF LEFTISM*; today it is the timeliest of timely books. It is in reference to just such situations as the present one in Germany that Lenin speaks of—we quote verbatim—"the absolute necessity for the vanguard of the proletariat, for its class conscious section, for the Communist party to resort to tacking and veering in its course, to agreements and compromises with different proletarian groups, with different parties of workers and of small proprietors. . . . The whole matter lies in being able to apply this tactic for the sake of raising and not lowering the common level of proletarian class consciousness, of the revolutionary spirit, and of the capacity to fight and to win."

But what steps does the Communist party take? Day in and day out, it reiterates in its newspapers that the only United Front it will accept, "is the one directed against Bruening, Severing, Leipart, Hitler and their ilk." In the face of a proletarian uprising, there is no gainsaying it, there will be no difference between Bruening, Severing, Leipart, and Hitler. Against the October Bolshevik uprising, the S. R.'s and the mensheviks united with the Cadets and Kornilov; Kerensky led the Black Hundreds and the Cos-

sacks of General Krasnov against Petrograd; the mensheviks supported Kerensky and Krasnov; the S. R.'s engineered the uprising of the junkers under the leadership of monarchist officers.

But this doesn't at all mean that Bruening, Severing, Leipart and Hitler *always* and *under all conditions* belong to the same camp. Just now their interests diverge. At the *given* moment the question that is posed before the social democracy is not so much one of defending the foundations of capitalist society against proletarian revolution as of defending the semi-parliamentarian bourgeois system against Fascism. The refusal to make use of this antagonism would be an act of gross stupidity.

"To wage war for the purpose of overthrowing the international bourgeoisie," Lenin wrote in *THE INFANTILE DISEASE OF LEFTISM*, "and to refuse beforehand to tack and veer in one's course and to make good use of the antagonism (no matter how temporary) in interests between the enemies; to eschew agreements and compromises with possible (no matter how temporary, vacillating and adventitious) allies—isn't that too funny for words?" Again we quote verbatim: the word we italicize in parentheses are Lenin's.

We quote further: "It is possible to vanquish a

more powerful enemy only by straining one's forces to their utmost; and it is imperative that one make use, most painstakingly, carefully, cautiously and expertly, of any "rift" between the enemies, no matter how tiny." But what are Thaelmann and Remmele under Manuisky's guidance doing? With might and main they are striving to cement—with the theory of social Fascism and with the practice of sabotage against the United Front, the rift—and what a rift—between the social democracy and Fascism.

Lenin enjoined that use be made of "every opportunity to gain a mass ally, no matter how temporary, vacillating, unreliable, and adventitious. Whoever hasn't been able to get that into his head—he said—doesn't understand an iota of Marxism, and of contemporary scientific socialism, in general." Prick up your ears, prophets of the new Stalinist school: it is written here in black and white that you don't understand an iota of Marxism. It's you Lenin spoke of. R. S. V. P.

But, the Stalinists refute, without a victory over the social democracy, victory over Fascism is impossible. Is this true? In a certain sense it is. Yet the converse theorem is also true: without victory over Italian Fascism, victory over the Italian social democracy is impossible. Both Fascism and the social democracy are tools in the hands of the bourgeoisie. So long as capital rules, Fascism and social democracy will exist in divers combinations. All the questions, therefore, are reduced to the same denominator: the proletariat must overthrow the bourgeois régime.

But just now, when this régime is tottering in Germany, Fascism steps forward in its support. To lay this supporter by the heels, we are told, it is first necessary to finish off the social democracy. . . . Thus we are led into a vicious circle by schematism dead

as a herring. The only conceivable way out is in the domain of action. And the character of this action is determined not by juggling abstract categories but by the real interrelations between the living historic forces.

"On, no!" the functionaries keep drumming, "we shall 'first' liquidate the social democracy. How? Very simply, we shall order our party organizations to recruit 100,000 new members within such and such a period. Instead of political struggle—merely propaganda; instead of dialectic strategy—departmental plans. And what if the real development of the class struggle, at this very moment, has posed the question of Fascism before the working class, as a life and death question? Then the working class must be wheeled about with its back to the question; it must be lulled; it must be convinced that the task of fighting against Fascism is a minor task; that it will wait and solve itself; that Fascism in reality rules already; that Hitler will add nothing new; that there is no cause to fear Hitler; that Hitler will only clear the road for the Communists.

Is that exaggerating, perhaps? No, this is the exact and indubitable idea that motivates the leaders of the Communist party. They do not always follow it to its ultimate conclusion. On coming in contact with the masses they recoil often from the ultimate conclusions; they make a hodge-podge of divers policies, confusing themselves and the workers; but on all those occasions when they try to make both ends meet, they proceed from the inevitability of the victory of Fascism.

—L. TROTSKY.

(To be Continued)

(From WHAT NEXT?—Vital Questions for the German Proletariat)

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Congress Talks Unemployment Relief For the Workers - Only the Jingle of the Government Coin

Events are moving swifter than usual in the United States Congress. There hangs over it the threatening cloud of the huge unemployed army, growing more hungry, more sullen, and showing signs of restlessness, and for the relief of which the government has done absolutely nothing. The swifter moves are undoubtedly inspired by the fear that is foreshadowed in the dastardly police shootings in Dearborn and in Melrose Park. The agents of privilege in the Senate and in the House are as deliberately arrogant, as were the savage "upholders of the law" when they faced the starving workers in these two places. The latter instances indicate the more concrete side of how the capitalist government really intends to deal with the unemployment problem. This is where capitalism revealed itself in its true nature.

Yet this fear is the outstanding motive force behind the events in Congress. With that follows the scurrying for special consideration and for special gains for the various privileged interests from any measure contemplated to restore "prosperity". In addition, it is an election year, and the lawmakers have enough at stake to maneuver for the most favorable position.

There is a national treasury deficit now of over \$2,500,000,000 giving incontrovertible testimony to the crisis in capitalism. The Congress is still struggling with the balancing of its budget. Bipartisan alliances are made feverishly and broken up again. Clashes of special group interests bring forth epithets such as "dastardly lies" and "damnable lies". Senators and Representatives vociferously proclaim their "honesty" in the face of the heavy lobby bribes.

The insurgents—the so-called progressives, headed by La Guardia, La Follette, Costigan, etc.—sponsoring the interests of the embattled petty bourgeoisie, were the first to become vociferous. The proposed manufacturers' sales tax went down to defeat. It caused the majority leader in the House, Rainey, to declare gravely, with words to this effect: you gentlemen have gone further toward socialization of property than any nation outside of Soviet Russia. The administration omnibus bill was shaved down to leave almost nothing. And the deficit remains. Meanwhile the leaders of industry and finance, "suffering" under the crisis, and clamoring ever more loudly for their pound of flesh. So, now the heavy hitting artillery is moving forward in Congress. But mobilized are also the pitiable efforts of the reactionary trade union leaders.

Representatives of seven leading railroad unions have declared to the President that unless immediate steps are taken to increase employment and relieve distress, they "will be obliged to demand a dole". What a terrifying threat! And so, to apply immediately the necessary soothing, they come forward with the Smith Debt Plan. They propose the President to appoint a commission composed of five representatives, one for labor, one for the farmers, two outstanding business leaders and one financial expert. This commission is to stimulate trade and export from the United States. Their plan at once won the approval of democratic politicians. And why not? It is as cast in their own mold. Now these trade union funkies want to appear in the lion's role. When facing the wage cut demands of the railroad magnates they were, however, meek as rabbits. But they have now again only the idea in mind of greater collaboration with the outright capitalist representatives in making the counterfeited relief measures seem palatable to the workers and help pull the wool over their eyes. Never for once would they entertain the idea of even calling upon their union phalanx to exert the pressure of their numbers or to utilize their strategic position, of moving the wheels of transport, to fight for their right to live, and to resist the onslaughts upon them.

The "relief" measures proposed in Congress are practically all of the same character. There is no real difference between the proposals of Senator Robinson and President Hoover. Both embody a \$2,500,000,000 plan for "relief". That is, only about \$300,000,000 of this is to go to the various states and municipalities to be doled out in miserable charity rations. The fat morsel, the \$2,000,000,000, is to become tax exempt bonds to be used for private profit making enterprises. Politely, they are called self-liquidating enterprises.

Here we have the outrageous arrogance of a capitalist government. The existing unemployment situation has long ago called for unemployment insurance for the millions of jobless and penniless workers. A few miserable charity crumbs to them is all so far. And there is no indication that actual relief, that actual unemployment insurance will be granted until the workers sufficiently arouse their latent mass power to compel consideration over the opposition of the capitalist politicians.

On the other hand, the tax exempt bonds advocated in Hoover's proposal for investment for further exploitation, is to be handled through the Finance Reconstruction Corporation. What that will mean, is indicated in the very first "relief" loan granted by this institution to the Missouri Pacific railroad, half of which went to pay maturing loans to Wall Street bankers. It will mean investments to fatten dividends and strengthen the capitalists to administer further wage cuts.

Some of the more sceptical of Wall Street's uncrowned kings predict that this new bond flotation will cause inflation. Not that they are opposed to inflation. These real magnates support the Goldborough bill, which went over with a whoop in the House of Representatives and provides for authorization to the Federal Reserve to elevate the price level to the bourgeois prosperity period of 1921-29.

Truly the United States Congress is making headway toward its capitalist relief. Nothing could please this whole gentry more than to actually accomplish, by strengthened monopoly, a higher commodity price level. What with workers' wages already drastically reduced and the coupon clippers strengthened to administer more cuts, the higher price level should seem doubly enticing.

One of the tasks of the heavier artillery, now moving forward in Congress, is to harmonize the conflicting capitalist group interests. An illustration of one of such problems is afforded in the proposed billion dollar tax bill in the Senate. It contains tariff clauses which immediately became controversial. Representatives of one set of capitalists clamoring for duty on certain products for their investment protection while others, who have the opposite interests, are opposed. This is nothing new. It has just become more glaringly expressed in their present political dilemma.

Yet, through all the clashing conflicts reflected in these higher governmental brackets emerges one common and united aim; namely, to advance the counterfeited relief measures, shielding the real ones for the investors, to ward off the working class drift toward the Left. Unquestionably Congress has so far succeeded in attracting the favorable attention of the more credulous among the masses. Will the capitalist politicians attain their aim of changing the working class leftward trend so as to more easily defeat its demands and crush its growing aspirations? That is the important question.

Much valuable time has already been lost by the failure of the official Communist party leadership to take the elementary steps to build a serious movement which would begin to unite employed and unemployed workers. But there is yet a rich opportunity available. There is now a better opportunity for the workers to learn, by actual experience, what can be expected from the bourgeois parliamentary talking shop. They will learn more concretely that the United States Congress, the same as all other capitalist parliaments, are institutions for the protection of capitalist interests and for the keeping of the workers in subjection.

—A. S.

More About the Unity Negotiations

We have received the following letter from a Party member:

Dear Comrades:

I didn't know you were going to print my first letter. Otherwise I would have left out that part about Gannes and the "Soviet-American Alliance", or asked you to delete it. This "clue" started a buzzing and a search for the "P" who gives out information about the "private affairs" of our leaders. However, there was no harm done.

The upper circles are buzzing with discussion of the unity proposition, and the negotiations with Lovestone are still going on sub rosa. The article of Gitlow in the *Workers' Age* is false in one respect at least, in so far as it gives the impression that negotiations have been suspended. On the contrary—this is absolutely straight from a member of the Polcom—the C. I. man personally held conferences with Lovestone since the publication of the last letter. A short while ago he left the country and Lovestone took him to the boat. My personal opinion remains as before—that an actual agreement is pending and will be concluded. I will go further and say that, in my opinion, the political side of the question is more or less settled and that the final agreement hinges now on forms and organizational position. I haven't enough facts to prove this, but there is enough to warrant the deduction.

For one thing, the tension over the question in the top circles and the extremely serious and concrete manner in

which the possible return of Lovestone is talked about among them is a sufficient indication that they expect a positive outcome of the negotiations. You can't get them to make positive statements of their attitude one way or the other. And when that is contrasted to their previous campaign it indicates to me that they expect something to happen. At any rate they do not want to be caught off guard by any instructions they receive after the C. I. man makes his report in Moscow.

The final decision will be made over there, but the general line of it is already clear. Lovestone will be required to make a political capitulation and to disassociate himself from Brandler. Thus the prestige of the infallible leadership will be maintained. After the capitulation—which in my judgment is agreed upon already—the organizational adjustments will be worked out and we will celebrate our "ideological victory" over the Right wing by readmitting them to the Party.

By the way, some of the comrades who took the campaign against Lovestonism seriously have been looking rather hard at Stachel lately, since the stories about his part in the unity conferences came out. If I told you what one of the old hard-boiled Fosterites said to me, you couldn't print it. At the Forum week before last someone in the audience asked him if he had been conducting negotiations with Lovestone, and then skipped on with his learned exposition of some point or other which I can't remember. I guess it wasn't very important.

—P.

The Philadelphia Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.

The I. L. G. W. U. Convention just concluded at Philadelphia marked, as it were, the official close of a period in the historic struggle between the Left wing and the Socialist-Forward bureaucracy. It was a temporary triumph for the Schlesinger clique. The correlation of forces of the various factions and groups, as reflected at the convention, is indicative of the process of entrenchment of the Right wing after its erstwhile defeats in the protracted struggle with the Left wing, a process that has been going on in the face of objective conditions favorable for the Left wing, in the face of growing discontent on part of the membership and the recently developed opposition in the three largest locals in New York, led by the Anarchist-Lovestone bloc.

The whole character of the convention was reminiscent of traditional I. L. G. W. U. Conventions prior to the historic encounter between the Right and the Left. The Schlesinger clique ruled the convention, while behind the scenes, deals for offices and other spoils were being concluded under the close supervision of Abe Cahan and Morris Hilquit.

Schlesinger's opening speech at the convention was remarkable for its lack of content and for its demagoguery. The vital problems concerning the membership of the union and the satisfaction of their pressing needs were not at all touched upon in his speech, except for the financial difficulties caused by the decrease in the amount of dues to the organization and the debts incurred during the fight with the Left wing. He spoke of the economic crisis and the cures for it, repeating the banalities and the reformist twaddle of solving the crisis by high wages and full employment. He indulged in talk about "unity" and "harmony", the "solidification of the ranks" and the "common cause." As to policies and tasks for real struggle to resist the growing attacks of the bosses on the conditions of the workers in the industry, as to how to satisfy the need of the

workers in the industry for real unity—Schlesinger did not deem it important to raise these issues. He felt perfectly safe in the surrounding atmosphere of a convention packed with his own benchmen, in which the rank and file of the membership and the genuine Left wing were feebly represented.

A great deal of time and attention was, however, given by the convention to listening to demagogic speeches of "labor leaders" and bourgeois politicians who felt perfectly at home there, having come at the invitation of the Schlesinger clique for the obvious purpose of preying upon the time and energy of the delegates and preventing the discussion of important problems.

Among the celebrities who addressed the convention was the mayor of Philadelphia, Moore, whose bloody suppression of the May Day demonstration only a short time before the convention did not stand in the way of his invitation as a "friend of labor". He was even heartily applauded after his vituperative speech about Communists and all other sorts of radicals. The only rebuke came from the president of the Philadelphia Central Labor Trades, Adolph Hirschberg. It was one discordant note in a generally harmonious performance. This seemingly insignificant episode can serve as the best illustration of the reactionary character and composition of the gathering.

The accomplishments of the convention can be summarized in the following acts against the interests of the membership of the union:

The convention defeated, with its packed majority, all the progressive resolutions purporting to curtail the power

and the privileges of the entrenched bureaucracy. Among the resolutions of this nature were:

The resolution demanding proportional representation to the Joint Board and Conventions; the resolution for the recall of officers; a resolution for the amalgamation of local and Joint Boards; a resolution for the limitation of the term of service for officers; a resolution establishing a maximum for salaries of officials, etc.

On the other hand, the Convention adopted by a majority of 107 against 37, a resolution annulling a clause in the constitution providing for a referendum vote on national officers and also a resolution requiring a two years' membership standing from candidates for office.

The progressive resolution adopted were mostly of such a nature that they place no obligations on the bureaucracy and serve at the same time, as a fig leaf for their reactionary acts of betrayal against the membership. Such resolutions were adopted as the resolution of the 30 hours week, which is meaningless without an established wage guarantee; the resolution for unemployment and old age insurance; a resolution against the deportation of foreign born workers for union activities, etc.

The resolution for the recognition of the Soviet Union contains a clause demanding the release of political prisoners (including counter-revolutionary men-sheviks and Anarchists). This resolution also received the support of the Lovestonite delegates at the Convention.

All in all, the Philadelphia Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. accomplished the aims the bureaucracy set itself, without much difficulty. In the absence of a formidable, determined, genuine Left wing opposition, the task of the bureaucracy at this Convention was an unusually easy one.

The Anarchist-Lovestone Bloc and the Left Opposition

The Progressive opposition of the An-

(Continued from page 2)

Beet Workers Go on Strike in Colorado

Ten thousand workers, mostly Mexicans, are out on strike in the northern part of Colorado. The strike breaks simultaneously with the opening of the picking season which runs a short course. This imposes on the strikers the necessity of quick and effective spreading of the strike and the determined use of means to prevent scabbing. On the other hand it means that the growers will in all probability move with speed to break the strike. The history of strike struggles in this area seem to indicate that the strike will assume a violent form. The *Daily Worker* reports that the sheriff of Weld County is proceeding to swear in a number of deputy sheriffs. The state militia has been ordered to stand by.

A U. P. dispatch to the Rocky Mountain News, published in Denver, says that the growers offered the workers one fifth of the gross crop at the end of the season. The workers answered with a demand of a minimum of \$23 an acre and a cash advance to carry them over. A United Front Committee is leading the strike. It is known that the T. U. U. L. organized and is actually leading the strike. This is as it should be. On the other hand there is no reason why the T. U. U. L. should not appear before the whole working class as the leader of the strike.

At the time of going to press details of the strike situation are very meager. But even at this distance one fact stands out: ten thousand workers under Communist leadership have thrown down the gauntlet to their masters and said that they will fight for the right to live.

GREET MORGENSTERN AND GOODMAN at the New York Branch Plenk, Sunday, May 29, Tippetts Brook Park.

The Political Crisis of Japanese Imperialism

During the past few weeks the lull in the Far Eastern developments has once more been broken. The Manchurian adventure and its effects are making themselves felt with particular intensity. For months, the Japanese invasion of China and the occupation of Manchuria have been characterized by a rather slow evolution. The contradictions in the interests of the various imperialist powers have to a large extent held back the Tokyo brigands from going the full length of their intentions. It was for this reason that they were forced to conclude the "truce" of Shanghai.

In Manchuria, the constitution of the new Manchukuo state and the efforts of the Nipponese to solidify it as a base of operations have been marked with persistent guerrilla warfare throughout the country, scattered groups putting up a stubborn resistance against the invad-

ers. The colonizing and stabilizing enterprises of the Japanese master class have consumed tremendous sums, the yield for which, they know, at best lies in the very distant future. The expenses for their adventure abroad have not as yet been met and are continuing to accrue in ever greater volume. The credit relations with foreign finance capital have not been lubricated by these conditions either.

Effects of the Crisis

As a consequence, the economic crisis, which began as part of the general crisis of capitalism after the Wall Street crash of October 1929, has been considerably aggravated. The economic distress of the masses is greater than ever. Industry is at a standstill more than ever before.

That discontent and unrest should develop on a large scale, with this situation for a background, is only to be expected. It is still too hard to gauge the extent and to recognize the direction which this discontent and unrest is taking. But it is certain that the present political super-structure of the Mikado's empire is extremely shaky. Political and social convulsions of a high order are forthcoming, the first signs of which are beginning to come into view.

The Assassination of the Premier

For some time now, reports have been flowing in from Tokio of a growing Fascist movement. It is supposed to base itself upon a split-off from the reformist party, the Japanese section of the Second International, and upon a section of the military. What the precise strength and composition of this party is, is not discernible from the reports. But the rise of such a party is in itself significant in so far as it depicts a new trend in the political life of the country.

A great deal of talk about a Fascist coup d'Etat has been heard of late. The recent assassination of Ki Inukai, the Prime Minister of Japan, has been attributed to Fascist henchmen. Whether this is true or not, it seems quite certain that this act of terror was inspired by the growing despair on part of a large section of the intermediate classes with the involved and complicated and rather helpless position to which the country has been brought by the exploits of the government.

What Is Behind the Terror

This wide spread sentiment of despair and distress, coupled with the enormous conquering appetite of the military cliques appears to be pushing the ruling classes to a precipice. Aims of a forcible issue from the situation, war aims, are no doubt behind the terror that has taken the toll of the foremost statesman of imperialism Japan.

To realize how tense these feelings are, and how intent the aims that accompany them, it must be observed that Inukai was among the most conservative of the die-hards in the empire. He belonged to the acknowledged war party, the Seiyukai. Even he appeared too pacific to the truculent young militarists of the

(Continued from page 3)

Morgenstern and Goodman Released

On May 17, two class war prisoners of the Left Opposition, comrades Bernard Morgenstern and Leon Goodman were released from the capitalist jail in Pennsylvania. The two staunch Communist fighters have just finished serving a sentence of ninety days for distributing leaflets issued by the Communist League of America (Opposition), calling for participation of all workers in the party's unemployed demonstration.

Morgenstern and Goodman were arrested in Philadelphia in February of last year and convicted on the charge of sedition. The charge was based on the fact that the leaflet they were distributing pointed out that the only conclusive way of solving the unemployment crisis is by an international proletarian revolution. Morgenstern and Goodman were therefore arrested for being proletarian internationalists and as such served their term in the bosses' prison, as representatives of the international working class.

The courageous example of Morgenstern and Goodman, both young Communists, will serve as an example and as an inspiration to the whole Communist youth and particularly to the youth of the Left Opposition. The young Communists who come to the Left Opposition will learn by the example of these two valiant fighters not only to uphold and to propagate the Leninist ideas of the Opposition, but also to struggle in the very front ranks of the class battles of the proletariat. The exemplary conduct of Morgenstern and Goodman will serve as an instigation to the Oppositionists ev-

erywhere to give the lead to the Communist militants on all fronts.

The two class war fighters are reentering the ranks of the Left Opposition with undiminished enthusiasm, ready to continue their work in the same ardent spirit as before. The Left Opposition welcomes its two foremost fighters back. It rejoices to have them return, to lend their tested strength once more to its activities. The return of comrades Morgenstern and Goodman will mean an impetus to increased efforts in the fight

Opposition Youth Debats Anarchist Group

The second debate scheduled by the Spartacus Youth Club of New York will be held on Sunday, May 22nd at 8:00 P. M. The first debate with the Young Peoples Socialist League proved successful, over three hundred turning out to fill the large hall in the Labor Temple.

The subject of the coming debate: "Is a Proletarian Dictatorship Necessary?" is an extremely important one, particularly in view of the fact that the negative position will be upheld by the anarchists represented by their youth section, the Vanguard Group. The affirmative point of view will be defended by our comrades, Herbert Capelis and Albert Glotzer.

The debate will be held at the Free Workers Center, 219 Second Avenue. Admission is 15 cents. Don't forget the date and place.

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

Among the Italian Workers in Chicago

In Chicago the leading Italian comrades were expelled from the party some time ago purely as a punishment for their fight against its bureaucratic methods. Several of them came to discuss with me and I agreed to become active amongst them. They were themselves already then leaders of the Italian revolutionary group here and of the Italian Workers Club. Now these comrades have accepted the analysis of the Left Opposition on all important questions of the movement, such as the united front, the situation in Germany and the question of internal party democracy.

The Italian Workers Club which was formerly controlled by the party has now by collective agreement, been reorganized and its name changed to the Spartacus Workers League. This organization is now contemplating and planning extensive activities. My time is, of course, taken up considerably with the work and collaboration with the leadership of this Workers League.

We have already defeated the party bureaucrats here on the Italian field. To the overwhelming majority of Italian class conscious workers here we represent Communism. There are only 5 Italian members left in the party and they are the most degenerate types having hardly any influence and are the object of laughter by everyone.

On May Day we held a well attended mass meeting in Italian in our center on Roosevelt Rd. After this we formed in marching order and marched through the Italian quarters to the Party Demonstration in Union Park. Our whole executive composed entirely of expelled party members marched at the head under our own banners. We had behind us 300 Italian workers. When we entered in Union Park singing and shouting our slogans, the workers assembled greeted us with thunderous applause. The Rubicks and Geberts gaped in surprise and were sickly grins. The party controlled Italians also marched—the whole five of them—and were sore indeed, as they realized the ridiculous figure they were cutting.

We now already have a functioning youth-sports dept. (We are organizing a women's dept., and an unemployed council under our direction. We are truly the Communist party among the Italians in Chicago.

—JOE.

Militant Builders

Thirteen new subs came in last week. This brings the total of new subs since the opening of the drive is 216. Most of these subs were sent in by our staff of Militant Builders. The staff is apparently hot after the prizes offered for the highest standing comrades. The staff and its record follow: (figures in parentheses are for the last month and are quoted in dollars): C. R. Hediund (6)—11; L. Sacharow (6)—10; V. R. Dunne (6)—9; G. Duell (5)—11; L. Lilly (5); J. Sifakis (4)—2; L. Gleisser (4)—2; L. Rosehand (3)—2; M. Dunne (3)—8; L. Nagy (2)—3; C. Forsen (2)—2; A. Buchner (2)—2; M. Rosen (2)—2; C. Coover (2)—2; S. Ehrlich (2)—1; S. Frank (1)—2; L. Basky (1)—2; S. T. Vasyly (1)—1; R. Ruskin (1)—2; W. Curran (1)—2; S. Zalmanoff (1)—1; P. Carlson (1)—1; C. Cowl (1)—3; P. Schulman (1)—1; F. Barach (1)—4; C. Johnson (1)—2; S. Lessin (1)—2; B. Homan (1); S. Gendelman (1); N. Berman (1); G. R. Herman (1); H. Ross (1); H. Milton (1)—1; T. Drobny (1)—1; J. Carr (1)—3; C. Skoglund—3; P. Chiofalo—2; G. Ray—2; M. Gottlieb—1; M. Koehler—1; W. Wynne—1; J. Carter—1; L. Capelli—1; W. Herman—1; A. Swaback—1; A. Giotzer—1; L. Logan—1; A. Kaldis—1; M. Sterling—1.

Minneapolis Branch Challenges Wobblies

James P. Thompson, the outstanding orator of the I. W. W. spoke in Minneapolis at the Labor Lyceum, Sunday, May 15th to an audience, the size of which strikingly attested to the precipitous decline in influence of that organization which once held aloft in undisputed leadership the banner of revolutionary internationalism. About 50 persons came to hear the flower of syndicalist thought in this country deliberate the nature of capitalist exploitation and the class struggle. Thompson has forceful interrupted flow of convincing argument on Marxian economics, punctuated by apt quotations from Marx himself, but fails miserably to explain the politics of Marxism which his syndicalist prejudices do not permit him to understand.

In answer to questions on the subject, he sententiously asserted the argument advanced by the anarchists before the flood: that politics is nothing but parliamentarism, and that the I. W. W. when the working class seizes power, "will do everything necessary, to maintain power, even with a Red Army." The writer questioned whether the Red Army, the jails, the courts, police, etc., could be considered economic weapons. Thompson answered that this was merely a quibble, and then proceeded to launch into a violent personal attack on all "politicians", specifically the Communists, triumphantly "convicting" them of wishing to overthrow capitalism at the ballot box. It was necessary to attack the Soviet Union as a capitalist nation in order to prove his point, which I believe did

Left Winger Expelled from I. L. G. W. U.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Max Deitch, a member of Local 66 of the International Garment Workers Union was expelled from the Executive Board by the Right wingers on it and with the support of the union officials.

He was charged with the responsibility for a leaflet written by the Left wing and distributed to the members of the Union. The contents of the leaflet expressed the sentiments of many members of the Union who on numerous occasions have taken the floor and expressed similar criticism.

Reisel, Fishman and Joffe, officials of the Union, defended and endorsed the expulsion stating that the contents of the leaflet were false.

The members were given no opportunity to approve or reject the action of the Executive Board or to discuss the leaflet in order to determine for themselves the charges made against Deitch and for which he was expelled.

Reisel who acted as chairman ruled that the membership had no power to reject the decision of the E. B. and that the Joint Board only had the power to do so.

This ruling is contrary to Section 17 of the constitution as I understand it. It states very clearly that:

"Any member of the I. L. G. W. U. feeling aggrieved at the decision of the Local Union shall have the right to appeal to the Joint Board."

We would do well to pause for a moment and make clear the power and authority of our E. B. The officials of our Union and its E. B. are elected by the membership and responsible to it. The E. B. is responsible to the membership and acts for it between meetings. Any action taken by the E. B. between membership meetings is brought before the membership subject for its approval or rejection.

The Depression Hits South Carolina

"A Smiling Providence"

From the coast to the Appalachian mountains,—the greatest east of the Rockies,—South Carolina is blessed with a pleasing climate in which in many places vegetables grow ten months in the year and roses often bloom the year around. The coast district or "Low Country" is famous for its cypress swamps and lagoons, dense with water-growth and "tall pines wreathed and banneted with Spanish moss", and veiled with "dawn-mists"; its herons, hawks, vultures, eagles; its swamp fish, deer, and alligators; its gardens of azaleas, wisterias, and magnolias; its sea-island cotton; and its rice plantations and aristocracy of a former day. Of the gardens of the Ashley River John Galsworthy wrote, "Nothing so free and gracious, so lovely and wistful, nothing so richly colored yet so ghostlike, exists, planted by the sons of men."

In constant, the mountains of the inland border of the state rise over a mile high. Here is the last resort of a remnant of the Cherokees, driven out of their hunting grounds by the Anglo-Saxon invaders who built their log cabins and set up schools for the study of Greek and Latin and theology while busy subduing "the wilderness". Last resort, too, of spruce and fir, rattlesnake and wild turkey, fox, deer, and bear. Then too, last resort of the pure Anglo-Saxon descendants, driven back into the hills by the plantation system of a former generation and deliberately kept illiterate by the aristocracy of the low-lands, thus producing the "poor whites" of the present day.

Between these two extremes of low-land and high-land lies the major part of the state, devoted to cotton mills and cotton raising. Originally covered with pines forming a beautiful and extensive forest area, it is now well cut over and dotted with light-built houses raised for the most part on brick or wood posts and having no cellars. Few houses in the poorer country sections are painted. The soil is rich in iodine but erodes very easily;—a soil peculiarly adapted to the pine which has been ruthlessly cut down in the past and burned on the spot.

Such is Carolina,—still the land of the log-cabin and the cotton field and blessed with a fertile soil and a wonderful climate under a "smiling providence".

Providence Still Smiles

Carolina during the depression has suffered no great or sudden catastrophe at the hands of Nature either of flood, earthquake, plague or drought. Providence "still smiles". What then of the "human element"?

Let us examine some of the "Needy Cases".

Case 1. "Hope died with the mule. As long as the Jacksons had Mag they

not sit well even with the sympathizers of the I. W. W. some of whom are for the Soviets.

The Minneapolis Branch considers it a question of great educational value to the workers of Minneapolis to arrange a debate with a representative of the I. W. W. in which both sides of the question of the American revolution can be discussed. We hereby issue the challenge.

Read Communism and Syndicalism by Leon Trotsky for a clarification of the differences between I. W. W. and Communists.

Price per copy—10c

The executive board has no authority to expel any member without the consent of the membership, and only after the members of the Union are given an opportunity to investigate the charges made, and upon which the decision to expel was determined. It is that done—and it was not—and should the members approve the action taken by the E. B., then the complainant has the right to appeal to the Joint Board.

The expulsion of Deitch from the E. B. is an extremely dangerous step and the membership should fight it tooth and nail. The E. B. has no authority to expel a member without the sanction of the membership. Certainly if they have the right to expel a member of the E. B. who was elected by the members they have the right to do anything. And if we disagree, well, we will be told, complain to the Joint Board.

It was interesting to note that not a single rank and file member of the Union defended the action taken by the E. B. Only Reisel, Fishman, and Joffe—all officials—spoke in favor of the expulsion.

The conduct of the chairman was inexcusable. He cut the discussion short when it got to hot for him. The chairman has no right to terminate the discussion without the consent of the membership, and this he never got he never asked for it.

The expulsion of Deitch should be fought against by every member who has the interest of the Union at heart. We must voice our protest. The responsibility for this new expulsion campaign lies at the feet of those members of the E. B. and the officials who instigated and supported the expulsion.

Those responsible will have to answer and bear the consequences. They have taken a dangerous and harmful step. Today they expel an E. B. member, tomorrow, they may expel a member of the Union.

Members of Local 66 on guard! Fight the expellers. Criticism must not be stifled, we must refuse to be terrorized. Deitch was expelled because he was a thorn in the side of those who have expelled him.

Rally to his defense. Demand his reinstatement.

—HARRY MILTON.

The Minnesota Convention of the C. P.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Some time ago the official Party headquarters at Minneapolis sent out a call addressed to trade unions and other working class organizations in the State of Minnesota to send delegates to a Convention to be held in Minneapolis on May 15th, to ratify the Communist Party Ticket for the coming state election. The Minneapolis Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) first learned of the holding of the Convention when the call was read at one of the local trade unions where the writer was in attendance. The secretary of the local union merely mentioned the fact to the members present that there was a call from the Communist party to send delegates to their State Ratification Convention and the apparent intention was to lay the communication on the table without any further action. I immediately raised the question that this communication was possibly one of the most important on the table and should not be laid aside but acted upon.

After some explanation on my part on the necessity and importance of every trade union to familiarize itself with, and support the building of a Communist organization and to muster the largest possible vote for its candidates, the union voted to send two delegates to the C. P. Convention. However, the two delegates selected did not show up at the Convention and when the chairman read off the names of the delegates that were seated he did not mention one single trade union local that had a delegate seated. No name of any delegate was called off except those who were seated by the Party machine. The local Branch of the League sent two delegates and none of them were seated and their names were never even mentioned.

When we entered the hall we were requested by the door committee to sign our name and the organization we represented, after which we were permitted to take a seat. Wm. Schneiderman, the D. O., was speaking on the Party Platform and the State and National Party ticket and wound up his talk in the usual fashion of launching a bitter attack on the "small and insignificant group of renegades and stool pigeons who try to classify themselves as Communists, the 'Trotskyites'." He urged the workers present to hold the "Trotskyites" in the grossest kind of contempt and to deal with them in a way which was fitting for workers in dealing with counter-revolutionary renegades and stool pigeons. After this outburst, which was the climax of the District Organizer's talk, the usual organized applause took place.

Thereafter, everything went smooth and nothing interfered with the operation of the party machine until the writer obtained the floor for the purpose of asking the party leadership how we, as delegates from the Communist League could cooperate with the party in getting the most political benefit out of the election campaign for the Communist movement, its program and candidates? I told them of my expulsion from the party after giving it my wholehearted support for five years in money and party work and I wanted to know how we could cooperate on the things we can agree on and that we stood for the unification of the Communist movement around a correct program. My proposition evidently baffled the Chairman momentarily and he simply glanced in the direction of Schneiderman who responded promptly and bravely by stating something to the effect that "no smooth or suave talk" could cover up our character as "counter-revolutionaries and stool pigeons who cooperate with the police to break up Communist meetings and demonstrations." He further ruled that there would be no more discussion on my proposition and ordered the Chairman to proceed with the regular order of business.

Put the Press Drive Over the Top!

The final month of the drive is not what it should be. It is necessary to say so right out to make every member of the League and every one of its sympathizers realize that our statement that the life of the weekly MILITANT depends on the success of the press drive is not an exaggeration. This drive must be made a success.

A glance at the quotas and results to date tells the story:

	Quotas	Results
New York	\$ 325	\$ 69.50
Minneapolis	200	38
Chicago	100	8
Toronto	70	
Cleveland	40	4
Philadelphia	40	
Boston	40	
Newark	35	2.50
Kansas City	30	2.00
St. Louis	25	
Los Angeles	20	6
Youngstown	10	1.50
New Haven	10	6
Montreal	10	
Duluth	10	
Springfield, Ill.	10	
W. Frankfort, Ill.	10	
Trenton	10	
Miscellaneous		14.50
Total	\$ 1,000	\$ 152.00

It can be seen from the above how far we are from even one half of our quota. Now this quota is by no means beyond our ability to reach. All that is neces-

sary is the determination to "reach it." And a sustained effort to do so. Now for the final week of the drive let every one pitch in with all he has. Let every comrade, reader, sympathizer and friend cudgel his memory to think of every one he ever heard say a word of agreement with the ideas of the Left Opposition and a word of sympathy for our struggle—let him take our front page appeal and go to him for help.

If we are to reach our quota—and we must—we need immediate help. We need donations. At the affairs which our branches have arranged for this week collections must be made. Pledges must be taken. Plans for raising money must be worked out.

Remember that the life of the weekly MILITANT is in danger, SAVE IT!

The I. L. G. W. U. Meets in Philadelphia

(Continued from page 1)
archist-Lovestonite Bloc played a miserable role. It confined itself to the defense of the resolutions dealing with legalistic forms of administration. As regards union policies and tactics, criticism of the class collaboration policy of the leadership and representation of the demand of the broad masses of the membership for a militant program and for militant action, this pseudo-progressive outfit did not show anything by which it could be distinguished from the Right wing clique. The reason for this is not very difficult to explain.

The Anarchists who, in their support of Sigmund against the Left wing proved to be no less reactionary than the Schlesinger clique, found themselves to a peculiar position. All their attempts at posing as progressives were of no avail. They were not taken seriously.

The Lovestonites felt their obligations toward both cliques. They had to atone for their former sins against both. Their position was rather comical. It was manifested in their support of the resolution regarding the Soviet Union. They swallowed the resolution hook, line and sinker. Obviously, with the intention of pleasing their brothers-in-arms, the Anarchists. On the question of the recognition of Zimmerman's rights to office on the Executive Board of his local, his sole support came from Dubinsky, who jointly with the Anarchists administered him a whipping for his sins of the past and a warning for the future. A ritual entirely becoming for a capitulator.

There remained at the Convention the delegation of the "Left Groups" guided by the Industrial Union. This group was represented only by seven delegates and consequently, played no great role at the Convention. It could not, besides, be expected, due to the prevailing hostility, to fully develop its program, to give adequate representation to the Left wing. But even in such a situation, the Left delegation could have made itself felt, provided it had a platform for the convention. But unfortunately, it has none, and its part at the

Convention was therefore, a negative one. It contributed nothing.

The Left delegation came to the convention with the slogan of "Rank and File Leadership" as its program. Every principle and task of the Left wing was to be subordinated to this slogan. And when it came to the test on the floor of the convention, this slogan proved its fallacy and was the cause of confusion and undeserved discredit for the Left wing.

The slogan of "Rank and File Leadership" was raised by the Left delegation in connection with a recommendation to the Convention calling for a cloakmakers' strike this coming June. The Lefts insisted on the consideration of their recommendation of a "Rank and File Leadership" for the strike, and failing in this, four of them voted against the strike. They were condemned by the entire Convention. This condemnation would not count so much against them as the confusion and the misrepresentation it caused in the minds of the workers with regard to the program of the Left wing.

It is totally false to put the condition of a "Rank and File Leadership" to the support of a strike. It is but one of the absurd contradictions flowing from such false slogans. Communists cannot withhold support of a strike even if it is under a reformist leadership. Their duty is to continue the fight for a militant, Left wing leadership in strikes and out of strikes. This is the only way to expose the reformists and to gain prestige for themselves. The Lefts at the Convention committed an unpardonable blunder for which the Stalinist leadership is responsible.

The Tasks of the Left Wing

We wish to reiterate our proposals made to the Left wing before the Convention for the raising of the slogan of unity of the I. L. G. W. U. and the Industrial Union at the Convention. We proposed to demand the readmission of the Industrial Union as a body into and without discrimination. We proposed this on the basis of the pressing need for unity and the demand for it. Such a slogan would immensely strengthen the Left wing and its prestige with the International. We also proposed a united front with the progressive elements, led by the Anarchist-Lovestonite bloc, for common struggle against the Schlesinger machine. We proposed this as a tactic. We said that we have no confidence in the leaders of the "Progressive Bloc", but we look upon its existence and its influence as a proof of the radical sentiments of the workers. The united front with the "Progressive Bloc" would bring the Left wing closer to the workers and prove to them the insincerity of the "Progressives" and the militancy of the Left wing. The Left wing could only gain by such a move.

The Lefts at the Convention did not adopt our proposals. They failed with the Stalinist tactics. It is not yet too late to test our correct tactics of a united front and of the slogan of unity. The time for it is no less opportune now than it was before.

—ALBERT ORLAND.

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IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

The Political Crisis of Japanese Imperialism

(Continued from page 1)

country. The restless masses demand action. The assassins of Inukai point to one road of action.

The transportation of whole armies from the Shanghai scene in the direction of the Soviet border, taking place with the alleged intention of putting down the guerrilla warfare, makes an attack against the Soviet Union a rather easy target for the aims of the military clique and the reactionary mass support they are receiving in the country. In the whole Manchurian adventure, the Tokyo government has from time to time seen itself forced to merely register and approve of acts perpetrated by the irresponsible and unhampered militarists. The ascent of the Selyukai to power was supposed to bring the government more into harmony with the line of action taken by the militarists. The incidents of last week seem to indicate that the military are on the rampage again, this time going over the heads even of the acknowledged leaders of the military cliques, like the Minister of War, Araki. An attack against the workers' republic is on the order of the day.

The Danger of War

Once the military has succeeded in starting a war against the Soviet Union, the support of the entire bourgeoisie will be solidly behind them. The bourgeois knows what choice he has. The assault precipitated by the Japanese militarists can easily be amplified into a conflagration, in which the capitalists of all the major countries will participate. The same depression that grips Japan is likewise holding sway over the other bourgeois nations. Only a spark is needed to bring about an explosion, the effects of which are hardly calculable.

Against the War Danger in U. S.

For us in America, as well as for the Communists everywhere, the struggle against imperialist war is the most important task of the day. Mass demonstrations, mass rallies, parades led by the Communist party, in which the fight against the war danger has had a prominent part, have received a great response from workers all over the country. But it is not enough to demonstrate, it is not enough to propagandize against war. It is necessary to give the anti-war sentiment of the workers a solid organizational form.

It is in this sense that the struggle against the war danger cannot be divorced from the daily activities of the Communists in the fight for the majority of the working class. To really give the struggle against imperialist slaughter concrete shape, it is necessary to penetrate the factories, the shops, the trade union organizations. It is necessary to confront and to influence the workers at their places of work and wherever they meet. That is the only way of assuring their fighting solidarity in case of war. The Communists have to prove to the worker from day to day that they deserve to be followed, that they are really the vanguard of the workers. That alone will give them the opportunity to lead the workers against the imperialist war mongers. Otherwise, without the tested and trusted leadership of the Communists, the strong sentiment of the masses against war can easily be dissipated and directed into channels harmless for the enemy class.

That is why the Left Opposition has fought so tenaciously against the isolationist policies of the Stalinist leadership of the official Communist party, that is why we have rejected the disastrous theory of social fascism, that is why we have struggled against the harmful slogan of the united front "from below", that is why we have fought for a correct trade union tactic, for a genuine united front policy which unites all workers for common action and serves as the best battle ground of the Communist against the reformists and all the other fakery and misleaders of the workers.

The serious international situation today, the danger facing the Soviet Union requires with all the greater urgency, the return on the part of the Communist party to the line of Lenin, to the method of work prescribed by the first four congresses of the Communist International. There is no short-cut to leadership of the masses. And only under Communist leadership can the struggle against war as well as all other struggles of the workers be carried on successfully.

Greet the Return

OF OUR CLASS WAR PRISONERS
MORGENSTERN AND GOODMAN

at
THE PICNIC

to be held at
TIBBETTS BROOK PARK Plot 8
Sunday, MAY 29th, 1932

After languishing in one of the most vermin infested jails in the entire United States; after ninety days of isolation in a Capitalist dungeon; after days wasted in prison misery and nights spent in prison horror our comrades Bernard Morgenstern and Leon Goodman will be with us again to enjoy whatever liberties are begrudgingly granted us by the powers that be.

Comrades and Revolutionists:
Out to the Picnic!

Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition

The Reactionary Theory of Socialism in One Country

The fundamental question which divides the Marxian wing of the movement from the Centrists and the Right wing is the theory of socialism in one country. On one side of this theory stand nationalism and utopianism; on the other side stand the internationalists and scientific socialists. In its essence, this theory of the official leaders is no less profoundly important than the issues which divided the old Second International into its Right and Left wings.

Although it is not new to the movement as a whole, the theory of socialism in one country was introduced into the Communist movement for the first time in 1924. Prior to that date, it was not only absent from the literature of the revolutionary Communist movement, but our teachers specifically rejected and mocked it at the time and time again. Marx and Engels polemized it in so many words. Not a line can be found in the writings of Lenin to be adduced in its defense.

The program of the Bolshevik party, the banner under which it directed the October revolution, does not contain a mention of this "theory". The program and statutes of the Young Communist League of Russia, adopted in 1921, takes special care to refute the idea. Not one single sentence can be found in any of the fundamental documents of the first four congresses of the Communist International to refer to the possibility of building up a socialist society in one single country, and a backward agricultural country like Russia at that.

The first draft for a Comintern program, presented to its Fourth Congress by Bukharin and Thalheimer, does not mention the theory or the idea by even the vaguest reference. Whole passages can be found in the writings of the principal proponents of the theory—Bukharin and Stalin (their writings before 1924, of course) which argue directly against this reactionary notion.

In a word, not one solitary theorist or authentic spokesman and defender of Marxism, from Marx himself down to Stalin, can be found who, up until 1924, ever had a word to say in defense of this idea. How and why, then, did it come to be propounded, and finally to be incorporated into the fundamental program adopted at the Sixth Congress?

How the "Theory" Arose
The date with which this theory is inseparably connected stamps it for what it really is. The theory was first promulgated by Stalin in 1924 in the second edition of his pamphlet called "The Theory and Practice of Leninism". We emphasize the second edition, because in the first Stalin still repeated what was the common knowledge and belief of all Marxists up to then. He said in the first edition:

"It is (the proletariat's) most important task—the organizing of socialist production—still remains unsolved. Can these tasks be solved can the final victory of socialism be won without the joint efforts of the proletariat of several highly developed countries? No, this is impossible."

In the second edition, with virtually nothing else of the text changed, we already find that the passage quoted above has been altered to read:

"After the victorious proletariat of one country has consolidated its power and has won over the peasantry for itself, it can and must build up the socialist society."

From this somewhat cautious, but sufficiently clear formulation, the Stalinists have since expressed themselves in the most unrestrained and fantastic manner. Today, for example, we are told by them, on the basis of this theory, that the task which will be accomplished at the end of the second Five Year Plan is:

"... To liquidate entirely all the elements of capitalism, etc., etc., down to active builders of a socialist classless society." (Freiheit, March 7, 1932.)

The Effects of October 1923

Now let us look into the theory itself. It came into existence, as we have mentioned, in 1924, and not by accident. The year 1924 was one filled with tremendous consequences for the intervention, a revolutionary movement. It was the culminating point of the insurrectionary high-tide of the post-war years and the beginning of the momentary stabilization of the bourgeoisie achieved with the aid of America's gold. The German revolution of October 1923 had been cruelly defeated without having fired a shot. The month previously, the insurrection in Bulgaria had ended with a crushing defeat and extermination of the Communist movement. Three months later, the putsch in Riga (Estonia) disastrously failed to realize the vain hopes put in it by the Communists. This rapid succession of defeats gave the harrassed bourgeoisie the "breathing space" it was looking for. The second edition of a world war situation created by the French occupation of the Ruhr was brought to an end. Everywhere, the setbacks suffered by the proletarian vanguard was felt deeply, and the pitiful attempts of Zinoviev, Stalin, Brandler and Bukharin to depict the situation as though the revolution, the struggle for power was still on the order of the day, only served to deepen the disillusionment of the advanced workers. This mirage dissolved quickly. Reality made itself felt only too plainly. The intervention of the United States and the adoption of

the Dawes Plan, with its subsequent "stabilizing" of Germany and temporary regulation of Europe's imperialist antagonisms, soon revealed that the revolutionary wave had subsided, that the battalions of the proletariat had been weakened, that adjustments had to be made to the brief "democratic pacifist era".

How to make these adjustments? The responsible Marxists proposed that the Communists, particularly in Central Europe, must once more set about to win the masses of the workers in the struggles around daily issues, that the masses had once more to be assembled in the everyday struggle so that when the next series of convulsions gripped the bourgeois society, the Communists would be in a better position to take the offensive in the direct struggle for power. There was no ground for pessimism, said the leaders of the Left Opposition. In a series of penetrating analyses, comrade Trotsky showed at that time that America's intervention in Europe, which involved at the outset a brief stabilization, was only accumulating a mountain of powder magazines which would inevitably blow up with the resounding crash of war and proletarian revolution.

The Stalinist "Adjustment"

How did the official apparatus envisage the adjustments that had to be made following the German defeat and America's intervention? By the apparatus, we refer above all to its most perfect representative, Stalin, all of whose activity in the Russian revolutionary movement has been characterized, and still is, by an opportunist, narrow-minded nationalism. He proposed to solve the problem by turning the back of the Russian republic upon the international revolution and concentrating all attention to the "problems at home". The banner of international revolution, according to the Stalin school, was to be hauled and replaced with the slogan of "socialism in one country".

What ideas lurked at the back of Stalin's head to nurture this theory? The idea that the proletarian revolution in Europe had been taken off the order of the day for an incalculable period; that it had been postponed for decades; that the most profitable efforts could be concentrated in enclosing the Soviet republic within its shell and constructing a national socialist Utopia there. Losovsky, expressing the thoughts that prevailed in the minds of the bureaucracy at that time, wrote that the stabilization of Europe was a matter of decades. And if that were the case, why continue this "infernal babble" about "international revolution" which will not take place for a long time anyway, especially when there is so much to be "done at home"?

The Theory as a Fruit of Pessimism

In other words, the theory of socialism in one country—that is, the fantastic idea that Russia, by itself and without the aid of the victorious workers in culturally more advanced countries, can build up a classless society—was born out of the womb of pessimism, of a defeatist state of mind. It was born and bred in an atmosphere of reaction, and that brand can no more be removed from its forehead.

Nothing that has ever been said can refute this characterization of the origin and essence of the theory. The dispute is no academic occupation of closet philosophers and professional hair-splitters. It is a vital important theoretical question which has a concrete, practical significance of tremendous scope. Together with comrade Trotsky, the Left Opposition argued that to build a socialist society in the Soviet Union, the aid of the workers' revolution in a more advanced country or countries would be required. Together with Stalin and Bukharin, the international apparatus of the Comintern argued that a socialist society could be built up without the

"state aid" of the workers in other countries. If this dispute has a "practical" significance—and it has an enormous one—then the conclusion is an obvious and a disastrous one.

Why? Because socialism is not built in one day. Only petty bourgeois anarchists believe that the "free society" will be established on the morrow of the overthrow of the bourgeois state. The Marxists know, as Lenin wrote, that "the road of organization is a long road, and the task of socialist construction demands a long drawn, stubborn work and real knowledge which we do not possess to a sufficient degree. Also the next generation, which will be further developed, will probably hardly be able to achieve the complete transition to Socialism" (Vol. XV, page 240). If you believe, as Stalin does, that this "long road" is to be fully travelled "alone", before the workers in the other countries have overthrown their bourgeoisie, then you have postponed—at least in your thoughts—the world proletarian revolution for an indefinite period.

The Essence of the Opposition's Struggle: Marxian Internationalism

The Opposition believed and declared: "The proletarian revolution in the West is far closer to a realization than is the abolition of classes and the establishment of a socialist society in Russia. If it is not closer, then the proletarian revolution in Russia is doomed! This truth Lenin repeated a thousand times: 'We do not live merely in a state but in a system of states and the existence of the Soviet republic side by side with imperialist states for any length of time is inconceivable.'" (Vol. XVI, page 102.) In this is contained not one grain of "pessimism" or "disbelief in the revolution"; it is penetrated with a realistic Marxian internationalism.

And what is this internationalism? It is no mere loose sentimental bond of solidarity uniting the workers of all countries. It arises directly out of the development of capitalist world economy. The imperialist stage of capitalism, its expansion on an international scale, the tremendous and vital importance of exports and imports for the maintenance of capitalism, monopolies extending to the ends of the earth, the mutual dependence of one country upon developments in another—these are some of the phenomena of world economy. Capitalism has not matured for the socialist revolution in this or that country, large or small, backward or advanced. It has matured for socialism on a world scale. This fact not only creates the basis for a living internationalism, but also for the transformation of the old society by a victorious world proletariat.

But if each country can build an enclosed socialist society by the efforts and resources of its own proletariat, then internationalism becomes an empty phrase for holiday resolutions. If it can be done in backward Russia, then surely it can be done in more advanced Germany, and in France, and England, and certainly in the United States. Then what need have the Communists for a highly-centralized international of their own?

Internationalism As A Necessary Development

Furthermore: the development of all existing society up to now, and particularly of modern capitalist society, has been towards increasing inter-relationships and inter-dependence. Capitalism reaches its highest stage of evolution, it develops to its most majestic economic heights, not by retreating into its respective national shells, but by projecting from each national territory those links which bind it inseparably to the rest of the world economy. The countries of the most backward culture, technique, living standards are those that play the smallest role in world economy and trade; and vice versa.

Now, socialism assumes a vastly higher stage of development than capitalism, a higher culture, technique and living standard. It means not only the abolition of classes, but the elimination of the differences between worker and peasant between town and country, the abolition of agriculture by the fact of its industrialization. But this, in turn, means that a socialist society must develop to a much further point along the economic and technical (that is, the cultural) road than capitalism. The theory of socialism in one country implies (and its spokesmen state explicitly) that this is to be accomplished by taking the road back from capitalist evolution which was, as every baby knows, directed towards an increasing economic inter-dependence and inter-relationship on a world scale. The Marxists, in contradistinction to this reactionary, utopian idea, declare that the road to socialism presupposes an increasing participation in world economy, not only in the future socialist world economy, but right now, in the capitalist world economy which still exists, the economy to which, according to Lenin, we are subordinated, with which we are connected and from which we cannot escape."

What Internationalism Requires

In the U. S. S. R.

But if, in spite of everything, the proletarian revolution in the West is nevertheless delayed in coming? What shall we then do: give up the power in the Soviet Union? This is the "annihilating" argument the Stalinists present as their pitiful defense of an indefensible theory. Not at all! Lenin and Trotsky, who never believed in the utopia of national socialism, stood for seven years at the head of the proletarian dictatorship and never once proposed to "give up power". What they did and what the Left Opposition proposes to do today, is to retain the power in the first fortress to be conquered by the proletariat. In this fortress, while looking forward to the assistance of the workers in other countries to strengthen the position of the proletarian and socialist elements in the country as against the capitalist elements, this means the utilization of "both levers": at the command of the proletariat: the long lever of the international revolution and the shorter lever of laying add strengthening the foundations for a socialist economy at home. What it certainly does not mean is that the Russian proletariat and peasantry shall be deceived with the grandiose illusion that at the end of five more years "socialism will have been established"; for there will be terrific consequences to account for when the awakening takes place.

The pernicious theory of national socialism has already had the most serious effects for the proletarian dictatorship in Russia. On its basis, Stalin and Bukharin for years fought against the plan proposed by the Opposition for the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture. The bureaucrats were little interested in "Five Year Plans" then—they were too busy strangling the Opposition inside the party and saying to the kulak on the outside: "Enrich yourself!" And when under the pressure of events and the criticism of the Opposition, they finally adopted a radical plan, it was once more on the basis of this reactionary theory that they proceeded to "liquidate the kulak as a class" by administrative decrees and to establish a classless socialist society by a certain date on the calendar as if it were a prize contest that closed on a given day in the month. But a detailed description of these phases of the Opposition's struggle in the Communist International and in the Russian party specifically, we must leave for other articles in this series.

And it is not merely in Russia that this theory had fatal effects for the proletarian revolution. It should be borne in mind that the revisionists always included a tiny "if" in their theory. Socialist society could be built up in one country "if" military intervention from the foreign imperialists could be prevented. "Socialism in one country" kept undermining the possibilities of success of the great Chinese revolutionary movement of 1925-1927 and of the upheaval in the British working class in 1926. In the latter case particularly, did the "if" of the theory—the prevention of military intervention—play a thoroughly fatal role. We can trace the disgraceful conduct of the apparatus leaders during the British miners' and general strikes directly to this theory. An account of the events in England in 1926 and the part played in it by the Stalinists and the Left Opposition—an episode of fundamental importance in our nine years of struggle—we shall seek to give in the next issue.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB

The Spartacus Youth Club in New York, as already announced, has changed its meeting date to Friday evenings. The executive committee of the club is arranging an educational program for the coming weeks which will be of interest to young workers and students. At its next meeting, May 20, there will take place a discussion on the results of the recent French and German elections.

From Left Oppositionists in South America

Call, Columbia

April 28, 1932.

Dear comrades:

In this city, as well as in the rest of the country, the political struggles of the working class are going on accompanied by the same mistakes and setbacks brought about by the absurd and absolutely detrimental leadership of the fanatical Stalinists about two years ago there arrived in Colombia comrade Guillermo Hernandez Rodriguez, after a three years' stay in Russia, where it is said, he studied at the Marxist school at Moscow. He came as the accredited delegate of the Communist International to start and to lead the Communist Party of Colombia as a section of the C. I. On his arrival he was welcomed and hailed by a group of revolutionary workers who had formerly participated in the political struggles of the Socialist Revolutionary Party. We took a firm position, rejecting the policies of the traditional parties, which had left us with defeats and disasters behind us, desiring to obtain a class struggle political training in order to be able to correctly organize the party of the workers in Colombia.

Under these circumstances and with these desires, we hailed delegate Hernandez Rodriguez, accepting his political positions and the line he proposed for us to follow. Under his leadership, there was organized the committee of the Valle. Meanwhile, comrade Hernandez went to Bogota, the capital of the republic, to organize the central committee of the party, which was effected by a meeting that is known under the name of "El Ampliado". After some work had been accomplished in the capital, Rodriguez returned together with comrade Ines Martell to the Valle district with the object of implanting a solid political base in this section of the country which they considered of the greatest revolutionary importance. A series of meetings were held that were attended by workers and sympathizers. As the comrade delegate took advantage of his position as representative of the C. I. and wanted to impose his authority too rigidly, he came into conflict with the workers assembled. But, notwithstanding this fact, he was able to persuade a small group of comrades who were rather impressed with his Russian experiences, to submit to his authority.

Starting out with this group, he proceeded to expel all those who were not ready to comply with his dictatorial leadership. But since these expelled comrades were sincere revolutionaries (Continued on page 4)

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Problems of the Chinese Revolution

by LEON TROTSKY

THE 1925-27 CHINESE REVOLUTION WAS ONE OF THE FIRST WORLD-IMPORTANT POLITICAL EVENTS IN WHICH TROTSKY'S OPPOSITION TO THE POLICY OF STALIN MANIFESTED ITSELF IN THE CONCRETE. IN THIS BOOK, QUOTATIONS FROM STALIN'S OWN WRITTEN WORDS AND SPEECHES ARE GIVEN AS WELL AS THOSE OF TROTSKY'S AND HIS SUPPORTERS.

READ THIS HISTORICAL DOCUMENT. COMPARE THE PROPOSED POLICIES OF THAT DAY WITH SUBSEQUENT EVENTS IN THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, THEN DECIDE WHO WAS CORRECT. THE LEFT OPPOSITION DOES NOT FEAR YOUR JUDGMENT AFTER YOU HAVE SERIOUSLY READ AND STUDIED THIS BOOK.

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EDITORIAL NOTES

UNGRATEFUL GOVERNMENT

One of the most pathetic cases of hard luck—and one of the most instructive lessons—in recent days is the denial of citizenship to S. S. Saralief, editor of the Bulgarian S. L. P. paper, by the United States District Court of St. Louis. Saralief, true to the S. L. P. teaching, told the court that he was for the overthrow of capitalism by strictly legal and peaceful means. But even this undertaking to confine the struggle against capitalism within the legal rules and limits laid down by the ruling class itself did not gain for him the coveted citizenship. With that contempt for lackeys whose services are not needed at the moment, for which the masters ever have noted, the District Court booted him and his servile application aside and withheld—to quote the S. L. P. Convention resolution—"the important privilege of American citizenship."

The Weekly People, which never notices violations of the legal rights of revolutionary workers except, inferentially at least, to condone the violations, is having spasms over the Saralief case. It is, they protest, "unjust even according to capitalist ethics." If you understand the point of view of the S. L. P. legalists you have to admit there is ground for their dignified complaints. Those who agree to restrict their operations to the narrow groove marked out by the capitalist law, and spend nine-tenths of their energies in condemning those who refuse to make such an agreement, have a certain right to feel aggrieved when this treacherous servility goes unrewarded. The denial of citizenship to S. L. P. Saralief is an act of ingratitude on the part of the Government. And in addition to that it is a dirty trick. The threat of the S. L. P. convention resolution "to use every civilized method to force a reversal of this most unjust decision" is fully justified by the outrage.

Legal rights have a great value for the working class in the period when it is assembling its forces and working out its policies, and every encroachment on these rights has to be resisted in the most determined manner. The Marxists always understood and defended this position, and no different opinion is admissible in the name of Marxism. The crime of the S. L. P. consists in the fact that they—like so many others who invoke the names of Marx and Engels in order to betray their teachings—make a fetish and a final method of capitalist legality instead of regarding it, as Marx and Engels did, merely as a field for the pre-revolutionary organization and mobilization of the proletariat. It is just such a decision as that in the Saralief case—a flagrantly "illegal" decision in which the capitalist court trampled on its own constitutional provisions—that demonstrates the fallacy of legalistic fetishism. Engels, in advising the German workers to make the fullest use of legality for propaganda and organization, told the bourgeoisie to "be the first to shoot." Neither he nor any other revolutionist ever doubted for a moment that they would "shoot," i. e., violate their own legality when it served their purpose. That is why Marx and Engels always maintained that the emancipation of the workers by purely legal means is an impossibility.

This fundamental tenet of Marxism—which Marx and Engels defended to the last days of their lives—has been confirmed by all the experience of the international proletariat. It is not a small point about which Marxists may have different opinions. On the contrary, it is a sharp and clear dividing line between the revolutionary Marxists and the betrayers of Marxism. The former by no means reject "legality," but they utilize it, organize and prepare the proletariat for the revolution by force and to propagate the idea of its inevitability. The necessity of doing so lies at the root of the whole of Marx's and Engels' teaching. The perversion of this teaching by the S. L. P.—their deception of the workers with the idea that capitalism can be overthrown by purely legal methods alone—brings their betrayal of Marxism into the sharpest relief. The court decision in the Saralief case gives an ironic refutation to the legalistic dogma of the S. L. P.

THE "NEGOTIATORS" SMOKED OUT

The letters of The Militant exposing the "unity" horse-trade which the Stalinists and the Lovestonites were negotiating behind the back of the Party seem to have had a wholesome effect all the way around. The information put the proletarian elements in the Party on guard and has stimulated anew their interest in a side of the unity question which the bureaucrats left out of account in their pending "deal"—unity of the worker-Communists with the Left Opposition. In addition to that, the publication of the letters served to convince the diplomats of the Lovestone group at least that the secret game is up that the matter cannot be "arranged" behind the scenes. The Stalinists are no doubt also overcome with somewhat the same conviction, but they have been too busy answering questions lately to find time to issue any statements.

In the latest issue of the Workers' Age, Gitlow announces the conversion of his group to the idea of letting the Party members, whose interests were being bargained off over the conference table, have a little information about it. "The Communist Party (Majority Group) is of the opinion—says Gitlow—that there is nothing to gain and a great deal to

lose by keeping the unity negotiations behind a veil of secrecy." Gitlow is right, even if the discovery is several months late and was made only after "the veil of secrecy" had already been torn aside.

In his contribution to the public discussion of the matter which was no longer a secret, Gitlow supplied some additional and important information. For one thing he verifies, what The Militant's correspondent merely inferred, that Stachel is the leading spirit in the "unity" maneuver. That is quite in harmony with the proceedings as a whole. Stachel was the right hand man of Lovestone in all his perfidious work within the Party. In the eyes of the worker-Communists he was no less a symbol of "petty bourgeois politicalism" than Lovestone himself. Stachel's initiative in the matter characterizes the whole affair as another of those "rotten petty bourgeois tricks, devoid of principle and of regard for the interests of the movement. By the aid of such methods, and through the instrumentality of such people, a business transaction between adventurers can be ratified; but a unification of the Communist proletariat—never."

Gitlow's revelations go further than "comrade Stachel." (Only a few days ago the same Stachel wrote in the Daily Worker that the Lovestones were "foreign elements to the Party of the proletariat.") But that only signified a hitch in the negotiations.) Stachel, according to Gitlow, said the Communist International was disposed to act favorably on a unity proposition. And he also said that the present Party leaders have no principle objections to another deal with the Right wing "renegades." Gitlow writes:

"He (Stachel) let it be known that the letter of January 15th was received by the Communist International without any comment from the members of the Political Committee, who had forwarded it to Moscow."

Well, they will have to make plenty of "comment" before the affair is ended. And what is far more important—the Party members will also have something to say. The devastating splits, which the Stalinists and the Right wing together have imposed upon the Communist movement, coincided with the strangulation of Party democracy and the suppression of rank and file opinion. The Party members haven't spoken yet, but their voices will ring out all the louder for the long enforced silence. The evil consequences of the splits accumulate, and with them grows the aspiration of the workers for unity. This aspiration will not be thwarted by the machinations of the splitters in the name of unity while the real issue at the bottom of the disruption—the departure from the Lenin path and the expulsion of the Left Opposition—is left out of consideration. The rank and file inquiry into the negotiations between Lovestone and Stachel may well be the starting point for the necessary and long-delayed discussion of the basic causes of the splits and the principled way to unity.

The Left Opposition will present its unity proposals from this point of view. We are not in the least interested in any kind of secret conferences held in the dark of the moon. We have no use for "propositions" whispered out of the corner of the mouth by some furtive Stachel or other. We have no "capitulators" to offer and no "concessions" to demand. We want to be united with the Party, to wage the revolutionary struggle in common with it, to observe a common discipline. At the same time we insist on the right to adhere to the foundation principles of the Comintern and to advocate them in the normal way of Party democracy. Nothing more, nothing less.

Such proposals need no "veil of secrecy." They can and must be discussed openly, as every genuine and principled consideration—either of unity or of split—ought to be. For it is only when the questions are fairly put and understood by the members, when they consciously act upon them, that the unity of the Party is firmly grounded, or the necessity of split clearly determined. The Stalinist and Right wing bureaucrats have dragged the Party into the ditch by unprincipled maneuvers and intrigues. They will not get it out by these means. —J. P. C.

ST. LOUIS, ATTENTION

A Study Class on the "Fundamentals of Communism" is being organized by the St. Louis branch, Communist League of America (Opposition) with Martin Payer as instructor. All readers of The Militant who are interested should come down to the Crunden Branch Library Auditorium, 14th and Cass Avenues. The study class will meet every Friday evening from 8 till 10 P. M. There will be no tuition charges.

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For the Release of the Scottsboro Boys

It is now a little more than a year since the nine Scottsboro boys were tried on the fake charge of rape and sentenced to death by electrocution. In the past year they have suffered much of the agony of Sacco and Vanzetti, of Mooney. They are innocent of the charges made against them. They are the victims of a dastardly frame-up. They have been beaten by their jailers. They sat in a court surrounded by a howling lynch mob. They have been agitated in jail by officials working hand in glove with the N. A. A. C. P. to induce them to forewear the I. L. D. and place their fate in the hands of the N. A. A. C. P.

They have been forced, not figuratively but in the most literal sense of the word, to live in the shadow of the electric chair. They were placed in a cell directly opposite the execution chamber and forced to witness a number of electrocutions. Anxiety and hope which inevitably accompany appeals to the higher courts have been theirs. In a word, they have felt the awful weight of the hand of the organized capitalist class directed in full against them.

It was the I. L. D. and the C. P. which organized and set afoot the working class movement of protest and defense. Not the least part in halting the blood lust of the capitalist south is to be attributed to the fighting demonstrations of white and black workers all over the country, and to the militant protests abroad.

But the victory is not yet won. The day of execution still stands at June 25. The Alabama attorney-general has announced his intention of opposing any further stay despite the I. L. D.'s appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court. If he should be sustained, the boys will be executed on the 24th of June.

To the I. L. D. and C. P. we say: No time must be lost. Every nerve must be strained to rouse the entire working class to demand the immediate and unconditional release of the nine Scottsboro boys. Approaches must be made to their organizations. The workers will respond. If their leaders dare to oppose the movement it will rise over their heads and overwhelm them. Once more, it is clear, the key to the problem of setting the workers in motion is the tactic of the united front of working class organizations.

Action and timely action! Call the united front conferences! Make them genuine united fronts! In these united fronts the Left Opposition will discharge its duty.

N. Y. Picnic

The New York members and sympathizers of the Left Opposition will greet the return of comrades Morgenstern and Goodman from prison at a picnic to be held Sunday, May 29th, at Tibbets Brook Park, New York.

This affair will also mark the close of the intensive drive for the Opposition press, The Militant, Unser Kampf, Young Spartacus, and Communists. Our goal is one thousand dollars. To-date we are a good distance from this amount. The life of the weekly Militant depends on the raising of this sum.

There will be refreshments, games and rowing.

The Place: Tibbets Brook Park—Take Lexington Ave. Subway I. R. T.—Woodlawn-Jerome to last stop, Woodlawn. From there one can take a trolley to the Park. Comrades will meet at the Woodlawn station at 10:00 A. M. Plot 8. Time: Sunday, May 29th from 10:00 A. M. till dusk.

From Left Oppositionists in South America

(Continued from page 3)
and had acquired some knowledge of the politics of class struggle, we continued our fight, educating ourselves and other workers who after that had come to our side. We were able to organize a Leninist Centre, teaching the works of Marx and Lenin.

After our work had begun to bear fruit, and we were beginning to get results, the official party under Rodriguez's leadership, began to attack the workers of our centre. It would occupy too much space and time to go into detail here on the history of the various maneuvers and activities of the C. I. in Colombia. As the international pursues the same tactics everywhere, they produce the same results, which are sufficiently well known to you.

Now that we have become acquainted with the views which the Left Opposition holds, we have been able to confirm our original position as just and correct, since it is based on the same principles and needs as that of the Left Opposition with which we sympathize and with which we feel ourselves linked up. The literature which we have received from you, we are spreading among the workers of the Leninist Centre as well as among the followers of the official committee of the party, for whose support we are carrying on a daily struggle. This, in spite of the campaign of slander and calumny being organized against us more than before, because we are in agreement with the views of the Left Opposition. We wish to remain in constant communication with you so as to keep up with events and to correctly represent the position of the Left in this country, and in order to avoid all possible consequence of misinformation.

With Communist greetings,
PEDRO A. V.

Stalinist Zig-zags on the Question of the «United Front»

by LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from last issue)

On October 14, 1931, Remmele, one of the three official leaders of the Communist party, said in the Reichstag, "Herr Bruening has put it very plainly: once they (the Fascists) are in power, then the United Front of the proletariat will be established and it will make a clean sweep of everything. (Violent applause from the Communists.)" Bruening's scaring the bourgeoisie and the social democracy with such a perspective—that is intelligible: he thus safeguards his sovereignty. Remmele's solacing the workers with such a perspective—that is infamous: he thus prepares the way for Hitler's domination, for this perspective in its entirety is false to the core and bears witness to an utter misunderstanding of mass-psychology and of the dialectics of revolutionary struggle. Should the proletariat of Germany, before whose eyes the development of events now proceeds openly, permit Fascism to come into power, i. e., should it evince a most fatal blindness and passivity, then there are no reasons whatever for the assumption that after the Fascists are in power, this same proletariat will shake off its passivity immediately and "make a clean sweep." Nothing like this, for instance, happened in Italy. Remmele reasons completely after the manner of the French petty-bourgeois phrasemongers of the nineteenth century who proved themselves entirely incapable of leading the masses but who were convinced, nevertheless, quite firmly that should Louis Bonaparte plant himself over the republic, the people would rise, on the instant, in their defense, and "make a clean sweep." However, the people that had permitted the adventurer Louis Bonaparte to seize the power proved, sure enough, incapable of sweeping him away thereafter. Before this happened, new major events, historical quakes, and a war had to occur.

The United Front of the proletariat is achievable—for Remmele, as he has told us,—only after Hitler assumes power. Can a more pathetic confession of one's own impotence be made? Since we, Remmele and Co., are incapable of uniting the proletariat, we place the burden of this task upon Hitler's shoulders. After he has united the proletariat for us, then we will show ourselves in our true stature. Remmele follows this up with a boastful announcement, "We are the victors of the coming day; and the question is no longer one of who shall vanquish whom? This question is already answered. (Applause from the Communists.) The question now reads only, "At what moment shall we overthrow the bourgeoisie?" Right to the point! As we say in Russian, that's pointing one's finger and hitting the sky. We are the victors of the coming day. All we lack today is the United Front. Herr Hitler will supply us with it tomorrow, when he assumes power. Which still means that the victor of the coming day will be not Remmele but Hitler. And then, you might as well carve it on your nose, the moment for the victory of the Communists will not arrive so soon.

Remmele feels himself that his optimism limps on its left leg, and he attempts to bolster it up. "We are not afraid of the Fascist gentlemen. They will shoot their bolt quicker than any other government. (Right you are! from the Communists.)" And for proof: The Fascists want paper-money inflation, and that means ruin for the masses of the nation; consequently, everything will turn out for the best. Thus the verbal inflation of Remmele leads the German workers astray.

Here we have before us a program speech of an official leader of the party; it was issued in immense numbers and was used in the Communist membership drive: appended to the speech is a printed blank for enrollment in the Party. And this very program speech is based part and parcel upon capitulation to Fascism. "We are not afraid" of Hitler's assuming power. What is this, if not the formula of cowardice turned inside out. "We" don't consider ourselves capable of keeping Hitler from assuming power; worse yet, we, bureaucrats, have so degenerated as not to dare think seriously of fighting Hitler. Therefore, "we are not afraid." What don't you fear: fighting against Hitler? Oh no! they are not afraid of . . . Hitler's victory. They are not afraid of refusing to fight. They are not afraid to confess their own cowardice. Shame! Out upon it!

In one of my previous pamphlets I wrote that the Stalinist bureaucracy was baiting a trap for Hitler—in the guise of state power. The Communist journalists, who flit from Münzenberg to Ullstein and from Mosse to Münzenberg, announced immediately that "Trotsky vilifies the Communist Party." Isn't it really self-evident that Trotsky, out of his aversion for Communism, out of his hatred for the German proletariat, out of his passionate desire to save German capitalism—yes, Trotsky foists a plan of capitulation upon the Stalinist bureaucracy. But in reality I only gave a brief summary of Remmele's program speech and of a theoretical article by Thaelmann. Where does the vilification come in?

Moreover both Thaelmann and Remmele are only holding steadfastly to the Stalinist gospel. Let us recall once again what Stalin propounded in the autumn of 1923 when everything in Germany was—as now—poised on the razor edge of a knife. "Should the Communists (on the given plane)" wrote Stalin to Zinoviev and Bucharin, "strive to seize power without the social democracy? are they sufficiently mature for this?—that's the question as I see it . . . Should the power in Germany at this moment fall, so to speak, and should the Communists catch it up, they'll fall through with a crash. That's 'at best.' If it comes to the worst—they'll be smashed to pieces and beaten back . . . Of course, the Fascist aren't asleep, but

it serves our purposes better to let them be the first to attack: that will solidify the entire working class around the Communists . . . In my opinion the Germans should be restrained and not encouraged."

In his pamphlet, The Mass Strike, Langner writes, "The assertion (Brandler's) that a battle in October (1923) would have resulted only in a 'decisive defeat,' is nothing but an attempt to gloss over opportunistic mistakes and the opportunistic capitulation without a fight." (Page 101) That is absolutely correct. But who was the instigator of "the capitulation without a fight"? Who was it that "restrained" instead of "encouraging"? In 1931 Stalin only amplified his formula of 1923: let the Fascists assume the power, they'll be only clearing the road for us. Naturally it is much safer to attack Brandler than Stalin: the Langners understand that quite well . . .

In point of fact, in the last two months—not without the influence of the outspoken protests from the Left—a certain change has occurred: the Communist party no longer says that Hitler must assume power in order to shoot his bolt quickly; now it lays more stress on the converse side of the question: the battle against Fascism cannot be postponed until after Hitler assumes the power; the battle must be waged now by arousing the workers against Bruening's decrees and by widening and deepening the strife on the economic and political arenas. That is absolutely correct. Everything that the representatives of the Communist party have to say within this sphere is not to be gainsaid. Here we have no disagreements whatever. Still the most important question remains: how to get down from words to business?

The overwhelming majority of the members of the Communist party as well as a considerable portion of the officialdom—we haven't the slightest doubt—sincerely want to fight. But the facts must be faced openly: there's no fighting being done, there is no sign of fighting in sight. Bruening's decrees passed by scot-free. The Christmas truce was not broken. The policy of calling sectional and improvised strikes, judging by the accounts of the Communist party itself, did not achieve any serious successes to date. The workers see this. Shrieking alone will not convince them.

The Communist party places on the shoulders of the social democracy the responsibility for the passivity of the masses. In a historical sense that is indubitable. But we are no historians, we are revolutionary politicians. Our task is not one of conducting historical researches, but of finding the way out.

The S. A. P., which during the first period of its existence took up formally the question of fighting Fascism (especially in articles by Rosenfeld and Seydewitz) made a certain step forward by timing the counter-attack coincidentally with Hitler's assumption of power. Its press now demands that the fight to repel Fascism be begun immediately by mobilizing the workers against hunger and the police yoke. We admit readily that the change in the policy of the S. A. P. was brought about under the influence of Communist criticism: one of the tasks of Communism precisely consists in pushing Centrist forward by criticizing its dual tendencies. But that alone does not suffice: one must exploit politically the fruits of one's own criticism by proposing to the S. A. P. to pass from words to action. One must subject the S. A. P. to a public and a clear test; not by analyzing isolated quotations—that's not enough—but by offering to make an agreement towards taking specified practical steps against the foe. Should the S. A. P. lay bare its incompetence, the higher the authority of the Communist party would rise, the sooner an intermediate party would be liquidated. What's there to fear?

However, it is not true that the S. A. P. does not seriously want to fight. There are various tendencies within it. For the moment, so long as the matter is reduced to abstract propaganda for a United Front, the inner contradictions lie dormant. Once the battle is begun, they will become apparent. The Communist party stands to gain alone thereby.

But there still remains the most important question as regards the S. D. P. Should it reject those practical propositions which the S. A. P. accepts, a new situation would arise. The Centrists, who would prefer to straddle the fence between the C. P. and the S. D. in order to complain first about one and then about the other, and to gain in strength at the expense of both (such is the philosophy evolved by Urbahns)—these Centrists would find themselves suspended in mid air, because it would immediately become apparent that the S. D. itself is sabotaging the revolutionary struggle. Isn't that an important gain? The workers within the S. A. P. from then on would definitely lean towards the C. P.

Moreover the refusal of Wels and Co. to accept the program of joint action, agreed to by the S. A. P., would not let off the social democrats scot-free either. The Vorwaerts would be deprived immediately of the chance to complain about the passivity of the C. P. The gravitation of the social democratic workers towards the United Front would increase immediately; and that would be equivalent to their gravitation towards the C. P. Isn't that plain enough?

At each one of these stages and turns the C. P. would tap new resources. Instead of monotonously repeating ever the same ready made formulas before the one and the same audience, it would be enabled to set new strata into motion, to teach them through actual experience, to steel them and to strengthen its hegemony among the working class.

—L. TROTSKY.

* Bourgeois publishing houses in Germany.—Ed.

The «Socialists» and their Line of Action

Within its shell of moribund reformist ideology considerable divergences have been for some time developing in the Socialist party. At its just concluded convention these divergences, came to stand out quite clearly. It was not a matter of revolutionary views struggling against reformist encroachments. No, it had been, their proponents would be obliged to find new fields of expression in some form of common action with the Communist movement, not within the polluted waters of the Socialist party. Yet these divergences reflect the pressure of a working class moving toward the Left.

Essentially the differences were expressed in the groupings which have quite clearly crystallized. There are, on the one hand, the "militants" who appear to have hopes that the S. P. can be made to play a progressive role as a social democratic party. They speak of achieving a "social and economic system for the benefit of the workers", which would justifiably put down counter-revolution within a Socialist state through the use of violence, but strictly dissociated from class rule through the Proletarian Dictatorship. Hillquit characterized them as young, sincere and impatient—that is sincere to Hillquit's "ideals"—people who will soon settle down to more "sane" views. That evidently, is not far from the truth. Secondly there is the group of full-fledged bourgeois liberals whose outlandish representative is Norman Thomas. It sees ever greater opportunities for its particular brand of "salvation" and conceives of the S. P. as a good instrument to further petty bourgeois liberation on a grand scale expecting it to be reinforced by the workers. Thirdly there are the so-called practical socialists, whom Hillquit also quite truthfully characterized as their "noble" goal of building new sewers. Lastly, there is the old guard led by Hillquit and O'Neal. This is the most conscious group with a consistent program, deeply saturated with hostility to revolution. A group which cleverly manipulates reformist demands, clothed, when necessary, in Marxian phraseology, but as treacherously reactionary as its European brethren and as conscious in preparing the social reformist instrument to serve capitalism. With its deep seated hostility to the proletarian revolution it can pursue no other course. This group prevailed at the convention.

The S. P. claims a gain in membership of 8,000 in four years to a total of 25,000. In that is reflected in a sense the fact that some sections of the workers have taken the step away from the traditional bourgeois parties to social democracy. It shows also that what is at the basis of such growth reflects a pressure from which even the S. P. is not immune. This found its expression in the two extreme wings. In the "militants" striving for a new, a better reformist dressing for a decrepit body—all in an unblinking alliance with the petty bourgeois liberalism of Thomas and the "practical" new sewer socialists. Next it found its expression in the old guard sitting tighter on the lid but manipulating a few extra safety valves of concessions in phraseology. But above all, a large share of this growth must be laid at the doors of the Centrist zig-zag blunder policy of the official Communist party leadership and its failure to give proper direction to workers moving away from bourgeois ideology and allegiance.

The adopted S. P. declaration of principles, for example, again contains lip service to a recognition of the class struggle. It declares: "Freedom, equality and plenty for the workers can therefore be obtained only by socializing the ownership and control of the productive wealth which is now held as capital."

What is meant by such a declaration became clear when a credulous California delegate, who took it at face value, moved that the S. P. declares for confiscation of property. His proposal went down to defeat under the combined thunderclap of horror stricken "respectability" and the weight of the reactionary bureaucracy.

A survey of the S. P. convention, however, cannot leave out of account the new use to which the old guard of Hillquit and O'Neal put their ability of crafty maneuvering. Their new plan of organization contains two "united front" proposals. There is one for international "unity" professing to attempt to "bring together the Socialist and Communist Internationals (1) on the basis of democracy and civil liberties in Russia (?); (2) in Fascist countries, a union of both parties to overthrow Fascism by any means possible; (3) in countries where there still is democracy (sic!), a union of both parties in an attempt to change the present system by peaceful means and by other means, if necessary." The "unity" proposals for the home sector reads: "In cities where Socialists, Communists, the L. I. D., the Friends of the Soviets, the Civil Liberties Union and other similar organizations exist, a permanent committee be organized to bring them together in in-

formal conferences to consider practical steps to be taken on matters of concern to all."

The recent years of experience have amply proved that the social reformists, now a distinct anti-revolutionary force, do not at all intend to unite the working class, not even for reformist objectives. But pursuing their cunning design they do intend to utilize the popular unity slogan to deceive the workers into support of their instrument deliberately destined to serve and preserve capitalism. This cannot be defeated by mere denunciation. It must be exposed in the open. This can be done effectively only by counterposing the policy of a genuine united front to attain the immediate working class aims as steps to the necessarily revolutionary objective. This is one of the particular tasks of the Communist party.

The future working class perspectives demand imperatively that the Communist party take up this task in earnest. The

Rush Funds to Save Weekly!

OUR CRITICAL SITUATION STILL PREVAILS. NOT ONLY DO BILLS CONTINUE TO PRESS ON US UNREMITTINGLY BUT THEY ARE ACCUMULATING JUST A LITTLE FASTER THAN WE CAN MEET THEM. WE HAVE MADE ALL POSSIBLE RETRENCHMENTS AND NOW EXPECT OUR SUPPORTERS TO DO THEIR PART.

EVERY ONE WHO SEES THIS APPEAL FOR HELP SHOULD UNDERSTAND IT TO READ—THIS MEANS YOU! NO ONE SHOULD DELAY. THE SITUATION IS TOO PRESSING FOR THAT. WE MUST HAVE MONEY AT ONCE. NO AMOUNT IS TOO LARGE; NO AMOUNT IS TOO SMALL.

revolutionary objectives first of all demand that social reformist ideology be defeated.

UNTIL WE HAVE WEATHERED THIS STORM EVERY COMRADE AND SYMPATHIZER MUST MAKE THE MOST SERIOUS EFFORTS TO RAISE MONEY. FIRST OF ALL HE MUST TAX HIMSELF TO THE LIMIT. WE CALL UPON OUR SUPPORTERS TO MAKE THIS SACRIFICE TO SAVE THE WEEKLY MILITANT. AND EVERYONE WHO HAS EVER PROFESSED ANY SYMPATHY FOR THE LEFT OPPOSITION MUST BE APPROACHED FOR HELP.

WE ARE NOT ALARMISTS, WE DO NOT EXAGGERATE. WE PUT THE SITUATION EXACTLY AS IT IS. WE HAVE STRAINED EVERY NERVE TO RAISE MONEY. THIS IS OUR LAST HOPE. EVERY COMRADE AND SYMPATHIZER MUST RESPOND NOW. OUR WEEKLY MILITANT DEPENDS DIRECTLY ON THEIR RESPONSE.

Jack Macdonald Joins the Left Opposition

Statement of the Former National Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada

We are publishing herewith a statement by comrade Jack Macdonald of Toronto, Canada. The statement speaks for itself. It is an unequivocal declaration for the political views represented by the Left Opposition. Comrade Macdonald has arrived at this position as a result of his experiences over a period of years in the labor and revolutionary movement as well as the serious study which he has made of the views presented by the various factions of the Communist movement.

Comrade Macdonald has a long and favorable record of struggle and achievements within the labor movement and within the Communist movement. Beginning with his joining the Social Democratic Party in Scotland at the age of 17, his activities and efforts have shown consistent continuity in many leading positions. He became one of the founders of the Communist Party of Canada, its national secretary, and one of its outstanding leaders, participating in several Congresses of the Communist International up until the point of the expulsion, when he was arbitrarily put outside with "conciliation" and other technical charges. We are citing these brief points of comrade Macdonald's record of activities because of our conviction that his position, herewith clearly

and decisively expressed, should count seriously with thinking revolutionists—Ed.

After a careful and extensive study not only in retrospect of the pre-October polemics and activities of Bolshevism and the literature and general ideological activity of the Communist International, particularly up to the death of its founder and leader—Lenin and the opening of the struggle against "Trotskyism", but also of the more immediate and pressing situations and struggles of today, viz., Germany, China, Spain, etc., and the official C. I. programs, strategy and tactics therein, I have become convinced that the position program and general criticism of the "Left Opposition" under the brilliant, untiring and courageous leadership of comrade Trotsky are fundamentally correct; and that the Left Opposition is the historical bearer and custodian of true Marxist-Leninism.

In this necessarily brief statement I have no intention of reviewing at length the attitude of the Canadian Party during my association with its leadership or my personal attitude during the "discussion" and subsequent fight against "Trotskyism".

Suffice it to say, that the ideological campaign against Trotskyism—charged with the attempt to revise Leninism—

consisted of the scant distribution among the membership of occasional official bulletins from the C. I. containing alleged excerpts from the writings and speeches of Trotsky, counter-posed with the official "true Leninist" rebuttal from the leading scribes of the International.

Honest comrades, with their faith in the revolutionary integrity of the central leadership unimpaired and who therefore resent and reject any suggestion of bureaucratic intrigue, falsification or degeneration, accept these official communications at their face value and act accordingly; search with the official microscope, slaying and uprooting in the name of Communist discipline and democratic centralism any tendencies, deviations, or suspects that would weaken or dilute the revolutionary movement in the face of its class enemies. In this so-called ideological campaign (if self-criticism is still in vogue) I accept my full share of responsibility and error and admit its travesty. What organizational and ideological crimes have been committed in the name of discipline!

For some time I have had occasion to compare these "excerpts" as published in official bulletins, with the actual writings of Trotsky. Many are completely false; others torn from their context are deliberately misinterpreted; while others correct in text are presumably demolished with the dud bombs of anti-Leninist theory.

I recall the first appeal which came to the C. E. C. of the Canadian Party to record itself against the Russian Party Opposition. This was during a session of the Enlarged Executive of the C. I.—a Canadian delegate being in attendance. The delegate had recorded himself against. Why not? There are few exceptions. A cable was dispatched to Canada requesting the C. E. C. to solidify itself with the majority. Little if anything was known by the Canadian Party of the theoretical substance of the questions at issue. No liaison was in existence in these days where one could imbibe the latest on tap through "Lenin" students, etc. This honest unschooled proletarian center dispatched a return cable withholding decision until adequate information pro and con was received by them. The Canadian center fell into very bad grace over this incident. They might at least have adopted the course of one C. E. C. member, who being unable to be present wired the C. E. C. to record his vote against Trotsky, but protested lack of information.

In brief the so-called question of Trotskyism was approached in a purely superficial and bureaucratic manner. This was in the days prior to deportations, exiles, etc. How far the regime has developed bureaucratically since these days must be obviously to all sincere comrades.

It is positively criminal in the best revolutionary sense to close one's mind against the Left Opposition's trenchant criticism and charges of the growth of a bureaucratic regime in the C. I. The autocratic and mechanical removal and superimposition of leadership on sections of the Comintern; the hounding of old and tested bolsheviks on the pretext of some discovered heresy in writing or speech, but in reality to make way for a substantial prop for the present regime; the stifling of initiative and discussion; the parody of workers' universities where "leaders" are molded and manufactured to standard current pattern, etc., are evidences, if only in an organizational and limited sense, of the truth of this criticism.

One had only to attend the Sixth Congress of the C. I. and that was several years ago, to have proof of the opposition's contention in its broad international sense, not to mention the alarming bureaucratic growth since in virtually every section nor the tragedy of the internal party situation in the Soviet Union.

(Continued on page 4)

For the Communist Unity of Our Party!

To the C. E. C. of the C. P. U. S. A.
To the Members of the Communist Party:

The developments in the international situation and the tasks they place before the Soviet Union and the Communist International—and more specifically before its American section—once more bring sharply to the fore the acute problem of the Communist unity in our party and the class struggle. These developments may be summed up briefly as follows:

1. The growth of the Fascist menace in Germany which, if it ends in the seizure of power by Hitlerism, would mean not only the bloody crushing of the Communist movement in Germany and elsewhere and a setback for the proletarian revolution for a long time to come, but would also render imminent a direct assault upon the fortress of the world revolution, the Soviet republic.
2. The events in the Far East, where the already established Japanese intervention in Shanghai, the establishment of a Japanese puppet government in Manchuria right on the border-line of the Soviet Union and the danger of an ultra-reactionary military coup d'Etat in Japan itself, all serve to indicate how the lines of imperialist policy are approaching the breaking-point. The danger of a direct intervention against the Soviet Union is running a mad race with the danger of the workers being flung into a new imperialist war for the repartition of subjugated China.
3. The deepening of the crisis in the United States, out of which the bourgeoisie has not yet succeeded in emerging, but which continues to offer to the Communists hitherto non-existing opportunities for crystallizing the extensive sympathy prevailing among broad sections of the workers for the most resolute section of the proletariat.

In considering these developments, our party can ill afford to ignore certain of their aspects which directly concern the immediate future of the movement.

1. The Communist Party of Germany has not yet succeeded in mobilizing the masses of the German workers for effective resistance to the advances of Fascism. The latter has not only leaped ahead at a far greater speed than has German Communism, but the staunchest bulwark of capitalist "democracy", the party of Wels-Scheidemann-Hilferding-Grzeschinsky, continues to exercise an unshaken influence over decisive sections of the proletariat.
2. In spite of the increasingly manifest threat of imperialist war upon the Soviet Union, and the undoubted popu-

larity which the latter's policy of peace must arouse among the world's workers, it remains a fact that the broad masses of the workers have not yet been made to realize the acuteness of the danger and, what is more, the Communist movement has not succeeded in mobilizing them for action to counter the plans of imperialism.

3. Although thousands of workers have joined our party in the recent period, particularly since the unfolding of the crisis, they have not only represented a small percentage of the gains made possible by the whole situation, but in addition, the inner life of the party has been of such a nature that it has caused, according to the official reports of the Central Committee, a 100 percent turnover in the membership, that is, an annulment of the organizational gains made throughout this period. This situation becomes ever more serious when it is contrasted with the growth which the Socialist party has been able to register in the same period.

The Left Opposition an inseparable part of the Communist movement, cannot permit itself to pass over these facts without candidly expressing its views to the party. We consider this all the more necessary in face of the fact that negotiations have just been undertaken and representatives of the Lovestone Right wing looking towards the reintegration of the latter into the party. The antagonism which these negotiations have aroused among the party members is an additional indication that the burning problem of the unity of the Communist party cannot be solved in this manner. It is in the interest of a genuine solution of this problem, rendered more urgent by the events to which we refer, that we address ourselves once more to the Central Committee and the membership of our party.

The unity of the party can be achieved only in the open. Any attempt to realize it by secret negotiations behind the scenes not only brings confusion and uneasiness into the ranks of the party, but creates the danger of dealings of an unprincipled nature which wipe out the lines of demarcation and make harder the achievement of that clarification which must be a part of any movement for unity. The object of any negotiations must be made plain and visible from the very outset. They must be conducted before the eyes of the whole party. This method is the main guarantee against painful surprises, demoralization and unprincipled solutions.

It is this method we support in our present proposal that the party immediately take up the question of re-admitting into its ranks the members of the Left Opposition.

We, of the Left Opposition have no desire to conceal the fact that we do not share the views upon which the present line of the party is based. We could declare that we abandon our standpoint only by deceiving the party and ourselves. Our views relate to fundamental questions of Communist principle, of Communist strategy and tactics, and we stand now as Marx and Lenin. In spite of the differences of opinion existing between us and the present course of the party, we are convinced that the best, most profitable way of settling these differences and re-establishing Bolshevik discipline on the basis of the prevailing opinion, is not outside the ranks of the party, but inside of them, as loyal members of our Communist International.

In all the attempts we have made since our expulsion to work by the side and in support of the party, in all our public agitation and activity, we have never attached any conditions to our collaboration and support. In the struggle, in the trade unions, in strikes, in the united front conferences of the party, in the International Labor Defense, etc., etc., we have merely asked for the opportunity to work as Communists side by side with the other Communist workers, posing no conditions and asking for no special consideration or privileges. In putting before the party now our request for its unification by the re-admission of the members of the Left Opposition, we again put no conditions whatsoever. We stand for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union, the workers' fatherland, the test for every revolutionist, especially now when the danger of intervention and counter-revolution is becoming more acute. We stand for the unconditional support of our party, which we built and defended in the past and are ready to build and defend in the future. These paramount questions take precedence with us and determine our

(Continued on page 4)

Aid Beet Strike!

The spontaneous strike of the Colorado beet workers against a 40 per cent wage cut has grown to such proportions under the leadership of the T. U. U. L. that it is now one of the largest strikes of agricultural workers in the history of the American labor movement. It appears that more than 12,000 workers are out on strike. Their ranks have been swelled by the strike of the onion workers, who are also striking against a wage cut and in sympathy with their brothers in the beet fields.

The growers are replying to the strike with the usual repertoire of capitalist persecution. The merchants have refused credit to the strikers who, like the miners, buy on credit against their future pay. The store owners extend this credit on the say-so of the employing farmer. In the case of a striker no such privilege. Workers are being picked up and held for deportation. In one case a worker is being sent to Spain and his wife to Mexico. Arrests of the leading militants are a daily occurrence. Approximately 100 workers have been arrested on various charges. Others are held in jail for a time without charges and then released.

It will take more than this petty persecution to break the strike. The militancy of the strikers is everywhere in evidence. At the trial of eight workers in La Junta their brothers, 2,000 strong, overflowed the court room and by their insistence converted the trial into a mass meeting. The trial was resumed only when they were through. So strong was their protest that the obviously biased judge postponed sentence.

The strike is being won by a large area. A comprehensive picture of it is difficult to get. The official capitalist press plays it down. The A. F. of L. press has thus far preserved silence. The leadership of the T. U. U. L. in the strike is a bitter pill for them to swallow. In future issues of *The Militant* we will attempt to give an analysis of the background of the strike and a more comprehensive picture of it.

What is needed now is relief to enable the strikers to hold out against the regime of terror and starvation inaugurated by the growers in conjunction with the state apparatus. All relief should be rushed to the United Beet Committee at 2736 Lawrence Street, Denver, Colo.

DON'T FORGET THE PICNIC
The Place: Tibbets Brook Park—Take Lexington Ave. Subway I. R. T.—Woodlawn-Jerome to last stop, Woodlawn. From there one can take a trolley to the Park. Comrades will meet at the Woodlawn station at 10:00 A. M. Plot 8.
Time: Sunday, May 29th from 10:00 A. M. till dusk.

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Have you ever witnessed an election conference of a labor political organization consisting of 655 delegates representing 300 organizations, that endorses unanimously every proposition and a political platform put before them without even a semblance of discussion? This is precisely what happened at the New York Communist Election Conference held last Sunday at Manhattan Lyceum. Whether the magic personality of the great Amter and his wonderful oratorical talent held them spellbound, or whether the present leadership of the Stalinist school has found the secret of writing a political platform with such precision and crystal clarity that it is enough to hear it read to become convinced, I do not know. Still there are some sceptics in this sinful world who don't believe it possible and who venture to say that this fact only demonstrates what Stalinism has done to the movement. It either paralyzed the minds of the delegates and made them incapable of thinking or else terrorized some of them to such an extent that they did not dare to question anything.

The above occurrence would have been impossible under Leninist leadership. A whole day, perhaps, would have been wasted and paper, ink, labor, spent just to discuss, write and correct resolutions and propositions that would have come from the delegates. But not under the efficient and impeccable leadership of the Stalin crew.

The conference started with the usual steam roller mode of procedure carried out so that it would have made a Hillman, a Schlesinger or even a Kaufman blush. And it was made in such a cross manner that even a nitwit could see through all the machinations.

The Daily Worker informs us that the comrade who opened the meeting was Stevens, District Election Campaign Manager. After delivering a brief oration, he turned the chair over to comrade Steuben, read off the names of a committee and of the presidium. Before he was even through reading off the names, they already appeared on the platform (The Daily Worker writes that the presidium was elected—well, that is the strange way it was elected). The appointed chairman announced that the presidium would retire to work out an order of business. And here we realized what wonders the Stalinist bureaucracy is capable of. (Houdini had nothing on them). Not more than five minutes expired after the presidium had retired when they reappeared on the platform with an order of business and more than that, with full slates for a credentials and for a resolution committee. One of the delegates, representing the Workers' Circle, objected to this mode of procedure and moved to proceed with nominations and elections from the floor. The steering committee soon got busy and everything was well again. The chairman explained that all this was done to expedite matters.

Now a treat was given the delegates. In short talk of about an hour and a half, the recently celebrated Amter explained the C. P. platform for the com-

MILITANT BUILDERS

Our Militant builders are still hot foot after the prizes we offered for the highest standing for the final month of the drive and for the period of the entire campaign. No one has qualified yet for the prizes offered for the final month of the drive. But several comrades are moving up on these prizes and we feel sure that by next week when the drive closes several will have gone by the board. This is as it should be. We will be happy to see more of them go, too.

Comrade Hedlund has been displaced from his leading position by comrade Sacharow of Chicago. Will comrade Hedlund fight back? Will the other comrades permit them to make it a personal contest or will they have something to say?

In the list below we put the figures for the final month of the drive in parentheses and they are quoted in dollars. The other figures are subs for the entire campaign which began in March.

R. Sacharow (11 1-2)—10; L. Nagy (7 1-4)—8; C. R. Hedlund (6)—11; V. R. Dunne (6)—9; J. Weber (5)—2; G. Duell (5)—M. Lilly (5)—L. Rose-land (4 1-2)—6; J. Sifakis (4)—2; L. Gleisser (4)—2; M. Koehler (3-4)—5; M. Dunne (3)—8; C. Forsten (2 1-2)—3; A. Buehler (2)—2; M. Rosen (2)—2; O. Coover (2)—3; A. Ehrlich (2)—1; S. Frank (1 1-2)—2; L. Basky (1 1-2)—6; T. Vassily (1)—1; R. Ruskin (1)—2; W. Curran (1)—2; S. Zalmanoff (1)—1; P. Carlson (1)—1; C. Cowell (1)—5; P. Schulman (1)—1; F. Barach (1)—4; C. Johnson (1)—2; S. Lessin (1)—2; B. Houtman (1); S. Gendelman (1); N. Berman (1); G. R. Herman (1); H. Ross (1); H. Milton (1-2)—1; T. Drobny (1-2)—1; J. Carr (1-4)—3; C. Skoglund—3; F. Cheloff—2; G. Ray—2; M. Gottlieb—1; M. Koehler—1; W. Wynne—1; J. Carter—1; H. Capelin—1; W. Herman—1; A. Swaback—1; A. Giotzer—1; L. Logan—1; A. Kaldis—1; M. Sterling—1.

NEW YORK, ATTENTION!

All Comrades Out to the Picnic Sunday! Come and bring your friends to celebrate the release of our class war prisoners, comrades Morgenstern and Goodman of Philadelphia. The two comrades will be on hand and tell of their prison experiences. Refreshments will be served, a good time is assured to all.

Look for directions, how to get to the Picnic grounds at Tibbets Brook Park, elsewhere in The Militant.

ing election campaign, which will, according to him, be epochmaking for the Communist movement in the U. S. The speaker wound up with the very "revolutionary" slogan of a Workers' and Peasants'—pardon—Farmers' Government for the U. S. A.

The resolutions committee followed with its report. It read a resolution in imperialist war and did not forget to warn everybody to be on guard against the internal enemies—the Trotskyites and the Lovestonites (a violation in the orthodox Stalinist liturgy was noticeable—the Trotskyites were not dubbed this time: the "vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie").

The chairman then opened the floor for discussion, but none of the delegates seemed to care to speak. The chairman had to appeal to someone to break the ice. One of the functionaries of the United Front Committee in the needle trades took the floor finally and delivered a harangue against capitalism and the social fascists. Then the stampe of the parrots began. Not a single delegate had any criticism whatsoever to make on the platform while the present writer remained there.

After I left, I met some of the delegates, members of the party, and they boasted that only one delegate, representing the Communist League of America (Opposition) was not seated. When asked how they explain the fact that the same credentials committee seated delegates from such manifestly Fascist and social Fascist organizations as the A. F. of L. and the Workers' Circle and refused to seat a representative of a Communist organization, some of them admitted that they cannot understand that and that if somebody from among the delegates had objected to the recommendation of the credentials committee, they surely would have supported him. In reply to the question why he doesn't take the floor, one of the delegates said "A person has got to be crazy or a martyr. Besides I don't want to serve as a target for the bureaucrats. I would also like to see how far this 'self-criticism' will lead".

The bureaucrats must have heaved a sigh of relief at the end of the conference. But their worries are not over. Lacking confidence in themselves, already preparing to repudiate what they so ardently preach today in the avalanche of "self-criticism" that will surely follow after the election campaign, feeling the ground shaky under their feet, they are ever obsessed with fear of somebody or something. But they dread no one more than the Left Opposition. Despite the dam of slander and calumny built up by the Stalinites, the stream of the ideas of the Opposition appears to be leaking through and influencing the minds of the revolu-

The present situation in the New York Pocketbook Workers Union is deplorable. The Socialist party fakers of last year's administration forced an agreement on the workers which up to date has resulted in wage-cuts, and the reorganization of the workers, despite the fact the workers voted against it. As a result the union remains today, a few days before the expiration of the agreement, in a most desperate condition, due to the fact that our administration allowed the employers not to live up to the rotten agreement made last year.

About two weeks ago our manager announced in the press that a conference was held with the manufacturers in order to review the agreement which expires June 1st. At this conference the manufacturers demanded the following of the union: (1) a reduction in the wage scale of 30 and 35 per cent; (2) the introduction of the piece work system; (3) to do away with the unemployment insurance fund; (4) readjustments a la Hillman on the top of reorganization and what not. The writer of this article pointed out in The Militant of March 26 that the employers rejected an offer of the union of ten per cent wage cuts because they knew they could get from our "Fraternal Club" administration a 30 per cent wage cut a few months later.

On Thursday, May 12, a membership meeting took place at Stuyvesant High School. Our manager outlined the demands of the employers to the union. The meeting was a very stormy one. The workers not only rejected the demand of the employers, but it was decided that the union should demand: (1) a 40 hour, five day week, which is necessary in order to relieve somewhat the unemployment situation in the industry; (2) no reorganization clause in the new agreement; (3) that the bosses contribute to the unemployment insurance fund. The union should also mobilize the workers for a strike if the employers do not grant our just demands.

At the same meeting the "Fraternal Club" administration introduced a resolution to express full confidence in the conference committee. When the resolution was taken to a vote the administration received 273 votes, 261 voted against. The administration won by a small majority of twelve votes. Our manager Lubliner then made a speech and said that with a small majority of twelve votes he and the conference committee cannot negotiate a new agreement with the employers. He challenged the rank and file of the union to elect a new conference committee. One of the Left wingers, made a motion that a committee of 15 rank and file workers should be elected as a conference committee. This motion was passed by the members. Nominations took place for such a committee and not one of the other groups accepted for

tionary workers. That is why they were so afraid to seat the delegate of the Left Opposition.

—A DELEGATE FROM THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE.

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SPECIAL RATES IN BUNDLE ORDERS
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The Bosses' Tax Problem and the Workers

The bosses have tried every imaginable remedy for the crisis. To no avail. Now they hope to find a lever to raise their profits by lowering taxes. The campaign to lower taxes has swept the bourgeois world like wildfire. Through every avenue at their command the capitalists and the landlords are clamoring for economy in government. They want "cheap government" and the support of the working class to force a curtailment of expenses.

Chicago and the other leading cities are bankrupt, the national government is running in red at the rate of seven million a day. Congress is struggling to make a two and a half billion income meet a four and two-thirds billion expense for 1932. The capitalists say the government bureaucracy is excessive and the increase of the cost of government has kept far ahead of the increase of wealth. However a comparison of value produced in America with other industrial countries and the taxes paid will show that the British, German and other capitalists pay far in excess the taxes the American capitalists pay.

The cost of the American government, city, state and national, amounts to twelve billion a year and the total indebtedness of the government is thirty billion with the Federal government holding sixteen billion of this debt. All sections of the capitalists are hit by the deepening crisis and each section is trying to shift the burden to the other sections and all are trying to shift the burden to the workers. As far as the crisis is concerned, the capitalists are constantly shifting the burden (unemployment, wage-cuts) to the workers but their attempt to shift the tax burden to the workers will not succeed. Each section of capitalist robbers in attempting to shift the tax burden to the other sections of their class is endeavoring to line up the workers on their side.

The recent attempt to put through the sales tax in the form presented to the House of Representatives was an attempt to shift the tax burden to the petty bourgeoisie. The small capitalist was able to rally sufficient forces to throw the bill back and now they are fighting to see who will pay the increased taxes. The different sections of capitalism are well represented in the lobby and behind the politicians' closed doors. The curtailment of production and the falling off of the capitalist incomes has reduced the income tax, forcing the bosses' office boys in Washington to find another way out.

The first year of the crisis showed a fair return from income tax but the present year tells another story. In 1930 the forty-five million gainfully employed (workers and capitalists, etc.) listed 2,411,000 million liable to income tax. This small number paid two-thirds of the 1930 Federal government expenses. When the profits were rolling in the capitalists paying the tax bill did not object so loudly, but now we hear a different tale. In this struggle to hold up profits each section of the capitalists wants the other section to pay the tax, yet each section wants to dictate to the political office boys, what to do. The financiers desire to push the burden on the shoulders of the industrialists and the industrialists would like to place the tax on the landlords, who all hope to shift it to the small capitalist.

All the capitalists would like to shift it to the workers but are unsuccessful in this task, at least they desire to rally the workers behind them in an attempt to correct their office boys' "excess spending". When the capitalist robbers fight each other they want us to help them. We workers would be more than foolish to help one section of the capitalist robbers against another section on the question of war, taxes or any other struggle. The capitalist robbers as a whole rob the workers and the robbers' division of the spoils is not our problem. Rather, our problem is to expropriate the expropriators.

Many workers will say, "I do pay tax-

es and will enter the campaign to reduce the cost these political crooks are piling upon our shoulders." We did not say that workers do not pay taxes. We say the workers have no interest in helping the bosses cheapen their government. What the workers pay as taxes is only a small part of the funds collected for taxes. It is not the task of the workers and our party to fight for "cheaper government". The tax question enters in our problems, in the class struggle, as an auxiliary problem on which we will speak later. For the sake of argument, suppose all the taxes were shifted to the workers, on our cost of living. The capitalist economists tell us that taxes amount to ten per cent of the cost of living? What if we would help the bosses reduce this to five per cent of the cost of living. The fall of the cost of living by five per cent would be a signal for the bosses to reduce wages from ten per cent upwards. Wages always fall faster than the cost of living and always rise slower than the cost of living and wages only rise, no matter how the cost of living goes up, providing our class fights for more real wages.

It is futile to point out our main class guns at the point of consumption, at the cost of living, etc. Our main struggle must be at the point of production. The tax question enters into the struggle as an auxiliary problem. However, no enemy is defeated by concentrating forces in auxiliary struggles. We participate in elections but do not advocate parliamentary action like the Second International. It is only an auxiliary for our class struggle. The tax question under special consideration must also be on our agenda depending upon conditions. Inflation, price rise and taxes are used by the bosses at certain times to reduce the standard of living by indirect wage cuts.

We must be prepared for such moves, but the present campaign to reduce expenses of government is aimed at something far more important for the capitalist class. Even when we have inflation, rise in prices or tax shifting in sections we do not aim our class guns at the point of consumption to remedy this problem. We strike at the more vital points in the capitalist defense.

We workers are robbed as producers, robbed of the surplus labor, of the surplus value which the capitalist divide among themselves as; profits, rent, interest and to pay their office boys' (government) and for the gangster racketeers who rob the robbers.

One aim of the present tax campaign is to reduce the bureaucracy. The imperialists need a more "efficient apparatus". There are too many small office boys repeating like parrots the fable that "we" must keep out of Asia and Europe and stay in our own back yard. American imperialism has no choice. It must move out into deeper waters or go under.

The crisis has forced the American im-

perialists to retrench in order to produce cheaper commodities to enable her to defeat the competitors on the world market. For the last three years an intense retrenchment through discharge and speed up of the remaining workers has been the result. Now the third year finds the capitalist class endeavoring to cut down in other fields. Their office boys are due for a cut too. The campaign against the workers will not decrease by this move. On the contrary, the campaign against the workers takes on new forms and more intense forms. The cheapening of the government is only another way of saying—cut the workers wages. Contracts for City, State, and Government jobs ride roughshod over the "union wages and union hours." The workers must help cheapen the government! Join the campaign and take a wage cut? The Federal employees just had a cut.

The Socialists are out for a cheap government and in Milwaukee they have proven their ability. They have proven to the capitalist they can be a cheaper office boy than those of the undisputed capitalist parties. The capitalists are cheapening their government and increasing the means of suppression of the working class. Are we to help the capitalists make a cheap government to suppress the workers? Smash strikes by a cheap government? Deport the foreign born at less cost? Legally lynch the Negro in a more economical way. Give the workers and Communists, bullets instead of bread, it is all "cheaper". Such is the campaign for cheap government. Would a same worker take part in such a game?

Each year the government spends over a billion dollars to pay interest and retire debts from the last war and each year they spend about a billion dollars to prepare for the next war. A billion for the last war and a billion for the coming war each year. Do they mean cheaper government in this sense? Of course not. The capitalists have no intention of reducing military expenses. They tell us government expenses must come down but we know the capitalists system is built upon waste. The capitalist mode of production is so organized that billions of dollars worth of the necessities of life are destroyed each year while millions go without necessities.

Capitalism in America has a tremendous surplus means of production and consumable articles and when pressed in war of struggle can turn over in taxes to their government ten times the amount they are turning over now and still make big profits. It is not a question of scarcity of material wealth the capitalists speak of, it is a question of recognizing and preparing the minds of the workers to the song that they cannot add another penny to taxes. Why do they want the workers to think they cannot add to taxes? Why do they say taxes must be reduced or they will go bankrupt when some European capitalist are paying ten times as much? Because millions are starving and millions are moving for struggle for immediate relief and unemployment insurance.

—H. O.

Statement of Greek Comrades on «Empros»

To the Greek Party members

and sympathizers:

Last August the editor and business manager of the Empros were arrested and charged with spreading false rumors against the Athens Trust Co. of New York City.

The hearings at the Magistrate's Court lasted for whole weeks and the minutes of the court were printed in the Empros. The Magistrate's court ended the hearing last fall and ordered the transfer of the trial to the Special Sessions Court where a few weeks ago the trial began. We learn now that the charges were dismissed.

The Empros of April 30th mentioned in an obscure corner that the trial was ended without any appreciable explanations.

This case represents a great victory for the Empros and for the entire Com-

munist movement of America against the capitalists who always try to frame up working class organs, organizations and individual comrades. And we believe the Greek Stalinist bureaucrats agree with us in this point: If so why the silence about this matter.

The comrades ought to demand from the bureaucrats to announce to the Greek workers and to the working class of America at large this great victory of our organ the Empros against the Athens Trust Co.

This victory of ours should be hailed in heavy type and the case should be reviewed in every detail in order to educate the workers on the role that the banks play in this rotten capitalist system. This is a duty that must be performed immediately.

After a halfhearted retreat by the bureaucrats on the question of the Greek newspapers, we see in the Empros of May 7th that the Atlantis is leading all the other lackeys of capitalism in their role of exploiting the Greek workers, in full accord with the National Herald. This very thing we expressed in the columns of Communists and we were accused of supporting the National Herald because we attacked the one sidedness of the bureaucrats. The correctness of our views in this specific question is proven to every comrade who has heard both views calmly.

In Greece, the party members demand a united front with the Archio-Marxists, the Greek Left Oppositionists, in order to fight effectively against the attacks of the Greek bourgeois government, but the bureaucrats still obstruct the application of this united front with all the means at their disposal. The Greek party members observe the militant revolutionary activities of the Archio-Marxists in their every day life and are convinced that their differences with the oppositionists are only ideological and therefore demand from the bureaucrats to consider them as ideological opponents and not as enemies.

The same procedure, we are sure, will take place here once you will force the Stalinist bureaucrats to give you an account of their irresponsible activities, and force them to undertake a discussion of theoretical questions. Slanders and calumnies against ideological opponents serve only our enemies. Every sincere worker revolutionist will demand a free discussion of the disputes between the Left Opposition and the Stalinists. That is the only way to clear the ground for united Communist action.

—EDITORIAL BOARD OF COMMUNISTS

Finish the Press Drive with Donations!

As this issue reaches our readers this is due to the fact that we go to press in the middle of the week before all the records are at hand. What information we have shows that the drive picked up last week. The quotas and press drive officially will be over. Our records, however, will be behind a little, results show that.

	Quotas	Results
New York	\$ 325	\$ 80.25
Minneapolis	200	40
Chicago	100	44.70
Toronto	70	
Cleveland	40	4
Duluth	10	
Philadelphia	40	
Boston	40	2
Newark	35	7.25
Kansas City	30	2.00
St. Louis	25	
Los Angeles	20	6
Youngstown	10	5.25
New Haven	10	6
Montreal	10	
Springfield, Ill.	10	
W. Frankfort, Ill.	10	
Pittsburgh	40	4
Trenton	10	
Miscellaneous		10.50
Total	\$ 1,000	\$ 211.96

This is a considerable increase over last week's total. Very encouraging is the result of the house party held in Chicago for the benefit of our press. More than thirty dollars were raised in donations and subs. Youngstown also increased its total and promised to carry

on after the drive is over. Newark likewise increased its total.

But the point is that we are still a long way from our goal. As we see it the only way to reach it now is to get donations. Subs will help. But that alone will be insufficient. As this final contribution to the press drive let every comrade and sympathizer send in a donation. Let the amount be whatever he can afford.

On this last week-end, let us give a concrete expression of our support of our press, which is striving so determinedly against such heavy odds to fulfill its historic mission. Let us make a collective pledge that the press of the American section of the International Left Opposition, the voice, in this country, of the revolutionary internationalism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky will continue to appear regularly.

THE MILITANT

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IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

The Half-Turn in the German Party

Although the special edition of the Rote Fahne of Monday, April 25, 1932, confined itself merely to publishing Sunday's election results, and similarly the Tuesday number of the R. F. also recorded in a leading article only the bare results without commenting on their meaning, the official Communist press has received the task of setting down the unpleasant, the defeats and their scope. This has been done in the "Welt am Abend" of April 15 which we cite in the following:

"If we compare yesterday's Landtag elections in Prussia with the last Landtag elections in 1928, it appears that the Communists have won nearly 600,000 votes. The Social Democrats have lost approximately 800,000 votes while the Socialist Labor Party (the S. A. P.) could scrape painfully together about 80,000 votes (and not one mandate). The bourgeois parties from the State Party to the German Peoples' Party are nearly wiped out. The German Nationalists have suffered the loss of more than half their votes, over 1.2 millions; yet it is clear that they have emerged from their retrograde movement. The Centerists won around half a million votes. The National Socialists have gathered practically their entire mass following in the period since 1928 as the comparison indicates. They have become by far the strongest party.

"If we compare yesterday's Landtag elections with the last parliamentary elections (of Sept. 1930) the picture appears even more unfavorable for the workers' movement. The Communists lost more than 300,000 votes. So also did the Social Democrats. These more than 600,000 Communist and social democratic votes must have gone principally to the Nazis. Let this be clearly stated not to discourage but to spur on to sharper struggle against the visible danger. Since the parliamentary elections the Centerists have won more than 500,000 votes, mainly from bourgeois-liberal circles. The so-called bourgeois parties of the middle as well as those of the right are in a dying state as developments since Sept. 1930 indicate even more strikingly than before. The German Nationalists have lost a total of 400,000 votes while they had previously already lost more than one million votes. Finally the National Socialists have doubled their vote since the last parliamentary elections.

"If, finally, we compare the results of the Prussian Landtag elections with those of the presidential election—a comparison which must be made with caution since the presidential election is of a different character—it immediately becomes clear for the proletarian movement that the Communists have partially regained the great losses suffered in the second presidential election, although they did not reach the first presidential vote, let alone surpass it.

"What the heart of the political and industrial life of Germany, Greater Berlin, decided in yesterday's elections, is of decisive importance. In this connection it must be set down that in Berlin also the Communists lost 90,000 votes since the parliamentary elections while the Social Democrats gained nearly 60,000."

Even the most malevolent bureaucrat would not suspect the "Welt am Abend" of "Trotskyist slanders." The facts revealed by the Prussian Landtag elections are really staggering. For instance, the Social Democrats have won back 60,000 in Berlin since 1930, which means since the time of the sharpest emergency decrees for which they are also fully responsible, while the K. P. D. has lost 90,000 votes. In Hamburg the Party lost nearly 50,000 votes as compared with 1931, the S. P. D. gained 12,000 votes. From first place in Berlin the Communist Party slid down to third. In the most important industrial centers we see a similar backsliding of Communist voters. Only in the South of Germany and especially in agrarian Bavaria, did the Party show gains. The Nazis emerged from the elections as the most powerful party and their vote indicates that the Fascist tide is far from being stemmed.

It should be clear now to every party comrade to what a pass the Party has been brought by the leadership of Thaelmann-Remmele-Neumann. Through the events of the recent weeks and months the criticism of the Left Opposition has received vindication and confirmation such as could not possibly have been looked for so quickly and so extensively. The critical, decisive phase of the struggle is reached as we predicted in the last issue of the P. R. Within the Party the dissatisfaction of its members has assumed such an extent and character that the leadership is forced to a more or less radical turn. This turn stands on the order of the day. That this is clear to the C. C. is indicated by the appeal of the C. C. and the R. G. O. "to all German workers" published on the first page of the R. F. of April 26th.

The turn stands on the order of the day, yes, it is already in process. The most important thing is however, what changes is the Party capable of bringing about! Never before has a political action of such significance to the Party as well as to the Comintern, been taken without a clear statement by the E. C. C. I. as to its position. Such a statement has not appeared although the R. F. of April 27th published a leading editorial from the Pravda which must be

taken as reflecting the official views of decisive Comintern circles.

"The results of the Prussian Landtag election permit clear recognition of the peculiar situation in which Germany now finds itself, and how in the face of the extremely sharp industrial crisis the Social Democrats have succeeded in drawing away the attention of the masses from direct open struggle against capitalism and directing it to the peace of Versailles, the national yoke weighing down Germany and using this for the strengthening of their dictatorship. Herein is the peculiarity of present political developments in Germany as clearly indicated in the last elections." (From Pravda—the Editor).

The portrayal of the situation is correct. Only we permit ourselves to point out that the diverting action of the German bourgeoisie was assisted by the "national and social liberation program" of the K. P. D. for which the E. C. C. I. is also answerable. It would be correct now, since the consequences are ready to one's hand to grasp, to finally wind up this "liberation-program" wide of the mark! After Pravda records further on what the K. P. D. did not altogether "understand" how to carry out, it recommends:

"The Communist Party will draw the conclusion from this election that with all its power it must improve its work for mass struggle against the capitalist offensive, against the fascist assaults, for the unfolding of its program of social and national liberation of the German people."

One need not be surprised if the catastrophic policy become even more coarse, as in the following paragraph which the R. F. actually underscores heavily shows! "There is no occasion to believe that the present retardation of the growth of the revolutionary forces of the German proletariat will last very long. The whole situation shows that a new turn of the broad masses to the Communist Party is possible very quickly. The Communists must summon forth all their power to hasten this turn." (From Pravda).

So: not the Party but rather the masses must make a turn!!! The sole logic that comes forth from such comprehension, since accordingly the K. P. D. should hold fast to its previous "line." But the height of confusion is reached by the Pravda in the following lines:

"Further the danger becomes stronger that the German fascists will seek to fortify their election success by force in order to throw aside the obstacles to a quick, open dictatorship. In the struggle against the carrying through of Fascist dictatorship the Communist Party of Germany does not identify indeed the National Socialists with the Social Democrats, although the latter as well as the former, even if with different methods, bring about Fascist dictatorship. The Communist Party makes use of those differences that exist between these two organizations of the bourgeoisie, even if their differences of opinion are small and do not spring from decisive differences in nature."

The line of the E. C. C. I.—a divergence of opinion with that of the Pravda is unthinkable—is therefore, the "national and social liberation program" is to stand fast and wait for a turn of the masses. And, as the last citation informs us, the "Theory of social-Fascism" is right, but in the struggle against the carrying through of the Fascist dictatorship one cannot consider as identical social democrats and Nazis, although both bring about the Fascist dictatorship. Higher than this they cannot go! That a correct change is to be made by the E. C. C. I. need not be awaited going by the lead of the Pravda.

The complete change that the situation demands will be undertaken only under the pressure of the masses of party members. Under the pressure of events and party moods, the C. C. of the K. P. D. has already taken some steps, they, however, are only the initial ones, others must follow.

In its appeal of April 26th the C. C. makes the statement: "We are ready to join for a common struggle with every organization of the workers that is actually willing to fight against reductions in wages and the dole. Well said: ready to join with every organization for a common struggle, so it goes today. Only a few weeks previously Muenzenberg reviled this idea of comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition as being counter-revolutionary-fascistic. Today the R. F.

is forced (editorial of April 26th) to write:

"The main thing now is to assemble all the class forces of the proletariat and the working masses in the red united front and again go into an offensive against the capitalist dictatorship and defeat Fascism."

"We publish today at the head of our newspaper the appeal of the C. C. and the R. G. O. Committee in which the party and the R. G. O. express their willingness to join with all lower union functionaries and shop-committee-members, with all organizations which wish to fight honestly against reduction in wages, to carry through common measures for the struggle for workers' demands in the shops.

"While we are in sharpest struggle against the government of Braun-Severing, against the policy of emergency measures dictatorship and their clearing

Trotsky and Brandler; or Lovestone and Principles

Under the heading "That Gibraltar of Principle!", the current number of the Workers Age drops another stink-bomb in its recently revived campaign against "Trotskyism" in general and comrade Trotsky in particular. After a lengthy period of silence about the Opposition, the last half a dozen numbers of the Lovestone sheet have devoted not a few columns to an abrupt renewal of the campaign in which they must be acknowledged as specialists, as people trained for just that kind of activity. The reason for this "turn", which puzzled so many people for a while, has of course now become quite clear. The campaign coincided with the negotiations they were conducting for a return to the bosom of Stalinism, and was manifestly calculated to impress upon the party leaders the fact that, at least when it comes to accumulating the Left Opposition and pegging mud at it, the Lovestoneites take second place behind nobody. With the zeal of a Ludovico before the doubting Borgia—"Have I not stabbed men from behind? And poisoned water in the fountains? And mixed fatal drugs in wine-horns? Let me but try, excellent lord!"—our Lovestoneites have been engaged in proving their skill at the game of "anti-Trotskyism" to their prospective Comintern bosses.

An Expert on "Principle!" The latest Right wing effusion deals with comrade Trotsky, the Brandlerites and principle. Lovestone is expert on all three matters, especially on the last-named, for few people in the Comintern have juggled more successfully with the word than he. In his latest piece, he sets about, in the interests of truth, to reveal that "nothing is more threadbare, nothing is more fraudulent than the mantle of stern principle with which L. D. Trotsky loves to clothe himself! . . . What has happened to this unbending pillar of political rectitude? Even Stachel can learn from him in political trickery, unprincipledness and intrigue."

The basis for this delicate piece of vilification is a number of "facts" which Lovestone presents in defense of Brandler and Co. to "prove" that Trotsky created a "legend" about them and attacked them only after he had failed to win them for his faction by offering them various bribes—promises to whitewash the Brandlerists for their conduct in the German October (1923). Since the creation of myths has played such a prominent part in the struggle to discredit and crush the Left Opposition, it is worth our while to expose this new myth.

Lovestone, who knows better, now pretends that only "after the rejection of these overtures by Brandler, Trotsky made a right-about-face and began a venomous attack upon him and his political associates. It was at this time that he originated the notorious 'October legend.'"

In other words, Lovestone, who is simply trying to present Trotsky as he, Lovestone, would have acted under the circumstances, accuses him of having invented his criticism of Brandler not on the basis of Brandler's actual position during the German events but only after Trotsky had failed to make a factionally ally of him. Unfortunately for this legend, incontrovertible evidence exists as to what comrade Trotsky's position actually was before the catastrophic results of Brandler's policy (that is, of Zinoviev's and Stalin's policy as well) were fully clear. In the "Material on the Conference of the Russian Communist Party, January 1924," it says:

the road for Hitler, we Communists stand as mortal enemies of Hitler fascism. We will do everything with the help of proletarian class forces in order to block its way to government power, in order to break its terror and through a new red advance of the working class to give it a decisive blow."

These are only the first steps on the way which the Left Opposition advocated for a long time. Until now we have only words, only appeals. Real actions must follow. The K. P. D. must have a revolutionary perspective. It was defeated only because it had none. The problems of the day must be posed concretely. "We must force on the social-democracy the bloc against fascism". This is the lesson from the Prussian election.

We greet every step on the road to a Leninist united front policy and urge all party members to turn the half-measures of the C. C. into complete ones. Party members demand that words and appeals be followed by real actions.

—PERMANENTE REVOLUTION.

"Comrade Trotsky, before leaving the session of the Central Committee (at the September 1923 Plenum, that is, a month before the decisive October days in Germany,—S.), made a speech which greatly excited all the Central Committee members. He declared in this speech that the leadership of the German Communist Party is worthless and the Central Committee of the German C. P. is allegedly permeated with fatalism and sleepheadedness, etc. Comrade Trotsky declared further that under these conditions the German revolution is condemned to failure. This speech produced an astounding impression. . . ."

This citation alone would suffice to reveal the shabbiness of the myth which Lovestone and Brandler are now trying to create. But there is more. Lovestone is quite well aware of the series of articles written by comrade Trotsky in 1923, before the October days, in which he dealt with the problems of the impending German revolution. In them were already outlined those critical views which the policy of the Russian and German party leaders later justified with such disastrous results. Particularly was this true with regard to his article, "Is It Possible to Fix the Date of the Insurrection?" which encountered the charge of Blanquism and general opposition not only from the Rights in the German and Russian parties, but even from the ultra-Leftists a la Maslov, who made virtually the same arguments advanced by the Menshevik Martynov before the December 1905 uprising in Moscow when the same question was posed by Lenin.

Trotsky on Brandler Further: Lovestone asserts that in the January 1924 theses of Trotsky, Radek and Piatakov, "the course and conduct of the Brandler Central Committee were thoroughly justified." Nothing of the sort is true or possible. Comrade Trotsky's position after the capitulation in Germany was clearly established in his "The Lessons of October", which evoked a rabid campaign against him, not so much because of his criticism of the German party leadership but primarily because of his criticism of the Russian party leadership which was mainly responsible for the calamity in October. The manner in which Trotsky "justified" (and "thoroughly", at that!) the Brandler group, is not the subject for Lovestone "revelations" today, for public documents exist on the matter. Three years ago, in a letter to Souvarine which he made public, Trotsky wrote:

"After the frightful collapse of the German revolution of 1923, I gave Brandler a qualified protection; I declared it undeserved to put him up as the scapegoat when the responsibility for the catastrophe in Germany lay with the Zinoviev-Stalin leadership of the Comintern as a whole. I reached a negative estimation of Brandler only when I became convinced that he did not for a single moment want to, nor could he learn from the great events. His retrospective estimation of the German situation of 1923 is quite similar to the criticism that the Mensheviks developed on the 1905 revolution in the years of the reaction." (April 25, 1929.)

That there was justification for this refusal, as far back as 1924, to make Brandler a scapegoat and the insistence upon placing the responsibility where it belonged, was adequately revealed in 1928 when Zinoviev made public a letter sent him and Bucharin by Stalin, in which the latter had urged in 1923 that the German Communists "be restrained and not spurred on" and that the Fascists be allowed to come to power first!

There is no doubt that Trotsky made an effort, in 1924, to persuade Brandler of the falsity of his position not only in the October days, when the revolution was there and Brandler failed to see it, but of his position after the defeat, when Brandler did "see it" after it had already slipped into the past. But this was known before Lovestone's "revelations", and known without his base interpretations. In a letter published by Trotsky, dated June 12, 1929, he relates (not for the first time) that he "did not come to this annihilating conclusion at one stroke. I had rather hoped that

The Conference of the Spanish Opposition

The National Conference of the Spanish Left Opposition was recently held at Madrid. Comrades from all parts of the country were represented, reporting organizational and ideological progress in every locality. Theses for future work were adopted and preparations made to expand the activities of the Spanish section of the Left Opposition. Among these, the benumbed publication of El Soviet, the weekly organ, is being planned at Barcelona. A detailed report of the conference is forthcoming. The article below is a message from comrade Andres Nin, one of the leaders of the Spanish Left Opposition.

When, in June of last year, we came together as the followers of the international Left Opposition in Spain, we constituted not more than a small group of militants ready to fight enthusiastically for the creation of a real Communist

movement in our country. The political stupidity of the official party, the irresponsibility of its leaders—typical products of Stalinism—which has caused so much ruin in the international revolutionary movement, had discredited even the idea itself of Communism in the eyes of the working masses. The Workers' and Peasants' Bloc, the birth of which is due principally to the profound mistakes of the party and the International, had transformed itself into an opportunist organization, typically petty bourgeois which constitutes a big obstacle, with its innate confusionism, to the development of a strong Communist movement in Catalonia. Finally, anarcho-sindicalism, thanks to the impotence and incapability of the Communist organization, had been able to exercise an enormous influence over the broad masses of the proletariat.

The Opposition had to start an extremely difficult fight on these three fronts. For this fight it was not equipped with more than a monthly theoretical magazine of a very small circulation and the ardent enthusiasm of the handful of Spanish Oppositionists. The organized group could be counted on the fingers of one hand. The material resources were very limited. The point of view of the Left Opposition was unknown to the big majority of the workers.

In spite of all this, the results obtained in the ten months of struggle have surpassed all our hopes. The National Conference, recently held in Madrid has shown the really surprising progress achieved in less than a year. The balance of the work achieved is highly encouraging. The Communist Left Opposition is no longer a nucleus of isolated militants as it was a year ago, but a real Communist movement, with branches in every part of the country, alive, active, combative, intimately attached to the working class and to its struggles. The danger of the Opposition becoming transformed into a circle of critics, into a sterile sect, into a ready refuge for the lazy, the cowards and the disillusioned has been victoriously overcome. The best, the most conscious, the most self-sacrificing fighting militants have joined our ranks. Today the Communist Left Opposition is really the vanguard of the vanguard of the Spanish proletariat.

The National Conference has given a program, a tactic and a structure to our movement. The Communist Left Opposition has clearly showed the way for the Spanish working class to follow and has constructed the basis upon which a big Communist movement will develop in our country.

The Communist Left Opposition has made a big step forward. Now more than ever before, we are firmly convinced that the road taken by us has been confirmed as correct and that only the Opposition is the heir to the traditions of revolutionary Marxism, the faithful executor of the work of the International of Lenin and Trotsky, capable of forging the weapon which the Spanish proletariat needs in order to obtain victory over the bourgeoisie: a big Communist party.

The progress achieved in the last ten months, in spite of our meagre material resources and with the enormous difficulties under which we have been fighting, is the surest guarantee of the success which the future has in store for us.

But we do not know how much time is left to us by history in the exceptional circumstances in which we live today. We have not a moment to lose. We must redouble our efforts, intensify our propaganda and our organizational work, consecrate all our energy to the immense task we have started to solve in order to equip the proletariat with the weapons necessary for its triumph.

—ANDRES NIN.

When did Lovestone change his mind about the need of combatting Brandler as a Right winger? Why did Lovestone change his mind? Just when and why did he "establish connections with Brandler"? What explanation has he ever given for the change? We do not know and we confess to being little concerned. Lovestone, who worships principle and recoils from intrigue and trickery (as is well known), is the sort of politician who denounces "Trotskyism" as the "crassest expression of the Right wing" one day, as "ultra-Leftism" the next day, and as anything else you please the day after. Yesterday, Brandler was one of his favorite targets for the same vile slanders he now hurled at Trotsky; today, he has really given Brandler that white-washing which he dishonestly alleges that Trotsky was ready to give him; tomorrow, if he is called upon to do so, he will rediscovers that Brandler, after all, always was an agent of the bourgeoisie.

Just think of it; for years this man was the leader of the American party, and one of the leaders of the Comintern! —SHACHTMAN.

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A limited number of bound volumes of The Militant are now ready for sale. They include seventy-two issues—From Vol. 1, No. 1 to Vol. 4, No. 12—the last issue of the old format. They are indispensable in preparing for lectures, debates, discussions, etc. Orders will be filled in the order in which they are received. Checks or money order must accompany the orders. Price: \$5.00

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Welcome Back, H. M. Wicks!

Expert on Renegacy Returns from Long Absence

One of the big events of the month in American Party circles is the triumphant return of H. M. Wicks after a long sojourn in foreign parts. This return of a hero has been fittingly celebrated by the publication of an article from his pen in the *Daily Worker* of May 15th, in the course of which he exonerates the "renegades" in his own characteristic and inimitable style.

There is one thing to be said for Wicks: when he writes on the subject of renegacy he knows what he is writing about. In contrast to those bungling amateurs who denounce the "renegades" in routine fashion, without any real knowledge or conviction, Wicks brings to the task the ease and assurance and the cunning touch that derives from a practical experience in the business. Wicks knows the game from the inside; on the subject of renegacy, he is an expert.

In the article referred to above Wicks returns once again to the battle against us which he first began in the early days of the American Communist movement. Twelve years ago, when some of the present leaders of the Left Opposition were in jail as a result of the Palmer terror and others were organizing the underground groups of the future party on the outside, Wicks distinguished himself in the red-baiting campaign of that time. Originally a prominent leader of the Left wing of the Socialist party, and later of the C. P., he passed over to the other side under pressure of the terror and attacked his former comrades with no less venom than he has shown in the anti-Trotsky campaign of recent times. The dates and some of the names are different, but the essential content is the same.

In the *Militant* for September 15th, 1929 we printed the record of Wicks' renegacy. Shortly thereafter he disappeared from the country and nothing was heard from him for a long time. Now he is back again, and back to the old job of denouncing the "renegades". What better way to greet his return can there be than to print that record again? Here it is: a verbatim reproduction of the report of his speech from the Gary, Indiana, Post (now the *Post-Tribune*) of Thursday, March 25, 1929, pages 1 and 9:

BARES UNDERHAND 'RED' PLOT TO USE UNIONS TO RUIN UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

"H. M. Wicks of Chicago, a reformed Socialist, spoke on the revolutionary tendencies of the times to some forty Gary men last evening. Mr. Wicks established a Socialist local in Gary several years ago; he said he helped select Oscar Anderson as the leader of the Gary strike; therefore he did not appear to be an entire stranger.

"He charged that the steel strike was wholly the work of the syndicalist movement. Violent minorities in the steel unions forced the strike against the wishes of the majority, he said. The majorities did not want to strike but were hounded down by the leather-lunged minorities whose only argument was that the opponents of the strike were agents of Judge Gary.

BREAKS WITH PARTY

"Mr. Wicks has been a socialist in good standing until last fall when he openly broke with the Socialist Party. Previous to that time he had served as a member of the National Executive Committee of the Party. He said he was familiar with the work and attitude of the Socialists, I. W. W., Communists and all revolutionists.

"With very few exceptions, he said, the radicals are not Americans. Most of the Socialists are people of foreign birth and citizenship and many of them do not even speak the English language.

WORK FOR AMERICAN LEGION

"Bill Hayward and his satellites should not be tolerated in this country, Mr. Wicks said, he had been advising American Legion members not to permit these vermin to talk to them, but to knock them down. That, he said, is the only language they understand.

"The speaker charged that the Socialist Party was thoroughly pro-German during the war and is today controlled by the pro-German Victor Berger. He said Berger richly deserved the 20 year sentence meted out some time ago and he hoped the Milwaukee man would be forced to serve his time. He said if there ever was a traitor to his country Berger was it.

NO USE FOR 'REDS'

Mr. Wicks has no respect for Socialists or radicals of any sort. Having associated with them intimately for years he claims to know them exactly as they are and he says that they are all selfish opportunists who are simply after something for themselves.

"He commended the deportation proceedings that have rid the country of many agitators and urged that other foreign trouble makers be given the same treatment. He urged an Americanization program for the foreign speaking workers and he said the American Legion is the one organization in the country which is doing good Americanization work.

EXPULSION FOR DEFEAT

"Mr. Wicks was especially severe of the brand of democracy that the various organizations subscribe to. He said when Victor Berger and Morris Hillquit were defeated by the Party vote they simply expelled many of the Socialists who voted against them and retained control.

"He told of attending the congress of the Communist Party in Chicago where by use of a caucus about one-fourth of the delegates controlled the meeting.

"Lenin is a dictator, and Emma Gold-

man and Ben Reitzman would not dare to carry on the propaganda in Russia which they did carry on here. If they did it would be a firing squad for them.

"The purpose of the revolutionists today is not democracy. They want the rule of the militant minority. Mr. Wicks charged that Syndicalism had been taken up in many instances by unions. He said there is no question about the syndicalism of Foster, who was secretary of the Steel Strike organization. He said he knew Foster personally and was positive that the late strike leader had not abandoned any of his syndicalist beliefs. He also stated that the radicals were simply biding their time to call another strike.

"The speaker could not find words to describe his disgust for the I. W. W. He charged them with being cowards and the scum of the earth.

"Mr. Wicks is preparing to tour the country on the Chautauqua platform this summer in order to let the American people understand the true situation. He has given several years study to Sociology and is preparing to write two books on the problems of the hour.

"He has broken away from the Socialists so recently that this may be the first notice some of them will have of his apostasy."

Statement of Jack Macdonald

(Continued from page 1)

I have a vivid recollection of this "corridor" congress. I recall the session of the Standing Committee where the Pol-Bureau of the C. P. S. U. made its declaration, drawn from it, in its own words because the delegations were "speculating" on the rumored differences within the Bureau. No such principal differences existed, ran the declaration signed by all members of the bureau and implemented by remarks from Stalin and Bucharin. Hardly had the delegations reached home before news broke out that not only were there principal differences, but that actual factions existed. And this after the lie had been given to delegates who had probed beneath the surface of official declarations and reported the existence of groupings and factions.

The creation of the "third period" at the Sixth Congress, as justification for the left about-face, unquestionably under the blows of the opposition—a period that has apparently passed into history or been conveniently forgotten to avoid the creation of a "fourth" period; the rejection of the united front tactic with the non-party workers organizations in the slogan of the "united front from below", as an apology for the unprincipled maneuvering with the leaders of the Social Democratic and reformist trade union organizations; the tragic and catastrophic caricature of a bolshevik-Leninist policy in China, with its complete subordination of the Communist Party to Chiang Kai-Shek and its corollary of subsequent adventurism and putschist insurrection; the eclectic and mechanical creation of the "war danger", which led the parties to orientate their activities solely on the imminence of war from which the proletarian revolution would be born; the swing back to the "right" with its glaring legalistic and parliamentary activity, just as the world economic crisis broke, only to find the parties isolated from the consequences to a great extent of the third period tactics; the acrobatics on trade union policy, etc., etc.—all this is at least ample proof of the zig-zag centralist policy of the present regime.

The appalling debacle of the Communist forces in the recent German presidential election with the enormous growth of the Fascist forces; the almost complete isolation of the party from the trade unions; its insignificant influence over the social-democratic workers, despite the deep internal crisis in Germany; the theory of "social Fascism"; the flirtings, to put it mildly, with certain Fascist leaders; the apparent developing theory that a Fascist victory with its demagogic program and slogans means rapid disillusionment of the workers, which will be followed by a flocking to the Communist standard, Italy, Poland, etc., notwithstanding; all this in the German situation if nothing else must impel a general stocktaking and inner searching in the ranks of Communism.

One looks in vain for any keen analysis of these phenomena in the official Communist Press. In the Canadian "Worker" after the first presidential vote in Germany, there appeared a leading editorial that for trifling, irresponsible, politicianish approach is, I believe without parallel. Two main points were made. Firstly, the opposition was "disarmed" with the assertion many times repeated that the "renegades" would possibly find cause to rejoice. Just why, wasn't stated. Secondly, finally and primarily, the most outstanding and significant result of the election was the gain of half a million Communist votes over last election. What humbug! The second vote with its loss of over a million Communist votes, still remains to be "explained", so far as I am aware.

The wealth of literature issued by the Left Opposition from the pen of Trotsky is something that no worker or student of Marxism or Leninism can afford to ignore or neglect. One listens in vain for the voice of Stalin on the outstanding events of today. Here in the opposition press and literature every question is approached and analyzed, clearly, fearlessly and dialectically. I recollect how

For Communist Unity

(Continued from page 1)

appeal for re-admission. The differences which we have with the present party policy can, we repeat, and should be settled within the framework of one single organization, the Communist party. We aspire only to defend our point of view inside the party, to seek for it in the proper manner and at the proper time, in accordance with the provisions made for such discussion by the statutes of the party and the International, and in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism.

Our inability to agree with the methods pursued in the negotiations conducted with the Lovestone group does not in any way eliminate our conviction that the unification of the party is now more imperative than ever. We are quite prepared to go all the way towards making this unity a reality, a reality which we are sure will give our party a new impetus and added effectiveness in the class struggle. We make this appeal to the party at a moment when the gravity of the situation obliges every revolutionary worker to weigh his decisions and actions, for what is involved is the whole future of our cause.

In presenting our appeal to the party, we urge it to make a prompt reply so that we may be able to act quickly upon it.

With Communist greetings,
National Committee,
Communist League of America (Opp.)

Centrism «in General» and the Centrism of the Stalinist Bureaucracy

by LEON TROTSKY

The errors of the leadership of the Comintern and consequently, the errors of the German Communist Party pertain, in the familiar terminology of Lenin, to the category of "ultra-Left stupidities." Even wise men are capable of stupidities, especially when young. But, as Heine counselled, this privilege should not be abused. When, however, political stupidities of a given type are repeated systematically in the course of a lengthy period, and moreover in the sphere of the most important questions, then they cease being simply stupidities and become tendencies. What sort of a tendency is this? What historical necessities does it meet? What are its social roots?

Ultra-Leftism has a different social foundation in different countries and at different periods. The most thoroughgoing expressions of ultra-Leftism were to be found in anarchism and Blanquism, and in their different combinations, among them the latest one: anarcho-syndicalism.

The social soil for these trends which have spread primarily through Latin countries was to be found in the old and classic small industries of Paris. Their stability added an indubitable significance to the French varieties of ultra-radicalism and allowed them to a certain degree to influence ideologically the workers' movements in other countries. The development of large scale industries in France, the war and the Russian revolution broke the spine of anarcho-syndicalism. Having been thrown back, it has become transformed into a debased opportunism. On both of its stages French syndicalism is headed by one and the same Jouhaux: the times change and we change with them.

Spanish anarcho-syndicalism preserved its seeming revolutionary character only in the environment of political stagnation. By posing all the questions point-blank the revolution has compelled the anarcho-syndicalist leaders to cast off their ultra-radicalism and to reveal their opportunist nature. We can rest definitely assured that the Spanish revolution will drive out the prejudice of syndicalism from its last Latin hide-out.

The anarchist and Blanquist elements join all kinds of other types of ultra-Left trends and groups. On the periphery of a great revolutionary movement there are always to be observed the manifestations of putschism and adventurism, the standard bearers of which are recruited either from backward and quite often semi-artisan strata of the workers, or from the intellectual fellow way-farers. But such a type of ultra-Leftism does not ordinarily attain to independent historical significance, retaining, in most instances, its episodic character.

In historically backward countries, which are compelled to go through their bourgeois revolutions within the environment of a full-fledged and world-wide workers' movement, the left intelligentsia often introduces the most extreme slogans and methods into the semi-elementary movements of the predominantly petty-bourgeois masses. Such is the nature of petty-bourgeois parties of the type of the Russian "Social-Revolutionaries", with their tendencies toward putschism, individual terrorism, etc. Thanks to the effectiveness of the Communist parties in the West, the independent adventurist groups will hardly attain there to the importance of the Russian Social-Revolutionaries. But on this account the young Communist parties of the West may include within themselves the elements of adventurism. As regards the Russian S. R.'s, under the influence of the evolution of bourgeois society, they have become transformed into the party of the imperialist petty bourgeoisie and have taken a counter-revolutionary position in relation to the October revolution.

It is entirely self-evident that the ultra-Leftism of the present Comintern does not fall under any one of the above specified historic types. The chief party of the Comintern, the C. P. S. U., wittingly leans upon the industrial proletariat, and operates for better or for worse from the revolutionary traditions of Bolshevism. The majority of other sections of the Comintern are proletarian organizations. Are not the very differences of conditions in various countries, in which the ultra-Left policies of official Communism are raging simultaneously and in the same degree, tokens of the fact that there are no common social roots underlying this trend? Indeed, the ultra-Left course, which is also one and the same "in principle", is being put through in China and in Great Britain. But if so, where are we then to seek for the key to the new ultra-Leftism?

The question is complicated, but at the same time is also clarified by one other, extremely important circumstance: Ultra-Leftism is not at all an unvarying or fundamental trait of the present leadership of the Comintern. The same apparatus, in its basic composition, held to an openly opportunistic policy until 1928, and in many of the most important questions switched over completely onto the tracks of menshevism. During 1924-1927 agreements with reformists were not only considered obligatory but were permitted if thereby the party renounced its independence, its freedom of criticism, and even its proletarian foundation*. Therefore the discussion concerns not at all a particular ultra-Left trend, but a prolonged ultra-Left zig-zag of such a trend that has demonstrated in the past its capacity for launching into profound ultra-Right zig-zags. Even these outward symptoms suggest that what we are dealing with is centrism.

Speaking formally and descriptively, centrism is composed of all those trends within the proletariat, and on its periphery which are distributed between re-

formism and Marxism, and which most often represent various stages of evolution from reformism to Marxism—and vice-versa. Both Marxism and reformism have a solid social support underlying them. Marxism expresses the historical interests of the proletariat. Reformism speaks for the privileged position of proletarian bureaucracy and aristocracy within the capitalist state. Centrism, as we have known it in the past, did not have and could not have an independent social foundation. Different layers of the proletariat develop in the revolutionary direction in different ways and at different times. In periods of prolonged industrial uplift or in the periods of political ebb-tide, after defeats, different layers of the proletariat shift politically from left to right, clashing with other layers who are just beginning to evolve to the Left. Different groups are delayed on separate stages of their evolution, they find their temporary leaders and create their programs and organizations. Small wonder then that such a diversity of trends is embraced in the comprehension of "centrism"! Depending upon their origin, their social composition and the direction of their evolution, different groupings may be engaged in the most savage warfare with one another, without losing thereby their character of being a variety of centrism.

While centrism in general fulfills ordinarily the function of serving as a left cover for reformism, the question as to which of the basic camps, reformist or Marxist, a given centrism may belong, cannot be solved once for all with a ready made formula. Here, more than anywhere else, it is necessary to analyze each time the concrete composition of the process and the inner tendencies of its development. Thus, some of Rosa Luxemburg's political mistakes may be with sufficient theoretical justification characterized as left-centrism. One could go still further and say that the majority of divergences between Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin represented a stronger or weaker leaning toward centrism. But only the bullies and ignoramuses and charlatans of the Comintern bureaucracy are capable of assigning Luxemburgism as an historical tendency toward centrism. It goes without saying that the present "leaders" of the Comintern, from Stalin down, politically, theoretically and morally do not come up to the knees of the great woman and revolutionist.

Critics, who have not pondered the gist of the matter, have recently accused me more than once of abusing the word "centrism", by including under this name too great a variety of tendencies and groups within the workers' movement. In reality, the diversity of the types of centrism originates, as has been already said, in the essence of the phenomenon itself and not at all in an abuse of terminology. We need only recall how often the Marxists have been accused of assigning to the petty bourgeoisie the most diverse and contradictory phenomena. And actually, under the category "petty bourgeois", one is obliged to include fact, ideas and tendencies which at first glance appear entirely incompatible. The petty bourgeois character pertains to the peasant movement and to the radical tendencies of urban reformism; both French Jacobins and Russian Narodniki are petty bourgeois; Prudhonists are petty-bourgeois but so are Blanquists; petty-bourgeois are: the French anarcho-syndicalists, the "Salvation Army", Gandhi's movement in India, etc., etc. If we turn to the sphere of philosophy and art, even a much more polychromatic picture obtains. Does this mean that Marxism indulges in playing with terminology? Not at all, this only means that the petty-bourgeoisie is characterized by the extreme heterogeneity of its social nature. At bottom it fuses with the proletariat and extends into the lumpen-proletariat, on top it passes over into the capitalist bourgeoisie. It may lean upon old forms of production but it may rapidly develop on the bases of most modern industry (the new "middle estate"). No wonder that ideologically it scintillates with all the colors of the rainbow.

Centrism within the workers' movement plays in a certain sense the same rôle as does the petty-bourgeois ideology of all types in relation to the bourgeois society as a whole. Centrism reflects the processes of the evolution of the proletariat; its political growth as well as its revolutionary set-back conjointly with the pressure of all other classes of society upon the proletariat. No wonder that the palette of centrism is distinguished by such iridescence! From this it follows, however, not that one must give up trying to comprehend centrism but simply that one must needs discover the true nature of a given variety of centrism by means of a concrete and an historical analysis in every individual instance.

The ruling faction of the Comintern does not represent in itself centrism "in general" but quite a definite historical form, which has social roots, rather recent but powerful. First of all, the matter concerns the *Soviet bureaucracy*. In the writings of the Stalinist theoreticians this social stratum does not exist at all. We are only told of "Leninism", of incorporeal leadership, of the ideological tradition, of the spirit of Bolshevism, of the imponderable "general line"; but you will not hear a word about a functional, breathing and living, in flesh and bone, who manipulates this general line like a fireman his hose.

—L. TROTSKY.

(To Be Continued)

* A detailed analysis of this opportunistic chapter of the Comintern that lasted a few years is given in our books, *The Draft Program of the Comintern—A Criticism of Fundamentals! The Permanent Revolution; Who is Leading the Comintern Today*, etc.

(From WHAT NEXT—Vital Questions for the German proletariat)

—J. MACDONALD.

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

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For a Communist Campaign in the Elections

The Communist Party of the U. S. A. has just held its Nominating Convention in Chicago. As evidence of intense and large scale preparation for the election struggle, the Nominating Convention marks a big step forward for the party in the field of parliamentary activity. It speaks well for a real attempt to put the Communist party on the political map, to place it as the official symbol of Communism before the eyes of the whole country. At the present juncture of events, this is doubly significant and important.

For nearly three years, the economic crisis, initiated by the Wall Street crash of October 1929, has held this country and the rest of the world with it, completely under its sway. The allurements of "prosperity," of the "full dinner pail," have been gradually worn off. The main burden of the depression has been constantly shifted to the backs of the workers, wage cut following upon wage cut and unemployment gripping hundreds of thousands and millions of proletarian families. All the fake solutions pointing to prosperity around the corner, all the public works ruses of the capitalist class have come to naught. Awed by the prospect of a discontented mass slowly moving into action, the bourgeois politicians have even gone so far as to mumble something about federal relief, about the "dole" hitherto held taboo by the masters.

The Central Issue: Unemployment

The central problem created by the economic crisis, the problem of unemployment looms up as the main, the only real issue of the current election campaign. The plank writers and the key-noters of the bourgeois parties are all busy hatching plans of how best to cover up the issue by lip service to relief measures that will not cost their class very much. Wagner, Roosevelt, Garner, Young and even some of the Republican batsmen have included clauses dealing with this question in their speeches and proposals. It is their aim to strew enough sand in the eyes of the American workers to keep them from finding the way to their class leader, to the Communist Party.

The efforts of the capitalists to find a way out of the crisis have smashed up against the contradictions inherent within their system. Their Reconstruction Finance Corporation, their public works panaceas have left the depression just as grave as ever. They have not contributed one whit to procure jobs for the workers, to ease the situation of the toiling masses. The profit system, the system of accumulating capital for the benefit of a restricted few brings with it anarchy in the sphere of production. Goods, commodities are produced without consideration or respect to the needs of society. Factories are built up to make machinery in quantities for which there are not sufficient markets. Products are manufactured which the underpaid and unemployed wage slaves are unable to purchase. Still, wages continue to be cut, still the backward countries that furnish the markets are hogged by the various imperialist nations. Capitalism is stifled by its own laws of production and distribution, by its profit greed.

All attempts at national "solutions" buck up against the international trade barriers. The markets, the colonial countries, the fields of imperialist exploitation have long ago been divided up among the robber capitalist nations. War, war for markets and profits faces the crisis-ridden capitalist world.

The Communist Task in the Elections

These are the conditions under which the party of the working class is entering the election fight. Although we greet the serious attempt of the Nominating Convention to draw the Communist party as a real factor into the political life of the country, we cannot but disagree with the general methods with which the party leadership is proceeding to do this.

In the first place, the Stalinist leadership presents the election campaign as a struggle for immediate demands, or as the platform puts it, to gain "consciousness now from the capitalist parties."

We reject this conception as thoroughly opportunist. For Bolsheviks, for revolutionists, the election struggle is in the main a means of educating the workers of the country on the Communist program and its final aim. Immediate demands are for us by-products of the struggle, they are important only in so far as they constitute stepping stones to the ultimate ends of our fight, only in so far as they demonstrate our readiness to fight together with the rest of the working class at each step in its political development.

In utilizing the election campaign for revolutionary ends, it is absolutely essential to put forward the slogan of the Soviet United States of America, the slogan of the Proletarian Dictatorship. The propaganda of the party, its main task in the campaign, must revolve around an explanation of this slogan, giving it concrete content as the workers' way out of the crisis which the Communists oppose to the solution of the capitalists—increased wages and

exploitation, redoubled oppression of the working class organization, war.

For Internationalism in the Struggle

During the election struggle, taking place at this period of deepest crisis, the class party of the proletariat has the very best opportunity of contrasting the socialist system of production to the anarchic system of the capitalists, of contrasting the internationalist solidarity of the working class to the nationalist war aims of the bourgeoisie. This is the time to concretely pose the interests of the world revolution—which has for its purpose the establishment of socialist planning on the basis of an international division of labor—as the workers' solution of the crisis and the war danger it brings with it.

The capitalists and their political representatives do everything in their power to discredit the living symbol of world revolution, of socialist construction—the Soviet Union. They are plotting war against the workers' state. In the course of the election campaign the Communists have an excellent opportunity of holding up the example of the Soviet Union in its true light, of contrasting the successes of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. with the miserable conditions capitalism furnishes for the workers in the U. S. A. This can be done all the more successfully by linking up the defense of the Soviet Union, its example of successful socialist construction, with the central problem of unemployment right here in the country.

The Demand for Long Term Credits

By putting forward the demand of recognition and long term credits to the Soviet Union, the party can teach the workers of America their community of interests with the workers of Russia. The Soviet Union, occupied in the tremendous task of building up its industry, needs credits from the U. S. government with which to buy machinery produced in American factories. Orders from Soviet Russia means work for hundreds and thousands of unemployed American workers. The slogan of long term credits to the Soviets as a measure of relief for unemployment teaches a vital lesson of the American proletariat which allows for excellent opportunities to make the Communist program vivid before the masses. It is a slogan that must find a prominent place in the Communist election campaign, together with the demands for workers' unemployment insurance and relief, and for the six hour day.

The platform put forward by the Stalinist leadership of the party is full of

Scottsboro Boys' Execution Stayed

Compelled by mass working class pressure, the United States Supreme Court has granted the appeal of the I. L. D. for a review of the case of the seven Scottsboro boys framed on the fake charge of rape and sentence to death by electrocution.

This automatically stays the legal lynching set for June 24, to November 10, when the Supreme Court reconvenes.

Never before has the life been thrown so effectively into the faces of the reformists and legalists, who have minimized the effect and importance of the organized mass protest of the workers on behalf of their imprisoned class comrades.

Workers, not only in America, but in every country and on every continent on the globe: in Australia, Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America showed their solidarity with the nine Negro boys, whom American capitalists singled out to lynch legally in the boss courts of the South.

The partial victory of the workers in this case should serve as a lesson to the entire working class of America and particularly the Negro workers, that it is only the Communists who will lead them in their struggles and fight their fights. It should also serve as a lesson to the class conscious Negro workers of America that no abstract struggle for Negro rights will solve their problems in the South or any other place. The reformist and legalist betrayals of the colored gentlemen of the N. A. A. C. P.'s offer the oppressed Negro masses nothing but exploitation.

The struggle is not yet over. This partial victory must be the harbinger of greater victories to come. The fight is not yet over. There must be no let-down in the demonstrations and protests that are to be carried on until the nine Negro boys are unconditionally released to join us in the ranks of the workers fighting for the final emancipation—the emancipation of the black and white workers as a class.

..... shortcomings typical of their centrist character. We shall yet have occasion to point them out and to offer our corrections of them. Nevertheless, the Left Opposition will never forget the efforts of the Communist party, for Foster and Ford, with all the forces at its disposal. It will support the workers' party against the parties of the bourgeoisie by working for, and by conducting, a genuine Communist election struggle.

Mr. Seabury «Exposes» Tammany-Walker

The city of New York, the metropolis of the world, is engaged in one of its very regular scandals in which muck-raking, corruption, righteous indignation and outright cynicism are all mixed up in a bottle labelled—Tammany. After many months, in which time "the lion of reform," Sam Seabury, has been occupied in cleaning up the shady places in the city government, and unearthing the "tin boxes" where the custodians of city affairs deposit their somewhat doubtful earnings, last week the dapper night club mayor of beer parade fame was put on the witness stand to answer for some peculiar items on his bank account.

Nobody was very much startled by Seabury's revelations concerning the bribes and "gifts" received by Walker in the course of his glamorous tenure of office. The population of New York seems to have grown apathetic to the doings and undings of Tammany. The prevailing sentiment can be summed up in the following words: "If Jimmy is smart enough to get the hoodie, more power to him. If I were in his place I'd do the same". Nevertheless, with all the recent talk about balancing the budget, efficient government, city planning, etc., it is interesting to recount some of the adventures of James J. Walker.

We all remember the regal style in which Walker cruised the Atlantic, comfortably ensconced in the Imperial suite of the S. S. Berengaria. For trips to Europe other sources of income than the meagre \$40,000 per annum, which is the Mayor's salary, are required. But the resourceful Jimmy had no trouble in finding these. It appears that the Equitable Coach Company wanted a franchise to run buses on the streets of New York. Jimmy wanted a trip to Europe—two and two makes four. On August 9, 1927 Walker signed the bill for the franchise. On August 10, he left for Europe with a \$10,000 letter of credit made out in his name and backed up with the cash supplied by J. Allen Smith, political contact man for the Equitable. The hustle and bustle of New York, as can be seen, allows no time for procrastination.

The exploits of our good mayor, however, do not end with his European voyage. It appears that a certain Mr. Sisto, a taxi cab financier, presented Walker with a small "gift" of \$28,535 worth of bonds. Why? Because his interests

were seeking the stricter municipal control to insure a monopoly for the Paralee Taxi Cab Corp.? Oh, no! We must not contradict a man's word sealed with the solemn oath of the law. Mr. Sisto, by his own frank admission, handed out this money for no other reason than his "deep admiration" for the mayor! But the mayor has more than one admirer in the city of New York.

Samuel Ungerleider, a well known stock broker testified before the Hofstadter Committee that he purchased 1,000 shares of stock from Walker's agent, Sherwood, who has mysteriously disappeared, for \$51,980 when the market price of the stock at the time was \$29,000. We presume that this \$30,000 donation was given out of similar considerations of esteem to those that prompted Mr. Sisto. Only, in the absence of his attorney, M. Ungerleider said, he could make no

(Continued on page 2)

Bruening Government Falls!

German Working Class Faced with Immediate Fascist Onslaught

Outstanding in the week's news for the working class is the powerful new push to the Right in German politics. The Bruening cabinet, the cabinet of bourgeois uncertainty, whose main support was the "toleration" of the reformist mass organizations, the Free Trade Unions and the social democratic party, has collapsed.

The downfall has come about as a result of the refusal of the industrial bourgeoisie and the landowners to comply with the plans of the Clerical Centrist chancellor, namely, to balance the budget with new taxes and to ally the unrest of the evergrowing unemployed army with the scheme of a back-to-the-farm movement which involves the breaking up of the big estates of the East Prussian Junkers.

The bourgeoisie is determined not to cede a single step more, to go the full length of its fight for self-preservation by a ruthless life and death struggle against the proletariat.

According to well informed bourgeois press circles, the dismissal of the cabinet was plotted by military cliques with an understanding reaching out to the Hitler forces. The new cabinet, headed by the notorious Hohenzollern militarist Lieutenant Colonel Von Papen, is a typical army-Junker combine of the purest reactionary stripe. It has not the slightest basis of parliamentary support and appears to be what is generally termed a stop-gap government personally selected by the Prussian Field Marshall, President Von Hindenburg. It is generally conceded that it is a temporary set-up destined to a short-lived existence. But even this temporary existence is condition by toleration on the part of the Nazis in the Reichstag, which body is to be convoked shortly. The "toleration" of the fascists is openly avowed to be based upon three conditions. First, that it call for new Reichstag elections within the shortest possible time. Secondly, that it raise the ban on the Nazi Storm Troops, recently proscribed by ex-Minister of the Interior, Groener. Thirdly, that it will impose no new taxes and no new emergency decrees which might hinder the broad propaganda activities of the Hitlerites. It is indisputable that all these conditions will be fulfilled.

The call for new elections is inevitable, since, with the elimination of Bruening and the Centre party from power, no government with parliamentary support can be found. That the second demand will be complied with is evident already from the ruling of the Reich's Supreme Court on the evidence submitted by the Prussian Ministry of Interior, gathered in its March raids on the Nazi headquarters. The ruling exonerates the Hitler party completely of "illegal or subversive" activities and in this manner prepares the lifting of the ban on the Storm Troops.

The Von Papen cabinet will easily agree to the third condition as well, which is apparent from its composition and from the necessity to present a united Right wing front before the foreign powers at the Lausanne conference.

The Junker government is, therefore, the direct harbinger of Fascist rule in Germany. It is the government not merely of the preparation, but of the most immediate organization of the National Socialist seizure of power. The Nazis are jubilant everywhere. Forgotten are the bitter hostilities between their chief and the old Field Marshall in the recent presidential elections. Cries of "Hail, Hindenburg!" mix with cries of "Hail, Hitler!" in their demonstrations. Der Angriff, the Berlin organ of the Brown

Shirts greets the action of Hindenburg as a banner day for National Socialism.

The new move, which makes the Fascist overturn an imminent danger, has cut the ground entirely from under the feet of the reformists. The talk of the "lesser evil" is exploded by facts. The social democratic leaders have arrived at an impasse just as the full blast of the Fascist attack is about to be fired. Still the overwhelming majority of the workers are under their sway. The masses are as yet to be found in the organizations of the betrayers, whose line of class collaboration, of kowtowing to the masters, has prepared the road for the Fascist reaction.

The bankrupt social democracy must be pushed against the wall and forced to show its full face to all the workers, if the catastrophe is to be averted, if the Fascist onslaught is to be repulsed by the German working class. There is only one way in which this can be done. That is: by an offer of the party of the working class, the Communist party, to the social democratic and trade union organizations for the immediate formation of the proletarian united front of direct struggle.

The German party has been prevented from taking this step all along by the stupid Stalinist theory of "social Fascism", by its isolationist, ultimatum policy of the "Red United Front under the leadership of the Communist Party". The disastrous experiences of the recent elections have, however, awakened broad sections of the membership to the isolation and self-destruction resulting from the Stalinist policies. A half-turn in the direction of the policy proposed by comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition has been forced upon the Thaelmann leadership, as we reported in the last issue of *The Militant*. Rote Fahne, the central organ of the C. P. G. wrote editorially on April 28, after the Prussian elections:

"The main thing now is to assemble all the class forces of the proletariat and the working masses in the red united front and again go into an offensive against the capitalist dictatorship and defeat Fascism."

"We publish today at the head of our newspaper the appeal of the C. P. G. and the R. T. U. O. Committee in which the party and the R. T. U. O. express their willingness to join with all lower union functionaries and shop-committee mem-

bers, with all organizations which wish to fight honestly against reduction in wages, to carry through common measures for the struggle for workers' demands in the shops.

"While we are in sharpest struggle against the government of Braun-Severing, against the policy of emergency measures dictatorship and their clearing the road for Hitler, we Communists stand as mortal enemies of Hitler fascism. We will do everything with the help of proletarian class forces in order to block its way to government power, in order to break its terror and through a new red advance of the working class to give it a decisive blow."

The party leadership has pledged itself to do everything, then, to block the way of Fascism to government power. It has declared its willingness to join with all organizations who honestly want to fight for this end. If the turn is in any way to be sincere and fruitful for the party, it must draw it to its logical conclusion and pose the question of common struggle before the reformist leaders as well as before the organizations.

There can be no doubt that the workers in the social democratic organization honestly want to fight together with the Communists against the fascists, against wage reductions, for the workers' demands in the shops. If their honest desire is to be transformed into forceful action, the test must be put to the leaders whom they have given their mandate. Whether the S. P. leaders accept or reject a sincere united front appeal from the Communists is immaterial. In any case, the workers in their following will be drawn closer to their natural leader, to the Communist party in the course of common action. Therein alone lies the solution for the workers in the present situation.

The decisive hour is very close. No time is to be lost. Not only the fate of the German proletariat, the fate of the fortress of the world revolution—the Soviet Union—the fate of the international working class is at stake. We warn again: the reaction engendered by the coming into power of Hitler will not confine itself to the boundaries of Germany. It is the task of every Communist to strive with might and main that this should not come about.

—SAM GORDON.

The C.P. Nominating Convention at Chicago

The Communist Party nomination convention, held at Chicago, May 28-30, met with a response which again testifies to the power of penetration of the ideas of Communism. 1,200 delegates, of whom more than 120 were Negroes assembled at the People's Auditorium and confirmed the party nomination of Foster and Ford and adopted the proposed platform without any change and without any serious discussion of what a Communist election platform should be. Under the manner of procedure pursued nothing else could be expected.

Yet the outstanding fact advancing to the forefront, by virtue of the convention held, is that Communism is becoming an ever growing challenge to capitalism even within its own stronghold. The sentiment of the delegates therefore runs naturally and unanimously in the direction of building this challenge in to a real power.

But otherwise the pressure of the economic crisis and its mass unemploy-

ment reflected itself so much upon the delegation that the speeches, from the keynote down to the humblest rank and fiered sounded one main tenor—"hunger, hunger, hunger". It thereby appeared more like just a gathering of unemployed than a convention to take up seriously the tasks of a Communist party in a parliamentary election. Neither the party leaders present, nor the platform presented, made any exception to this procedure. While the platform—to which we shall return later—does expose the proposed capitalist way out of the crisis and summons the working class to fight against the capitalist offensive and its war preparations, it failed to lay the fundamental connecting link in the struggle for the immediate demands contained and the inevitable revolutionary objective which the Communist party must set out clearly both during and after election campaigns.

It is therefore not to be wondered at that about the only criticism and concrete proposals made at the convention were, one advanced by the spokesman of the war veterans for incorporation into the platform of the questionable demand for the soldiers bonus, and another advanced by delegate Alexander of New York proposing to incorporate into the platform the demand for expulsion of the Japanese Imperialist agent (the ambassador) from this country. The latter proposal brought down the house in applause, but it did not—thank the Lord—find its way into the platform. Neither did the former proposal, but it nevertheless became embodied into a special resolution and thus remained an official act of the convention.

It is not at all strange either that practically every convention speaker should repeat, following the example of the keynote, that the Communist election campaign must have as its basis the united front of all workers. This, however, is an aside down approach to the question. A working class united front, to be serious, can mean only unity of various workers organizations, regardless of political or ideological influence by which they may be dominated, for certain specific objects, at first of necessity elementary in character. A Communist election campaign, on the other hand, must be conducted specifically under the banner of the Communist party asking the working class support to advance the objects of Communism.

After the temporary lull which has followed upon the turbulent events in (Continued on page 3)

Government Repression in Spain Hits Left Opposition

Andres Nin Arrested in Barcelona

BULLETIN

In the wave of arrests that is sweeping Spain to-day, comrade Andres Nin, leader of the Spanish Left Opposition and well known Communist has been arrested along with twenty other Oppositionists in a raid the police made on the offices of El Soviet, our official organ in Spain. With strikes spreading like wildfire throughout the length and breadth of Spain the government wants to recapture the movement by terrorizing its most conscious spearhead—which to the surprise and dismay of the Stalinists turns out to be the Left Opposition.

Once more we receive the news from Madrid that our comrade Henri Lacroix, an indefatigable fighter, has been arrested again on May 9, together with comrades Alberto and Eugenio Fernandez by a small "gift" of \$28,535 worth of bonds. Why? Because his interests

Prieto. Our comrades were arrested while posting bills announcing the reappearance of the weekly newspaper of the Spanish Opposition *El Soviet*. The Spanish bourgeoisie is not deceived or misled by the odious calumnies of the Stalinists in Spain and elsewhere. The Spanish Left Communists are in the first line trenches of the struggle for the unity of the Communist party against the bourgeoisie; the "democratic" reaction is trying to crush its action by arresting its militants in order to prevent the appearance of its paper etc. It will not succeed.

Although our comrades were seriously ill, they were detained for three days in a very damp dungeon, held incommunicado without lights, no beds, no food. Eugenio Fernandez had a fever of 104 degrees. Despite our comrades' demand for a visit by a physician none came. Not the least protection was given them against the bitter cold. Afterwards, our comrades were isolated and separated. In actuality they are held in prison without even being indicted. This is the treatment the bourgeoisie hands out to the counter revolutionary Trotskyites."

And what is the International Red Aid doing? Nothing! In insulting Opposi-

tionists, in slandering comrade Trotsky, the I. R. A. and its press are in the first rank, but in aiding Oppositionists struck down by the bourgeoisie they do not raise a finger. Comrades! Have you ever read an article in the *Labor Defender* where they protest against the terror which is visited upon Oppositionists in China, in India-China, in Greece, in Bulgaria, in Spain, etc.? No, you have only read shameful calumnies against the "Trotskyites".

The Spanish section of the I. R. A. has deserted our comrades but we appeal to the local International Labor Defense and we ask of it: what are you doing to arouse the proletariat against the terror which obtains against all the victims of the class struggle? Why do you hesitate to speak in your organs of the imprisonment of our comrades, Lacroix and Fernandez, courageous fighters of Spanish Communism?

Oppositionists, the ranks for the defense of our imprisoned comrades must be united to embrace all Communists!

(Continued on page 2)

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

Street Carmen Facing Strike in St. Louis

ST. LOUIS, MO.

More than six months ago, when the carmen of the St. Louis Public Service Company decided to go on strike against the proposed ten per cent wage-cut they were persuaded by their leaders to submit to arbitration. The deciding vote in this arbitration rested with the "impartial" capitalist politician, President of the Board of Aldermen, Neun. The result was to be foreseen. After the bluff of "examining" the claims of both sides, he decided in favor of the street car company. Capitalist politicians do not receive the campaign funds and the graft which always goes with an important political position, for nothing.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that Stanley Clarke, large stockholder and spokesman for the street car company is a "liberal". He has organized and financed the World Theatre in St. Louis which has already in its short life presented two important Russian films, "The Road to Life" and the "Five Year Plan". Hence, it appears that Stanley Clarke believes that a revolution and planned socialist economy are good things—in Russia. In St. Louis, however, wage-cuts and private monopoly as opposed to workers' state monopoly are on the order of the day.

Lo, and Behold! No sooner has the street-car company obtained its first demand for a wage-cut than, like a ravenous wolf in its insatiable greed for profits, it returns for another ten percent wage reduction. The men were not to be so easily fooled this time. This time the "social justice" (!) commission was proposed. One of these social justice commissions composed of supposed liberal ministers and rabbis was created to settle the dispute between the milk wagon drivers and the bosses. These respectable and well-fed scoundrels promptly decided in favor of the bosses.

If the strike takes place now as per schedule on May 31, we prophesy that it will be a bitter struggle. The two wage-cuts, one almost immediately following on the other; the one-man car system which has suddenly thrown hundreds into the ranks of the unemployed right at the height of an ever deepening economic depression; the increasing burden of unemployment relief in their own ranks—all this has produced no small modicum of radicalization and determination to struggle among the men. If there are any avenues of sell-out left to the labor-fakers, whereby the strike may be averted, and the men betrayed, they will be used.

The workers in general, organized and unorganized, feel that the outcome of the street-car-men's strike is the key to the outcome of labor struggles in general, here. The street transportation company is one of the largest, if not the largest industry. If the bosses are successful in increasing their profits by a wholesale reduction of the standard of living of the workers in the industry, other industries, taking this cue, will naturally adopt the same course. While it is always the case that a systematic, general determination to cut wages is initiated first in one large industry, it is so apparent here now, that even the most uninitiated are keenly alive to it. Hence, not a little support is promised the street-car-men in advance.

At the very outset, before anything has been definitely decided, the street-car company has arrogantly hinted at plans to furnish "service", so that the dear public will not in any way be inconvenienced. One of these methods of service are the busses which are owned by the Public Service Company. Two years ago, when the bus drivers struck and won the right to organize, they were signed up on a contract which expires one year after the street-car-men's contract. This, of course, was perpetrated, through the clever manipulation of the boss-owned labor fakers. The present situation was to be inferred from the trend of the economic depression at that time, and was hailed a distinct victory for the bosses.

Nor is this the only way by which the company hopes to break the strike. Indeed, if it were, it would prove wholly inadequate. The reactionary "Globe-Democrat" which never fails to come to the front when the interests of big capital are at stake, has printed a whole series of editorials reminding the men that these are hard times and that there are thousands out of work and hungry, etc. In other words, a direct threat; as much so, as if it emanated from the office of the Public Service Company itself (and who will say it did not?), that these hungry masses will be utilized as strikebreakers. This is, of course, to be expected. There only remains to be seen what the reaction will be.

Treachery and double-dealing on the part of their leaders has not weakened the morale of the carmen, and particularly their most militant section has, on the contrary, been strengthened by it. The street car strike could give rise to a whole series of struggles in the ranks of labor in St. Louis. The pendulum has already swung too far to the right. The commencement of its leftward swing is imminent. There is work for the vanguard of the working class, the Communists. With a correct program, a correct analysis of the immediate tasks, a correct tactic of genuine united front with all working class organizations in struggle, against unemployment and wage-cuts, much can be done.

—G. ROBERTS.

From Negro Comrades in South Africa

JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA.—

The letter which we are printing below we have received from a group of Negro comrades in Johannesburg, South Africa. This is the first contact we have had with them and we are, therefore, not able to say anything as yet about the history and development of this group, but the letter as such speaks for itself. It is but one more evidence of the fact that the ideas of the Left Opposition make their way into the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat.—Ed.

"Secretary
"Communist League of America
"Dear Comrade:

"At our last meeting, held on April 22, 1932, all the undersigned Negro comrades decided to apply for membership in your league. In regard to your appeal for literature agents it was agreed that we request you to send us 8 dozen copies of *The Militant* per week, which we hope to sell and return you the money. We are particularly anxious to introduce *The Militant* amongst the African Negro workers, and in order to handle it effectively, a committee consisting of twelve of our members has already been selected. Send us also 2 dozen copies of your constitution. Send us 12 copies of advertising posters, if you consider such necessary, and send us from time to time propaganda material, leaflets, etc., if you have any.

"The first copy of *The Militant* that came to our notice was Vol. 3, whole number 97, dated January 2nd, 1932. It contained an article entitled "Stalin and the Chinese Revolution". But we were disappointed for not having been able to obtain the previous copies. Is the issue in question, which we believe contains the first part of that article, available? If so, will you send us in the next mail two copies of that issue which we desire to keep on our file.

"Comrades! Do not worry over seeing all these applicants being Negroes, and think that we are purposely refusing to unite with the European comrades. No, we are not. It is only about two months ago that we have been considering joining your league. Although it is difficult for a Negro comrade to organize a European worker, we hope that later on white militants will follow our lead. The color question makes organization difficult. Negro workers are generally being considered inferior even on such matters as revolutionary organization, and usually European workers are being considered superior. We have been functioning under the name of Communist Party of Africa.

"The undersigned Negro comrades pledge themselves to accept your instructions and to see that they are carried out, for the building of the revolutionary movement, for the complete overthrow of capitalism for the establishment of Communism in Africa."

"We are":
(Signatures of the comrades follow)

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SPECIAL RATES IN BUNDLE ORDERS

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Mr. Seabury «Exposes» Tammany-Walker

(Continued from page 1)

statements on the subject. However, we are led to believe, through knowledge of his connections, that Ungerleider was a just a little concerned over the fate of the securities of the Parmelee Taxi Cab Corporation.

A veritable furor of genuine indignation was stirred up over Walker receiving money he never worked for. Paul Block, newspaper publisher and "salesman" of titles to the city subway contractors, started a joint brokerage account with the mayor, from which Jimmy received \$246,692, between February 1927 and August 1929. And the mayor never invested a cent in this venture. Why that's real exploitation! Just think of the poor hard-working Mr. Block who had to clip all the coupons by himself, the mayor not contributing a stitch of his own "labor" and then receiving over \$200,000.

What a farce these bootblacks of the capitalist class, reformers and corruptions alike, make of the tragic lot of the working class under capitalism. Investment of money is considered hard honest labor, but profits and dividends where no investment is made, is branded as ill-begotten lucre.

We have no reason to and we are not undertaking the defense of Jimmy Walker. We will leave that to the apologists of Capitalism, of which he is a typical product. The point is, however, that to us it is irrelevant as to how the master class divides, its profits derived from the blood and bones of the toiling masses. Does it make a particle of difference to the working class whether Mr. Block and his ilk squander their profits for their purposes or divide it among their political henchmen and state servants. It does, however, demonstrate the very close connection the master class has with the leading government officials, vindicating over again the contention of Karl Marx, that the "state is nothing short of the executive committee of the ruling class."

With the dent the economic crisis has made in the standard of living of the working class, with wage cuts and starvation rampant in the country, with the experience of the strike against coffee conditions in Kentucky still fresh in our minds, it is quite instructive to read of the doings of the capitalist class and their officers. The working class, which has been told by these same capitalist hirelings to "learn to live on less", to accept wage cuts as a "patriotic duty", to forget about unemployment insurance because the budget has to be "balanced", should take note of this outright and flagrant hypocrisy that the master class practices, without the slightest fear of "exposure".

The liberals, the preachers, and the

socialist party are out in full force, raising the hue and cry of "driving the rascals out" and changing the present administration "for clean, honest and efficient government". The workers can have nothing to do with this kind of tripe. First, because corruption is inherent in the capitalist system and will not be eliminated until the whole decadent mechanism of this system, in all its ramifications is abolished. In return for their services of keeping the working class in check, the political lackies sometimes extort a greater part of the booty than their masters have set aside for them. The politicians are astounded that their shady deals should be probed in a system where everything is to a greater or lesser degree of the same character. And Assemblyman Steingut correctly speaks up "that such an inquiry is more worthy of Russia than of the U. S." Only in the workers' republic they deal more directly with grafters and waste much less time!

Does "good government" improve the lot of the workers, assuming that it is possible? Does it hinder wage cuts or alleviate unemployment? Milwaukee, heralded as a shining example of efficiency in government by the liberals and reformers of the S. P. type is a striking proof to the contrary. No. Aside from saving money for the bosses (in which the workers can have no interest) it is a camouflage issue, raised to distract the attention of the workers from the vital, burning problems of their everyday existence.

—CLARKE.

Highlights of Socialist National Convention

A Report of the Reformist Meet in Milwaukee

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Anyone who wanted final and conclusive proof of the utter hopelessness of the socialist party as a party of the working class would have done well to attend the socialist convention in Milwaukee. There, he could get proof in great abundance. It was an assemblage of well dressed, well groomed and well fed shop keepers, doctors and lawyers, from which the working class could expect little—least of all "Socialism in our time".

It is not that radical phrases were lacking; on the contrary, phrases were thrown around quite profusely. Nor was it that peace and harmony prevailed in the discussion and adoption of rank opportunist policies; the members of the various factions were constantly hurling eloquent orations against each other. But in spite of this and in spite of the presence of the "Militants" who had issued quite a "radical" program before the convention, the socialist party emerged from this convention the same old party as it had been in the past—a party which has turned its back on revolutionary Marxism and had therefore become a party that does not and cannot represent the interests of the working class.

Policy on Soviet Union

But this convention did find it necessary to adopt certain measures that would save its face before the awakening working class on the one hand and the section of belligerent party members on the other. Hence the adoption of a resolution on the Soviet Union. After the existence of the S. U. for some 14 years during which time the S. P. had never lost an opportunity of slandering it in the most vicious manner, this convention suddenly adopted a resolution calling for the recognition of the U. S. S. R. But their demand for recognition was so coupled with other demands and policies that it adds very little credit to the S. P. The resolution also calls for the release of "political prisoners" (they mean the counter-revolutionary mensheviks) and the freedom of press and agitation for socialists. Even this reactionary resolution met with the resistance of the Illiquid Right wing. But for the "Militants" also the understanding remained that the Monroe Doctrine was to remain for Russia—that is the revolution may have been all right for barbaric Russia but in America the transition towards Socialism would be accomplished by respectable democratic means.

One of the highlights of the convention was the fiery discussion over an amendment made by Busick of California that the word "confiscate" be substituted for the word "transfer" in the clause pertaining to the passing of the "principal industries of the country to social ownership". This amendment was greeted by with stormy applause particularly from the galleries. But the right wing lost no time in squelching the "hot heads". All the big guns of the S. P. including Thomas, Hillquit and others discharged their best oratorical missiles in an attempt to defeat this. The arguments were quite typical. The insertion of the word confiscate would certainly not get the vote of the "average citizen" who would be afraid of the confiscation of his car, his home and his savings—the average citizen! Many other gems were presented against the idea of confiscation. The final remark of the embittered Busick did not go far off the mark when he shouted that those who were so much opposed to confiscation took that stand because they themselves had much to lose by confiscation. The vote showed a majority against confiscation.

Fight over National Chairman

The really big fight at the convention was over a matter which involved no principle but around which a principle later developed. This was the time when a split was much talked about by both factions. It was the election of the Party chairman which created this situation. The delegates of the West and middle West had determined to defeat Hillquit and elect one who would build up a real "American Socialist Party" as the nominator of Mayor Hoan put it. The fight that followed lasted a whole afternoon. The followers of Hillquit took immediate issue with the backers of Hoan over the question of the "real American Party". They counterposed Hillquit to Hoan as the Marxian international socialist versus the national

Socialist. A sense of humor was essential in such a situation. After spending all their oratory, the vote was taken and Hillquit, the "international socialist" emerged the victor, though his majority was not big enough to his liking.

The old stand of the S. P. on the League of Nations was reiterated. The S. P. still regards the League of Nations as an instrument of peace and goodwill. Similarly the past stand of the S. P. on its Trade Union policy was reiterated. This means continued betrayals and support of betrayals.

Comic Incident on Floor

Humorous episodes were not lacking at this convention. Indeed one has to stop and choose the best ones to recount. But perhaps the funniest sight was that of the socialist Sheriff of Milwaukee—Beeson bawling the fact that the Communists are interfering with the execution of his civic duties in case of evictions, by organizing demonstrations in front of the houses where the evictions were to take place. His lament seemed to meet with much sympathy from the assembled delegates. Later in the day, Mrs. Sheriff Beeson graciously invited all the ladies present to come and inspect the socialist jail. It is in this jail that many of our comrades have spent weeks and months for their class struggle activity. It is in the same jail that the writer of this report spent five days for the heinous crime of distributing a leaflet before a shop. And the ladies present after displaying mock shivers of horror went to inspect the triumphs of socialism in jail.

As to the "Militants", they cut a most sorry figure at the convention. Having no consistent revolutionary policy to fight for, they made a feeble stand here and there but vacillated and temporized most of the way and thus revealed themselves in all their impotence. The crass opportunism that triumphed, proved beyond all doubt that the S. P. can as much be reformed into a revolutionary party as the proverbial sow's ear can be turned into a silk purse. Whether this fact is clear to the "Militants" is very doubtful.

The adoption of quite a "radical" election platform by the S. P. places a greater obstacle in the way of the Communist party. Indeed the fact that the S. P. adopted such demands as the 6 hour day and 5 day week whereas the C. P. still clings to the 7 hour day slogan as well as the fact that the C. P. failed to connect its 6 cardinal immediate demands with the ultimate aim of the overthrow of capitalism and establishment of Socialism, will tend to confuse the American worker, and render his choice of the

The Party's Nominating Convention

(Continued from page 1)

In several state and city nominating conventions held by the party, to which the Left Opposition sent its delegates to support the Communist election campaign, this support was scornfully rejected by the bureaucrats in control. The glibly proclaimed united front has become a farce by that fact alone. But nevertheless it will not succeed in preventing the Left Opposition from taking its part in the election campaign, modest though, as that will be through force of circumstances. We will do all in our power, to utilize the opportunities which an election campaign offers, to advance the ideas of Communism.

CHICAGO DEBATE

On Sunday, June 12, at 8:00 P. M. at 3036 W. Roosevelt Rd., Chicago, the Left Opposition youth comrades will debate the Young Peoples' Socialist League of that city. Comrades Nathan Gould and Norman Satir will take the negative of the question: Can the Socialist party play a revolutionary role in America. S. Larks and G. Smuckler will support the affirmative.

BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MILITANT FOR SALE

Only six bound volumes of *The Militant* are left. Comrades who want this indispensable, historical record should hurry with their orders. Orders are being filled in the order in which they are being received. In each case a check or money order must accompany the order.

The bound volumes include the seventy one issue from Volume 1, Number 1 to the last issue of the old format, Volume 4, Number 12, June 15, 1931.

We have on hand a number of incomplete files, unbound. We are waiting for comrades to send in the missing numbers to bind them. What we need most are the following issues: Volume 1, Number 1, and Volume 2, Number 4. Upon receipt of these issues we will be able to make up a number of additional files and offer them for sale.

THE MILITANT

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Martin Abern James P. Cannon
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real working class party quite difficult in the coming elections. There is much that the Left Opposition can do to help the American working class make the proper choice.

—NORMAN SATIR.

MILITANT BUILDERS

With the close of the drive we are able to give the names of the comrades who won the prizes we announced in the May 7th issue of *The Militant*. No one has qualified for the *History of the Russian Revolution* offered to the comrades, who during the final months of the drive raised \$15 in subs and donations.

Only one comrade qualified for the copy of *What Next?* offered to each comrade who fell short of \$15 but raised \$10. This is comrade Sacharow of Chicago. Just as soon as the book is off the press comrade Sacharow will receive her copy.

To the comrade who brought in the largest number of subs during the period of the entire drive we offered a bound volume of *The Militant*. This goes to comrade Hedlund of Minneapolis. We also offered a copy of comrade Trotsky's *Problems of the Chinese Revolution* to the comrade who brought in the second largest number of subs during the drive. This goes to comrade Sacharow of Chicago. She will get her copies as soon as it comes from the binder.

To all the comrades and to all our readers and sympathizers who worked for the maintenance of our press we want to express our gratification at the way they came to the support of their press. But we are not yet out of the woods. The situation is still critical. We must continue our efforts to get subs and donations. There must be no let up.

As announced elsewhere in this issue we have bound nine of the recent pamphlets of comrade Trotsky into volumes. We have put aside 10 of these bound volumes. We offer them as premiums to the comrades who from June 1 on, raise \$10 in subs and donations. Our records begin with every sub and donation received on June 1. The record so far follows: The figures quoted are in dollars.

M. Koehler	3
A. Basky	2 1-2
M. Basin	2
P. Vomas	3
J. Eichma	2
T. Halligan	1-4
The record by cities is as follows:	
Pittsburgh	4
Youngstown	3
New York	2 3-4
Philadelphia	2

Once more we want to remind our readers and comrades that, while the drive is over the need for rounding up subs and donations is as great as it ever was at any time during the drive. After them, comrades!

NEW YORK MEETINGS

The New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) has been conducting street meetings for several weeks now as a part of its general summer activities. On several corners in the Bronx and Manhattan our meeting have met with considerable success. The next meetings will be held on 125th Street and 5th Ave., on Thursday and Saturday nights. In the Bronx on 165th Street and Prospect Ave. on the same nights. All workers are urged to attend.

Pioneer Publishers Notes

Our annual inventory reveals some interesting things about our literature. We are completely out of *The Draft Program* in the paper cover edition and have only nineteen copies left in the cloth cover. A word to the wise is sufficient. No one has to be agitated about the importance of this fundamental document. We expect that these nineteen copies will be sold before the week is out.

Another historic document has run out of print. This one is Max Eastman's *Since Lenin Died*. Only four copies of this work are left. The inventory unexpectedly showed that we have about ten copies on hand of *The Turn in the C. I. and the Situation in Germany*. This is a rare opportunity for a few comrades and readers to get a copy of this searching analysis of the Comintern's mistakes under Stalin leadership in the German question.

Another fact which our inventory established is that our supply of the new pamphlet on Germany, *The Key to the International Situation*, is running low. It would be well for all our propagandists to lay in a supply for future distribution. With the swift pace of the developing revolution in Germany interest in it and in comrade Trotsky's writings on it are continually increasing.

Another historic document is rapidly running out of print. There are only forty-six copies left of *The Real Situation in Russia*. As almost everyone knows *The Real Situation in Russia* contains the Platform of the Russian Opposition, Lenin's Testament, and A. Joffe's letter to comrade Trotsky in which he explains why and how the Stalinist bureaucracy drove him to take his life.

The book on China is progressing and should be ready for shipment within ten days. Work is also going on on *What Next?* extracts from which are appearing in *The Militant*.

We would like our readers and sympathizers to send us the names and addresses of stores which they think will carry and can sell our literature. Upon receipt of this information we will undertake to sell them through the mail.

Our comrades should also make efforts to place our literature in the public libraries. It has been our experience in Cleveland, St. Louis, Youngstown and elsewhere that the libraries are willing to buy our literature. By this arrangement we can place our literature at the disposal of workers unable to buy it.

The Results of Our Press Drive

	Quotas	Results
New York	\$ 325	\$ 140.75
Minneapolis	200	40
Chicago	100	44.70
Toronto	70	1.05
Cleveland	40	9
Philadelphia	40	5
Boston	40	5
Newark	35	7.25
Kansas City	30	2.00
St. Louis	25	
Los Angeles	20	6
Youngstown	10	8.25
New Haven	10	6
Montreal	10	
Duluth	10	
Springfield, Ill.	10	
W. Frankfort, Ill.	10	
Pittsburgh	10	10
Trenton	5	
Miscellaneous		5.50
Total	\$ 1,000	\$ 290.50

Pittsburgh was the only city to reach its quota. Youngstown came close. From the way it is sending in subs and donations it will pass its quota by this time next week. A number of branches which have made no return yet will have every opportunity to do so. It is true that the drive is over. But the need for financial help is still great.

The critical situation has not been abated by a hair's breadth. Bills continue to pour in on us from all directions. Our creditors are more importunate than ever. Our need for money is no less than last week or the week before. Every effort must still be made to get subs and donations.

Returns are still coming in. This makes our totals above only tentative. Next week we will give the final figures. This gives every comrade a chance to give the result for his city a boost. Comrades, let us make one more determined effort to save our weekly *Militant*.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

The Party and the French Elections

Right Wing Renegades Exploit the Mistakes of the Stalinist Bureaucrats

The first and second ballots of the elections constitute important moments of the political life in France, creating a new situation, throwing light upon the strength of the various parties participating and upon the tendencies in the broad masses in view of the crisis and the consequences flowing from it for them.

The elections showed most clearly the movement of the masses toward the conditions, to cast off the burden of the "left", that is, their desire to better their state has imposed upon them through the tremendous military and police apparatus; their desire to do away with the danger of war which is very prominent in their eyes. All these deep-seated aspirations of the masses led to the victory of the so-called "left" parties, the Radical-Socialists and the socialists, over the Tardieu government, which represented in the view of the masses those forces to which they were opposed.

What will the new majority bring about? A coalition government or a bloc? A coalition of the democratic parties revolving about the Radical party and excluding the Marin group (nationalists) and the socialists or a bloc of the united Left in power following in the footsteps of the bloc in the electoral campaign? In general, it may be said that French capitalism, and among its political formations, the Radicals in the first place, would prefer the first solution.

Far from becoming ameliorated, the perspectives are growing more sombre, the crisis is continuing to deepen. In order to make the proletariat and the laboring masses bear the burden, the bourgeoisie feels the need of broadening the base of the government and the coalition would correspond to this necessity. On the other hand, the socialist leaders are not very enthusiastic about participating in the power at the present moment, when there are great difficulties. The unanimous election of the new President bears witness to this orientation of French capitalism toward the coalition. It has shown in a clear fashion who will be the master by deciding on a man who has no qualifications other than that of being the representative of the Committee des Forges (the powerful syndicate of French industrial imperialism) ever since he has been in politics. However, sharp contradictions clash with each other within the bourgeois camp and the same which has brought victory at the same time to both the Radicals and the socialists is so strong that it is not improbable that for a short lapse of time a government bloc may be in power.

But no matter which of these solutions will be adopted, the essence of the elections results consists in this: that the masses, today deluded by the left parties, will shortly be disillusioned with regard to the false promises the latter have made them. This opens up great perspectives for the Communist party, provided that within the months which separate us from this break, it assures its attachment to the masses by an appropriate policy. If this does not come about, the bourgeois Right wing will be given an opportunity to exploit the disillusionment of the masses, in the first place to the disadvantage of the proletariat and its class party. Within the party, there exists the belief that when the masses will be disillusioned they will automatically come to us. That is an infantile conception; it suffices to look at the example of Germany and Great Britain, where the party has been unable to benefit from the reformist impotence on the one hand, and from their treachery, on the other.

The present relations of the Communist party to the class working are disclosed by the elections. First of all, it must be said without any embellishments that the party met with one defeat in the first ballot and with another in the second ballot.

The first ballot reveals a decline of 300,000 votes over 1928. In L'Humanite of May 3, the party leadership attempts to play this up as a victory. "We believe, on the other hand, that the results of last Sunday testify to a fine victory for our party." How? Because we are supposed to have made gains in some industrial centers and because this is said in all seriousness—if the elections had taken place a year ago or two years ago, we would have suffered an even greater decline due to the workings of the "Barbe group".

First of all, it is not true in general that we have made gains in the industrial regions. That is true only for a very small number of wards in the Pas-de-Calais, in Douaisais, and in other isolated sections. But as a whole, we have suffered losses. Losses in the Parisian region, in Lille, Roubaix, Tourcoing, in the Seine Inferieure region, in Alsace, in the Aube, in Lyons, etc., etc. This is a decline that must be taken into account.

As to the second argument, it is simply contemptible. There were attempts

made to use this argument about the "Barbe group" last year, they did not dare brandmark it until the party congress. Do they think they will have better success today?

But if the party is just about to overcome its decline, then this should have been expressed in the second ballot on May 8. The Communist workers and sympathizers should have showed that they understand and approve of its policy. Was this the case? The day following the first ballot, L'Humanite stated peremptorily: "300,000 voters deeply convinced of the correctness of our policy and our class against class tactic" (May 3). But the second ballot disproved this assertion. The tactic of "class against class", that is, the retention of the party candidates in every case on the second ballot, even where the socialist candidate had received the majority of the workers' votes, was not followed by about 50 percent of those who voted Communist on the first ballot. In some cases, the losses are relatively small, in others they reach 70 and even 80 percent. Let us add that the same phenomenon can also be observed with regard to the Radical candidates. Consequently, experience proves superabundantly and even better than in 1928 that the so-called "class against class" tactic is not accepted by the mass of the Communist voters. It is not at all astonishing, moreover, that it arouses the reformist workers against us.

There are more things to be taken into account. First of all, the success of the P. U. P. (Parti d'Unité Proletarienne—the party of Sellier and Co., the Right wing expelled from the French C. P.), particularly in the Parisian region. This fact alone, more than the loss of votes, constitutes a defeat for the party. Here are people who have no other program than that of struggle against the C. P. which originally boasted them and elected them to office. They merely conducted a campaign of disfiguring slanders against the party. As a result, they have been elected. To be sure the bourgeoisie has aided them, but it is indisputable that workers gave their vote to them, who only yesterday voted for the party. It is an insult to the many proletarians to claim that personal favors have sufficed to assure these successes. Personal favors have assured Sellier and others a local apparatus but if they have obtained workers' votes then because the party has not been able to unmask them because the party did not exploit them on a political basis clearly understood by the workers, because it has restricted itself to shouting and has not been able to convince the workers. In order to realize the difference in methods and policies of the party today from that of ten years ago, it suffices to recall that a Frossard, when he was expelled, was forced to seek a seat in a distant provincial constituency, whereas a Gelis can today get himself elected in the 13th, arrondissement in Paris (an old Communist stronghold).!

Another thing that must be taken into account, is the fact that most of the elected candidates of the party were elected with the support of socialist voters. It must be admitted that the slogans of the socialist party, declining either in favor of the Radical party or the Communist party, were followed by the very great majority of the socialist voters. And it is therein that we find the successes of the socialists, perhaps even more than in the number of votes they received. The socialists did not, by the way, refrain from giving their motives for withdrawing in favor of the Communist candidates; not because of their sympathy or affinity is to the case with the Radicals, but in order to better be able to win over the workers at present under Communist influence, to their side. What a fine lesson for our centrists! The socialists do not fear to compromise themselves by favoring our party by voting for some of our candidates on the second ballot. They hope, in this manner, to take away another big layer of the working class from the party. This will not remain a hope for them if our party persists in the path which it is taking at present.

Everybody expected the defeats of the party. When it conducts a policy which isolates the party from the masses, which weakens its positions in the trade unions and the workers' organizations, it is inevitable that losses should follow in the elections. This is once more, payment for all the past mistakes, for the "third period", for the "red days", for the "political mass strikes", for "unity within the C. G. T. U." etc. All these mistakes, the enemies of the party have been able to exploit with signal successes. The elections have showed what we have contended day for day, that it is not enough to cry about the reformist betrayals to convince the workers; it is also necessary to show them that we are better capable than the reformists of fighting for their immediate demands, if the latter are not to retrain their influence among the workers. There is the example of Roubaix-Tourcoing (the scene of last year's textile strikes) where the reformists have gained votes, there is the example of Vienne, where the party in addition made the mistake of putting up

a bureaucrat, a certain Richetta, for election, instead of a worker victim of the bosses reprisals following the strikes. But the number of votes received proves that the methods of the C. G. T. U. leadership have been condemned by the workers, who in their disgust fall under the influence of the reformists.

The lesson to be drawn, is the necessity of a radical change of policy. And above all, no half-measures, no ruses.

Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition

The Anglo-Russian Committee and the British General Strike

The crushing defeats suffered by the German proletariat in October 1923, by the Bulgarians in September of the same year, and by the Estonians early in 1924, were dealt with by the delegates and the leaders of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern like so many transient episodes. Far from attempting to analyze the new situation that had developed as a result of these defeats, the leaders of the Fifth Congress, who had failed to see the revolutionary situation in Germany when it was rising before their very noses, now proclaimed that the armed struggle was only just ahead. After the German defeat had disclosed the beginning of a new and different situation, the Comintern leaders declared that "Europe is entering into the stage of decisive events... Germany is apparently approaching a sharpened civil war" (Zinoviev, February 2, 1924) or "It is false that the decisive struggles have already been fought, that the proletariat has suffered a defeat in these struggles and the bourgeoisie has grown stronger as a result" (Stalin, September 20, 1924.) The fact that a "democratic pacifist period" had begun, that the bourgeoisie had succeeded (on the basis of the Comintern's defeats) in achieving a temporary "stabilization", was vigorously denied by the Comintern spokesmen, and was only acknowledged by them a year and a half afterward, when the facts were already matters of indisputable record, and when the situation was again turning in a new direction.

The Swing to the Right

But in the process of calling a non-revolutionary period a revolutionary period, the apparatus people were compelled to hunt high and low for the faintest revolutionary manifestation, to exaggerate it all out of proportions, or even to manufacture revolutionary phenomena where they really did not exist. By inventions and exaggerations, they sought a justification for their prognosis which the actual course of the class struggle did not provide. That is, consequently, the period in which the most fantastic "victories" of the Comintern were heralded to the world, serving to deceive and bewilder the masses in general and the Communists in particular, and to lay the basis for the long swerve to the Right which marked the Comintern's policy until 1928. It was during this period that the shrewd bourgeois politician, Raditch of Yugo-Slavia, was hailed in Moscow and abroad as the great peasants' leader. This was the period in which every demagogue and scoundrel who required some rosy coloring in order to preserve his leadership over the masses, could get it without difficulty by applying to the Comintern apparatus.

Raditch was not the only one. The kulak farmers of the American Northwest were hailed in Moscow as the next thing to Communists, as the inestimable partner in the notorious Farmer-Labor party movement. Macia, the head of the Catalonian petty bourgeoisie, was transported to Moscow for negotiations. Delegates from the Kuo Min Tang participated officially in the deliberations of the Communist International. They were prominent figures, together with the ragtag and bobtail of petty bourgeois politicians from India to London and back, in the "famous" Anti-Imperialist League. The so-called "Peasants' International" was formed at that time, to embrace every political exploiter of the peasantry who needed the protection of "Moscow", and to advance the unique slogan: "The emancipation of the peasantry is the work of the peasantry itself!"

Not the least prominent of the figures who made their pilgrimage to Moscow in those days were the leaders of the British trade unions, Purcell and Co., who visited the Soviet Union at the end of 1924 as an official delegation. The offensive of the British bourgeoisie against the workers' standard of living was producing radical changes in the ranks of the proletariat, a more militant mood was already visible among them, they were moving towards the Left, and this process was reflected in the trade union leadership by the development of a "Left" wing, Purcell, Hicks, Swales, Cook and others, who found it easier to maintain their reactionary leadership over the masses by swinging along to the Left with them.

Out of this visit to Russia, the favorable report which the delegation published, the impression made by the Russian trade union delegation to England, was born the Anglo-Russian Committee, representing the Councils of the two trade union centrals. Its original ob-

After being so steeped in error, after accumulating such a string of mistakes, after so much self-discrediting, after sowing such a distrust among the workers, it is necessary, not to spout words, but to act in a decisive, courageous and persevering manner to bring about a change in this whole situation. It will not do to repeat turns like those of 1930 and 1931, which are finally revealed to be nothing but petty deception. It is necessary to carry out a genuine turn. The militants in the party will have to take up this task in spite of the bureaucrats, who are much more concerned about their personal prestige than about the necessities of revolutionary policy.

—LA VERITE.

The I. L. P. and British Communism

In the last few months, the question of the attitude of the party towards the Independent Labor Party has occupied the attention of the party and the C. I. The absence of a clear policy on this matter has led to frequent disasters: the bloc with the "Left" reformists from 1925-1927, the support of the Maxton, Cook movement of 1928, and the confusion on this question as recent as last Autumn, all these blunders are due to the essential weaknesses in the policy of the leadership of the C. I. and the British Party. Today, after they burned their fingers

many times, the party declares on order from the C. I. that between it and the I. L. P. there is "war to the death". A very noisy resolution signifying absolutely nothing.

The resolution issued by the C. I. and accepted by the party leadership last January declares that during the struggle of last September one could only notice the slightest difference between the party and the I. L. P. This fact, which is due to the "Left" reformist policy pursued by the party in the time prior to and during last year's crisis, was pointed out by party members among whom this viewpoint was stifled and denounced. Now that one can perceive it, what is the remedy? As for the party leadership, it is "war to the death". But such an attitude reflects only a weak revolutionary policy, whereas a clear demarcation between the policy of the C. P. and that of the I. L. P. makes such declarations superfluous. The difference is clear in itself. The revolutionary party has a special role to fulfill and between it and "left" reformism there is a great difference, but the leadership of the party is afraid of repeating its past errors and lumps together the leaders of the Labor Party, those of the I. L. P. and at the same time, those workers in the ranks of the I. L. P. who are orientating themselves towards a revolutionary policy, and calls them all "social fascists".

What Is the I. L. P.

The I. L. P. occupies a rather important position in the British working class movement, not because it has a formidable following, but because the impotence of the party has fortified the idea among the workers that it is becoming a real center of opposition against the Labor Party. On the other hand it has a large number of individual adherents, and especially of late, it is attracting those young workers who are entering the movement for the first time.

Until now the I. L. P. has always been a reform party. It has grown with the neo-trade unionism of the unskilled workers and has played a big role in pushing large masses of workers towards an independent workers' policy. The social democratic federation which characterized itself as Marxian but which Engels repudiated as sectarian, failed in this task; the I. L. P. was infected by the doctrines of radical liberalism and based its socialism on ethical conceptions and not on Marxism. Consequently it grew as a reformist party organized on this basis and it never has been otherwise. During the war it adopted the pacifist point of view, and after the war it continued to support the Labor Party and the leadership of MacDonald who up to several months ago was a member of the I. L. P. Its differences with the Labor Party began in the last Labor Government. But these were always differences in words only; behind all the criticism was always to be found the implied support of the Labor Government.

But in the ranks of the I. L. P. the criticism had an effect which tended to carry it beyond the realm of words, and toward the struggle for a break with reformism. The young members criticized the Labor Party leaders more and more and had little inclination to be satisfied with parliamentary maneuvers. This year we have seen the growth of unofficial committees constituted to bring about a repudiation of the reformist doctrines and to work for the adoption of a revolutionary policy by the I. L. P.

The I. L. P. leaders immediately transformed this movement into one for a formal break with the Labor party and the principal discussion has been for or against the breaking off of relations with the Labor Party. The leaders of the I. L. P. asked for the right to vote in the communes according to the dictates of their conscience. The Labor party refuses this right and on such a question these revolutionary leaders spend hours of babbling, filling the columns of newspapers and holding record-breaking meetings!

The Party must struggle against such leaders but it should distinguish between them and the members who are trying to point the way toward a revolutionary policy. Nevertheless the party adopts an attitude which signifies in reality "all those outside our ranks are enemies of the working class" an attitude which makes it impossible for the Party to win over the most militant sections within the reformist ranks.

The British Left Opposition group is fighting against this policy; it demands that the party while showing the weaknesses of the policy advanced by the unofficial committees; for example, their inability to give clear expression to the relation between the present struggles of the workers and the struggle for power, their lack of understanding of the role of a revolutionary party in the daily struggles and in the struggle for power, their equivocal statements on the subjects of civil war; should be ready to struggle with them against the I. L. P. leaders and on questions of the daily struggle. Already some progress has been made in this direction and several I. L. P. militants have been won over to the support of the viewpoint of the Left Opposition.

On this question as on others members of the Left Opposition in England will carry on a consistent struggle against the false policy of Stalinism.

—ANGLICUS.

radical representative. Yet this committee was not only touted around the world by the Comintern apparatus, but the most extravagant virtues and aims were attributed to it. In July 1926, Stalin declared that the task of the Committee was "the organization of a broad movement of the working class against new imperialist wars in general and against an intervention in our country, especially on the part of England, the mightiest of the imperialist states of Europe." In the same spirit, the official theses of the Moscow party committee announced that "The Anglo-Russian Committee can and will undoubtedly play an enormous role in the struggle against all possible interventions directed against the U. S. S. R."; and further—"something we always thought the Comintern alone could be: it will become the organizational center that embraces the international forces of the proletariat for the struggle against every endeavor of the international bourgeoisie to begin a new war."

These two quotations suffice to plumb the depths of the Stalinist conception of the A. R. C. The Committee was no longer a temporary bloc with limited, concrete, immediate aims corresponding to the daily interests of the proletariat in a given situation. It had become, or "will become" the organizing center of the proletariat against imperialist war and intervention against the U. S. S. R. In this manner, the Stalinist course in the Anglo-Russian Committee only followed consistently from the reactionary conception of "socialism in one country". According to it, Russia could build up its own nationally isolated socialist economy, "if" only foreign intervention could be staved off. With this in mind, an idea that must end in converting the Comintern into a Soviet border patrol, came the hunt for "anti-interventionists". The "trade union bloc" with Purcell and the other trade union bureaucrats quickly became a political bloc between the reformists of England and the Russian party bureaucracy, not for a moment, but for a long period of time. The Opposition, on the contrary, which had never conceived the Committee as anything but a momentary agreement with the British labor leaders on a limited basis, as a step in mobilizing the reformist masses behind the Communists, declared: "The more acute the international situation becomes, the more the A. R. C. will be transformed into a weapon of English and international imperialism."

Theories are the condensed generalizations of preceding experience. They are verified not only by the past but by the present and the future, because events do not merely repeat themselves, but repeat themselves in a different manner and under different circumstances. Let us see how the two conceptions stood the test of events.

(Continued in next issue)
—MAX SHACHTMAN.

Strikes and Repression in Spain

(Continued from page 1)

Spain a strike movement has broken out with renewed vigor. In the city of Seville a general strike is in progress. According to the latest press reports it seems to be mounting in militancy. Police and Civil Guards are at hand in full force and the Governor of Seville states, threatens to "burn the 202 churches of Seville." We learn from the incomplete reports in the capitalist newspapers that there has been an almost complete shutdown of the industries of Seville. And its effectiveness in keeping out strikebreakers is attested to, in one instance, by the fact that soldiers had to man the bakeries. At the same time this latest outbreak is not local in scope. In Cadiz there were head on clashes between strikers and police. Strike cars, taxi service, shippings and aeroplane factories were completely paralyzed by the strike in that city. In Madrid, Catalonia and other places rioting of a similar nature occurred. The repercussions of this movement were felt as far as Algeria where shooting took place on the streets of Algiers in the course of a protest strike against the arrest of several syndicalist workers.

It is also reported that this is part of a nation wide monarchist conspiracy to restore Alfonso to the throne. While we can conceive of the possibility of such an attempt in view of the recent pronouncements of the Bourbons we are a little sceptical of such dispatches.

The Stalinists and the A. R. C. Purcell only typified the English half of the A. R. C.; he was even its most

* See the article "Political Banditry in the French Communist Party" in THE MILITANT of December 5, 1931—Ed.

EDITORIAL NOTES

The Right Wing in a Blind Alley

The secret unity negotiations between the Party bureaucrats and Lovestone revealed once more the unprincipledness and the cynicism which the disciples of Stalin bring to all important questions, including the question of unity. On this point we have commented before, in connection with the reports of the negotiations which first appeared in the *Militant*. But this affair—our reports of which have been fully confirmed in all essential particulars, no less by the denials of the Stalinists than by the explanations of Gitlow—has another important aspect. By it, with a more compelling logic than ever before, the hopeless position of the Right wing is acknowledged.

If the unfinished horse trade stamps the rapid campaign of the Stalinists against the Right "renegades" with insincerity—and thereby serves to discredit it—the effect on the position of the Lovestonites is still more annihilating. One has only to read the material on the latest unity maneuvers all together—the letters in the *Militant*, the self-refuting denials of the Stalinists and the long-winded apologies of the Workers' Age—to understand that Lovestone is seeking a favorable basis for "capitulation".

The collapse of the Right wing on an international scale is undoubtedly the chief reason for this move to give up the separate organization in America. A small item in the recent issue of the *Workers' Age*, announcing a session of the International Bureau of the Brandler "International", gives the most convincing evidence of this disintegration. It is stated there that a session of the Bureau would be meaningless without the participation of the American section. Swallowing the flattery, which contains not the least nourishment, the Lovestone politicians could not help asking themselves: "If the international organization of the Right wing depends on us, what good is it?" A man who is unable to swim himself cannot help another who is drowning by jumping into the water after him. Besides, Lovestone was never a follower, of Christ, of whom it was said: "He saved others, himself he could not save". His motto is more modern and more American: "Look out for number one."

This philosophy can draw no comfort from the catastrophic situation of the International Right wing. Bucharin in the Russian party capitulated to Stalin. A number of the most prominent Brandlerites in Germany have gone over to the new Socialist Labor Party, while Brandler and Thalheimer knock patiently at the door of Stalin. The leader of the Czechoslovakian Brandlerists—Neurath—is breaking away in the direction of the Left Opposition. Everywhere is stagnation and break-up. No progress, no internal consolidation, no firm ideology, no perspectives.

The hopelessness, the futility, of the Brandler "International" becomes clearer day by day. No wonder that the Lovestone leaders, foreseeing the inevitable end—which, it must be admitted, required no special political acumen—prepare to desert the lost cause for another venture in the ranks of Stalinism.

The Case of J. T. Murphy

The sensational resignation of J. T. Murphy from the Communist Party of England, coinciding with a furious campaign against him in the official press is a striking illustration of the fearful instability of the Centrist regime. Just think: Murphy was one of the founders of the Party, and an outstanding member of the Central Committee. He was a wheel-horse of Stalin, not only in the British Party, but in the Comintern as well, and won many decorations for his part in the war against "Trotskyism". He preached the "monolithic unity" of the Stalinist appointees, and with his colleagues of similar kidney, he symbolized it. Now, out of a clear sky, this same Murphy is cast out of the Party. And those same epithets which he banded about so handily—"counter-revolutionist", "renegade", etc.—are falling on his own head.

The case of Murphy also illustrates how irresistibly, over what apparently contradictory roads and even through the instrumentality of the most hostile persons, a correct political idea will make its way. Murphy lived politically, he maintained his position in the leading staff for years, by virtue of his readiness to repeat every slander against Trotsky, to condemn every idea of the Opposition as counter-revolutionary. And then, such is the cruel logic of politics, he finds himself outside the Party because he can no longer condemn the Opposition slogan of "credits for the Soviet Union!" What irony! And what powerful testimony to the force of that slogan of the Left Opposition!

Murphy has not become a supporter of the platform of the Bolshevik-Leninists. Far from it. Not in a day, nor even in a year, can a man cleanse his mind of the accumulated filth and poison deposited through nine years of servile acquiescence to the epigones' reaction. But not even a Murphy, it seems, could remain wholly indifferent to the havoc that Stalinism has wrought in the British Party. He ventured, after a very long stupor, to resort to independent thought about the problems of the British working class and their relation to socialist construction in the Soviet Union. And—

Lo and Behold!—the first idea that came to him was one that had been elaborated long ago by those whom he had expelled and slandered: the idea of economic collaboration with the Soviet Union and long term credits.

Was Murphy ignorant of the source and origin of the idea that brought his downfall in the Party? It is not impossible. The denunciation of the Opposition became such a routine matter for the funkies of Stalin that many of them found it unnecessary to read what they condemned. Here again the epigones elucidate the Bolshevik method reversely. If the revolutionary Marxists carefully study the works of all their opponents and report them conscientiously in order to refute them as they really stand with the greater precision, the Stalinists, for whom Marxism is nothing but a false-face, require an unheeding ignorance of every viewpoint except the official one. An objective study of what others say without official authorization, and above all a careless repetition of an unofficial thought, unfit a man for the Stalin machine. Murphy violated one of these conditions, if not both. Hence his excommunication.

Murphy has issued a statement on the affair, a copy of which appears in the *British New Leader* for May 20. In this statement he throws some light on the method of "ideological mobilization" which he did a full share to bring to full bloom in the Party, and which is now brought into play against him.

He says: "Within a few hours of the appearance of the *Daily Worker* article (the statement of the Political Bureau against him—Ed.) resolutions equally denunciatory began to pour in without a single person asking if I had anything to say, and before it was possible to become acquainted with the issues which had been raised. (This) is an indication of the automatic, unthinking way in which the Party machine operates and churns out its approval of resolutions."

Yes, that is the way it is done—"the automatic, unthinking way". It has been going on for a long time now, and it is not without reason and explanation. The Prussianization of the Party—enforced by those who abuse the good faith of the members and their confidence in the Comintern—was necessitated by the reactionary struggle against those who truly represent the ideas and the tradition of the Russian revolution. They could not wage this struggle successfully any other way. But the structure based on these methods cannot stand. One crack after another appears in the foundation. The case of Murphy signifies another of these ominous cracks, and a very significant one too.

Trotsky on the Disarmament Conference

In view of the serious political changes in Europe during the last few weeks, such as the elections in France and the fall of the Bruening government, the Lausanne conference, which is scheduled to be held in the middle of June, takes on special importance. In this light, the following remarks by comrade Trotsky, made in an interview he granted the *Chicago Daily News* at the time of the current Geneva conference, are of particular interest for Communists and for all revolutionary workers.

In Reply to Questions Posed by the *Chicago Daily News*

(1) The fundamental cause of the crisis may be defined by a single word: capitalism. The specific character of this crisis is explained by another concept: imperialism, that is to say, monopoly capitalism which is beginning to purr within its own insoluble contradictions. The rise and fall of Ivar Kreuger symbolizes all of capitalism today. The official moralists are hurling their thunder against the match king after the event. But he could have replied to them: why have you permitted me to dispose, according to my own wishes, of the productive forces, which under the direction of a humane society, ought to serve society itself?

Will the capitalist world order survive the present crisis? The reply depends upon what is understood under the term crisis. Variations in the conjuncture accompany the entire history of capitalism. In the past periods, the curve of capitalism rose throughout all the variations of the conjuncture. Today, it is declining. This does not exclude variations of the conjuncture in the future. On the contrary, these are inevitable. But the present acute crisis can only be so attenuated that it will culminate into a higher paroxysm in the next immediate stage. This whole tragic process can only end in the transformation of the whole social system.

(2) Have I any hope of success at the disarmament conference? Not the least. But in this, I am not an exception. The French project is sufficiently characterized by the fact that it has been presented by the Tardieu government. At the same time that France supports the bloody work of Japan in the Far East, Japan gratefully supports the pacifist initiative of France at Geneva. An incomparable lesson for all peoples! The project of France provides for the creation, under the mantle of the League of Nations, of a new entente with the one aim of stabilizing the hegemony of French finance capital with the aid of an "international" army.

But the American project also does not open any perspective. Present day

N. Y. Opposition Offers Cooperation in Elections to the Communist Party

District Party Election Campaign Committee.

Dear Comrades:

The New York branch of the Communist League of America endorses the Presidential election campaign of the Communist Party, its national and local candidates. Despite the fact that our delegates were not seated at the New York District Conference, we continue to endorse and will support the candidates with all the forces at our command.

Last year, our delegates were also refused participation in the Conference. Nevertheless, we conducted a series of open air meetings all during the local campaign, in which we called upon the workers to vote for the candidates of the Communist Party. Through our press and other means, we continued to speak on the same line.

No formal ousting will ever suffice to stop our activities for our Party, of which we are still a faction and in which we work as such.

We will undertake all assignments given to us—which we hope to receive by return mail. If none are officially given, we will again carry out activities as we did last year and before.

Comradely yours,

HERBERT CAPELIS.

New York Branch of the Secretary

Communist League of America (Opposition)

BOUND VOLUMES OF PAMPHLETS FOR SALE

Bound Volumes of the following pamphlets by comrade Trotsky are now ready for sale: The Draft Program, Strategy of the World Revolution, World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan, Problems of the Development of the U. S. S. R., The Turn in the C. I. and the Situation in Germany, Germany—the Key to the International Situation, The Spanish Revolution, The Spanish Revolution in Danger, and Communism and Syndicalism. All these are bound in one volume.

The volumes are attractively bound in colored covers. The pamphlets are arranged in the above order. Three of the pamphlets in the volume are out of print and cannot be had except by buying the bound volumes. These are the Draft Program, World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan, and The Turn in the C. I. and the Situation in Germany.

The number of bound volumes is limited to ninety. Orders will be filled in the order in which they are received. Checks or money orders must accompany the orders. Comrades who want a copy of these bound volumes should order them at once. The price is \$2.00.

Centrism «in General» and the Centrism of the Stalinist Bureaucracy

by LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from last issue)

In the meantime this same functionary bears the least resemblance to an incorporeal spirit. He eats and guzzles and procreates and grows himself a respectable pot-belly. He lays down the law with a sonorous voice, handpicks from below people faithful to him, remains himself faithful to his superiors, prohibits others from criticizing himself and sees in all this the gist of the general line. Of such functionaries there are a few million. A few million! Their number is greater than the number of industrial workers in the period of the October revolution. The majority of these functionaries never participated in the class struggle which is bound up with sacrifices, self-denials and dangers. These people in their overwhelming mass were politically born already in the qualification of a ruling caste. They are backed by the state power. It assures them their livelihood and raises them considerably above the surrounding masses. They know nothing of the dangers of unemployment, if they are gifted with the capacity to stand at attention. The grossest errors are forgiven them as long as they are ready to fulfill the rôle of the sacrificial scape-goat at the required moment, and thus remove the responsibility from the shoulders of their nearest superiors. Well, then, has this ruling stratum of many millions any social weight and political influence in the life of a country? Yes or no?

DANGERS OF WORKERS' BUREAUCRACY

We know from older books that workers' bureaucracy and workers' aristocracy is the social foundation for opportunism. In Russia this phenomenon has taken on new forms. On the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat—in a backward country—surrounded by capitalism—for the first time a powerful bureaucratic apparatus has been created from among the upper layers of the workers, that is raised above the masses, that lays down the law to them, that has at its disposal colossal resources, that is bound together by an inner mutual responsibility and that intrudes into the policies of a workers' government its own interests, methods and regulations.

We are not anarchists. We understand the necessity of a workers' government and therefore the historical inevitability of a bureaucracy during a transitional period. But we likewise understand the dangers that are inherent in this fact, particularly for a backward and an isolated country. The idealization of Soviet bureaucracy is the most shameful mistake that can be made by a Marxist. Lenin strived with all his might to raise the party as a self-acting vanguard of the working class above the governmental apparatus in order to control, check, direct, and, purge it, placing the historical interests of the proletariat—international, not only national—above the interests of the ruling bureaucracy. As the first condition of the party control over the government Lenin put the control of the party mass over the party apparatus. Read over attentively his articles, speeches and letters during the Soviet period, particularly for the last two years of his life—and you will remark with what alarm his mind turned time and again to this burning question.

THE FUNCTIONARY REPLACES THE BOLSHEVIK

But what has happened in the subsequent period? The entire leading stratum of the party and of the government that was at the helm during the revolution and the civil war has been replaced, removed and crushed. Their place has been taken by an anonymous functionary. At the same time the struggle against bureaucratism which was so acute in character during Lenin's lifetime, when the bureaucracy was not yet out of its diapers, has ceased entirely now when the apparatus has grown sky high.

And indeed, who is there capable of carrying on this struggle? The party as a self-controlling vanguard of the proletariat no longer exists now. The party apparatus has been fused with the administrative. The most important instrument of the general line within the party is the G. P. U. The bureaucracy not only prohibits the criticism of the top from below but it prohibits its theoreticians from even talking about it and from noticing it. The mad hatred of the Left Opposition is aroused first of all by the fact that the Opposition talks openly about the bureaucracy, about its particular rôle, and its interests, thus revealing the secret that the general line is inseparable from the flesh and blood of the new nationalistic ruling stratum, which is not at all identical with the proletariat.

From the proletarian character of the government, the bureaucracy deduces its right of primogeniture to infallibility: how can the bureaucracy of a workers' state degenerate! The state and the bureaucracy are thereby taken not as historical processes but as eternal categories: how can the holy church and its god-inspired priests sin! Yet, if a workers' bureaucracy which raised itself over the proletariat, waging battle in a capitalist society, could degenerate into the party of Noske, Scheidemann, Ebert and Wels, why can't it degenerate after raising itself over the victorious proletariat?

The ruling and uncontrolled position of the Soviet bureaucracy is conducive to a psychology which in many ways is directly contradictory to the psychology of a proletarian revolutionist. Its own aims and combinations in local politics as well as in international politics are placed by the bureaucracy above the tasks of the revolutionary education of the masses and without any connection with the tasks of international rev-

olution. In the course of a number of years the Stalinist faction demonstrated that the interests and the psychology of a "strong peasant", engineer, administrator, Chinese bourgeois intellectual and British trade union functionary were much closer and more comprehensive to it than the psychology and the needs of the unskilled laborer, the peasant poor, the uprising Chinese national masses, the English strikers, etc.

But why, in that case, didn't the Stalinist faction lead to the very end its line of national opportunism? Because it is the bureaucracy of a workers' state. While the international social democracy defends the foundations of the bourgeois sovereignty, the Soviet bureaucracy, not having achieved a governmental overturn, is compelled to adapt itself to the social foundations laid down by the October revolution. Hence is derived the dual psychology and policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Centrism, but centrism on the foundation of a workers' state, is the sole possible expression for this duality.

Whereas in capitalist countries, the centrist groupings are most often temporary or transitional in character, reflecting the evolution of certain workers' strata to the right or to the left, under the conditions of the Soviet republic, centrism is equipped with a much more solid and organized base in the shape of a multimillioned bureaucracy. Representing in itself a natural environment for opportunist and nationalist tendencies, it is compelled, however, to maintain the foundations of its hegemony in the struggle with the kulak and at the same time to bother about its "Bolshevik" prestige in the world-wide movement. Following its attempted chase after the Kuo Min Tang and the Amsterdam bureaucracy, which in many ways is close to it spiritually, the Soviet bureaucracy each time entered into sharp conflict with the social democracy which reflects the enmity of the world bourgeoisie to the Soviet state. Such are the sources of the present Left zig-zags.

The eccentricity of the situation arises not from the supposed and special immunity of the Soviet bureaucracy to opportunism and nationalism but from the fact that, being unable to occupy a thoroughgoing national-reformist position, it is compelled to describe zig-zag between Marxism and national reformism. The oscillations of this bureaucratic centrism, in conformity with its power, its resources and the acute contradictions in its position, have attained an altogether unheard of sweep: from ultra-Left adventurism in Bulgaria and Estonia to the alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek, Radich and Purcell; and from the shameful fraternization with British strike breakers to a complete renunciation of the policy of the United Front with mass organizations.

These breakneck zig-zags would have been impossible, were it not for the fact that within all Communist sections a self-sufficient bureaucracy—i. e., independent of the party—had been formed. Here is the root of all evil!

WHEREIN LIES THE STRENGTH OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The strength of a revolutionary party consists in the independence of its vanguard which checks and selects its cadres and while educating its leaders, gradually elevates them by its confidence. This creates an unbroken connection between the cadres and the mass, between the leader and the cadres and it induces in the entire leadership an inward confidence in themselves. There is nothing of the kind in the contemporary Communist parties! The leaders are appointed. They handpick their aides. The rank and file of the masses is forced to accept the appointed leaders, around whom there is built up the artificial atmosphere of advertisement. The cadres depend upon the upper crust and not upon the underlying masses. Consequently, to a considerable degree they seek for the source of their influence as well as for the source of their livelihood outside of the masses. They draw their political slogans not from the experience in the struggle, but by telegraph. And in the meantime Stalin's files secrete incriminating documents against possible emergency. Each leader knows that at any moment he can be blown away like a feather.

COARSENESS AND DISLOYALTY CHARACTERIZE THE BUREAUCRAT

Thus, throughout the entire Comintern a closed bureaucratic stratum is being created which represents in itself a culture broth for the bacilli of centrism. While organizationally it is very stable and solid, for it is backed by the bureaucracy of the Soviet state, the centrism of the Thaelmanns, Remmes and Co., is distinguished by extreme instability in political relations. Bereft of assurance, which can be derived only from an organic jointure with the masses, the infallible C. E. C. suffices only for monstrous zig-zags. The less it is prepared for a serious ideological battle, the more proficient it is in profanity, insinuations, and calumnies. Stalin's portrait, "coarse" and "disloyal", as described by Lenin, is the personification of this layer.

The characterization of bureaucratic centrism given above determines the attitude of the Left Opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy: a complete and unqualified support in so far as the bureaucracy defends the boundaries of the Soviet republic and the foundations of the October revolution; an outspoken criticism in so far as the bureaucracy hinders by its administrative zig-zags the defense of the revolution and of socialist construction; a merciless resistance in so far as it disorganizes by its bureaucratic overlordship the struggle of the international proletariat.

—L. TROTSKY.

(From WHAT NEXT—Vital Questions for the German proletariat)

The Communist Party's Election Platform

It is to be expected that Communism will become a much more serious challenge in these coming presidential elections than hitherto. That is so mainly because of the vital working class issues of the economic crisis and mass unemployment which is pressing harder every day for a solution, or at least for some measure of relief. There will, of course, be no solution found in the elections under a capitalist regime, and it is not for this purpose that Communists participate. They will foster no such illusions within the working class.

Nevertheless there is an opportunity, by the medium of the election campaign, to advance the development of the Communist movement and strengthen the working class politically. It is in this sense that the more serious challenge is presented.

But the Communists are not the only force appealing in the name of the working class, calling for its support and endeavoring to rally its ranks. Even the bourgeois politicians have not lost any of their power of demagoguery. And, it is well to remember that capitalism still controls all the main avenues of working class influence, propaganda and education. The Socialist party hopes to at least raise itself to its former level of a contending force. It is stepping forward with a brand new platform, but as before cleverly designed to appeal to the working class and to the petty bourgeoisie. The tone and form of a number of its demands have a more radical flavor than usual, even here and there a smell of militancy. Yet it is so constructed that it contains no serious offense—not to speak of danger—to the bourgeoisie. That, of course, is its object. While it will bear more analysis later, it suffices here to say that it is a reformist platform through and through.

For the revolutionary workers the choice presented in these elections is an easy one. Their choice will be the Communist party. It is our choice. To many workers, however, who may be entirely sincere in gaining relief measures for their class, the distinction is not so clear. Many of those will undoubtedly yet have to learn by bitter experience. But even the elections should become a valuable lesson.

It is in view of this that the platform presented by the Communist party assumes special importance. The needs of the workers come more to the fore during election times. Demands for amelioration of their distress become more pressing. The Communists fight for these demands. But they do not expect a solution to issue out of the elections. That is entirely bound up with the revolutionary way out. Immediate or partial demands contained in their platform are there for the purpose of more directly focusing the working class attention, to become the central points for the struggle of today, which must steadily develop toward the revolutionary way out. Hence that latter objective must first of all be clear in the Communist platform.

Is that the case with regard to the platform submitted by the official party leadership? Not at all. It presents the revolutionary way out as a workers' and farmers' government—even in several instances calling it a "revolutionary government". What does this mean? Does it mean the Proletarian Dictatorship? If so, it should be stated so precisely by that term. If this is not meant—and it cannot be under that formulation—it becomes an opportunist adaptation to reformist views. The slogan of a workers' and farmers' government is not an adaptation to American peculiarities, for here the working class constitutes the overwhelming percentage of the population. The term a workers' and farmers' government in the accepted American sense is the reformist sense. When presented that way in a Communist party platform it becomes a mockery on Marxism.

We would, of course, not propose that the Proletarian Dictatorship become an objective for these elections. But as to the revolutionary way out it must be stated in that manner so that its definite proletarian and revolutionary basis becomes clear.

Only in this way can there be continuity in a revolutionary sense with the immediate and partial demands advanced. Otherwise they stand alone as mere reform measures.

Among the immediate demands, contained in the party platform, which generally correspond with the working class needs today there appears, however, the one for self-determination for the Black Belt (for the Negroes). It would have been far more in keeping with Marxism to substitute in its place the correct slogan for economic, social and political equality for the Negroes. But is it accidental that there is no demand for the shorter workday? Even the socialist parties in the pre-war period demanded the eight-hour workday, during elections and after. Today the demand should be the six-hour workday without reduction of pay. As a part of the platform it

would become a means of focussing attention upon it as an immediate objective which can become helpful in building, strengthening and unifying the movement today. Its realization will naturally mean a step forward to a stronger class position.

One proposition in the platform reads: "Even to force concessions NOW from the three capitalist parties, there is no weapon so powerful as a vote for Communism and participation in the daily struggles led by the Communist Party." (emphasis in original). And, it adds the direct inference that the capitalist politicians may grant such concessions to "keep the masses from turning to Communism". This approach has nothing in common with Marxism. We do not ask the workers to vote Communist in order to force concessions from the capitalist parties. We do not ask them to participate in the daily struggles for this purpose. We ask the workers to do so because of our revolutionary objective and to strengthen their position toward finally reaching this objective. Concessions gained are by products of the class struggle, not our aim, and gained only because of our strengthened position against, and over the opposition of the capitalist parties.

If we fail to educate, to organize and to prepare the working class for a clear understanding of, and for the attainment of the revolutionary objectives, temporary concessions gained can, instead of becoming partial victories on the way, be turned into retardation of the struggle.

—A. S.

House Passes Anti-Alien Bill

The Dies anti-alien bill, the most vicious piece of anti-working class legislation in years, has just been passed by the House of Representatives. The bill is now in the Senate. The Senate will act in harmony with their congressional brothers is a foregone conclusion. . . . If not enough working class pressure is brought to bear on the case.

There is no time to be lost. The workers must respond immediately. To permit such a piece of legislation to go through would jeopardize the very lives of those foreign class conscious workers in America who are subject to deportation in Fascist countries. The bill is offered as an "economic" bill in disguise. The purpose of the bill is to deport all those workers who have found their way to Communism. The first workers to be affected will be those belonging to the Communist party. The shallow apology of the bill sponsors that those workers belonging to the Communist party "under duress" are not to be intimidated is too transparent a piece of hokum to be deserving of any serious comment here.

No greater opportunity for the party to apply the United Front correctly has presented itself in a long time. This is a fight for the elementary rights of the workers, native and foreign, to organize and join any party they see fit. The issue is too serious to be neglected. And any effort to evade the issue by arguing for a "united front from below" can be branded as nothing short of neglect. This can and must become a broad movement of the masses. It is up to the Party to act correctly.

The Veterans' March on Washington

The march of the world war veterans on Washington has aroused national attention. The tenacity with which the impoverished ex-soldiers stick it out in their encampments in the capital and on their trek serve particularly to dramatize the tragic fate of this section of the American working class, whose life and blood was bled about so slightly-mindedly in the recent slaughter to make the world "safe for democracy".

It is indisputable that the march of these desperate jobless workers, spontaneous in its inception, is called forth not by motives that separate them from the rest of the class, but much rather by the intense suffering they are going through in common with their other unemployed fellow workers as a result of the anarchy crisis brought about by capitalist management and by the savagery of the profit system.

The fact that they march as veterans only testifies to their desperate condition, in which they are forced to resort to any and sundry methods by which they will be enabled to get relief from their misery. This is the reason they resort to the slogan of the bonus, which gains concreteness now by the fact that it is up for action in the legislature of the capitalist government.

The only organized force that understands the plight of the veterans and comes to their sincere support is the Communist movement, which has the interests of all sections of the working class at heart. It is therefore not at all strange that the enemies of the worker ex-soldiers, the capitalist class, its press and its police, direct their foremost attacks against the best friends of the veterans, against the Communists.

There are all sorts of reactionary provocateurs and government agents at work attempting to disrupt the ranks of the veterans by carrying on agitation against the more class conscious workers in their midst. It is their purpose to turn the movement into anti-working class and anti-Communist channels. It must be made clear to the veterans that this is an attempt to isolate their section and to deprive it of the only form of mass support they have—the organized support of their class and of the party, the Communist party.

Isolation means defeat. Isolation is the plan of the bourgeoisie which wants to evade every shape and form of relief to members of the working class. This holds true for the movement of the ex-soldiers as well. Their salvation lies in more intimate contact, in closer collaboration with the rest of their class and with the party of their class.

Their interests are not apart from the interests of the twelve million unemployed workers as a whole. What they want is a form of unemployment relief. That is also the need of the rest of the twelve million.

The Communist party is in the forefront of the struggle for unemployment relief and insurance. To carry out this struggle consistently, the party must strive for the utmost possible unity of the working class around the needs of the class as a whole. It is in this sense that it must act also in regard to the worker veterans. Unite the proletarian ex-soldiers with the rest of the class in the fight for unemployment relief and insurance, in the struggle for the six-hour day and for long term credits to the Soviet Union.

The Economic Crisis, the Unemployment Situation and the Working Class

With the passing of its two and half year mark, the economic crisis is still on its downward spiral. Now, however, the American government has moved much more actively into its orbit. It has created a number of auxiliary instruments, outstanding among which are the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Young Committee, the latter established by the New York Federal Reserve Bank and expected to be followed by like committees in other federal reserve districts. By this is provided a more harmonious blend of interests and purposes of monopoly capitalism and its executive organ at Washington, D. C. But because of its occurring within the framework of the strongest of the world imperialist powers, this mobilization of capitalist resources assumes special significance.

The sum and substance of the proposals made by this combination of forces is the "expansion" of credits and the measures which flow from such an objective. The aims it holds in view are: First, to restore, within capitalism, the confidence in the continuity of the process of production, which is badly shaken by the prolonged crisis. Secondly, an endeavor to increase commodity prices in the hope of extending a contracting market. Thirdly, to neutralize, or at least check the fall in the rate of profit by restoring a rate which will appropriate.

make possible to resume the cycle of reproduction. This latter is to be accomplished essentially and most directly by increasing the intensity of exploitation and depressing wages below the value of labor power, or in other words, to reduce the whole standard of living of the working class.

How well these aims are being realized, or in the process of being realized, with the capitalist measures proposed, it is necessary for us to examine. But we must first of all bear in mind that this crisis, as well as other such crises in capitalism is essentially one of overproduction of capital—an overproduction of the means of production to the extent that they serve as capital, that is, serve for the exploitation of labor. The credit system itself is the main lever of overproduction because of its forcing of the process of reproduction to its extreme limit. Consequently the efforts for further expansion of what already constitutes a superabundance of credits, although largely idle, and regardless of its immediate results, will, without fail, resolve itself into more acute contradictions in the next historical stage.

This question we propose to take up in detail, but before that, let us take a look at the crisis and its present sweep, still moving downward. To elucidate the statement of a few fundamentals will be

Fascists Moving to Power in Germany

Events in Germany are moving with alacrity, the press reports from day to day. The direction of this movement is, as has been pointed out, one that tends to extreme reaction, to the immediate preparation of the scene for the Fascist seizure of power.

It is being confirmed daily that the relation between the Von Papen government and particularly its military backbone—the clique around General Von Schleicher—toward the Hitler party is one of a herald to a conqueror. The manifesto issued by the Junker cabinet last week was one long harangue against the last vestiges of bourgeois democracy in the Reich. Even the Bruening government—the government of the dictatorial emergency decrees—is dubbed too radical! The whole document is evidence of the fact that the new ministry is blasting the way for the Nazi hordes.

One of the three conditions posed by Hitler with regard to support of Von Papen has already been fulfilled. The Reichstag has been dissolved and new elections are scheduled for July 31. After three high strung election campaigns within the last three months, the extreme nervous tension that a new election brings it cannot be underestimated. That Hitler should find such a situation highly favorable for his machinations is to be expected. In the meantime feverish preparations are being made by Hitler's allies in the administration to tighten every link in the reactionary chain, to unite all the dark forces for coordinate action under Hitler's leadership.

It is definitely known already that plans are in order to gain full control of the Prussian police force, the only important armed contingent in the Reich that is not at present under the direct supervision of Von Schleicher. The manner in which this is being done is indicated by the recent reports concerning the erection of a dictatorship over Prussia by the Reich government. Since the Prussian state budget is short of fulfillment and since the state officials have been depending upon the federal authorities for aid, the Von Papen cabinet aims to put the provincial administration into coercing the armed forces directly at the disposal of his minister.

Secret negotiations are also in process to reestablish the Nazi Storm Troops as a legal body. The brown shirts, a dispatch says, are to drop their role of a "private army" and will be enrolled in the government service "under the guise of labor battalions". Their purpose is to be intensified activity to demoralize the workers' organization, especially the trade unions, the "Republican Reichs Banner", etc.

Another form of aid promised the Hitler forces by Schleicher-Papen is absolute freedom of action and propaganda in the coming election campaign. For the first time, Hitler has been granted the use of the radio, which is state controlled. Every effort is being made to insure the success of the contemplated National Socialist seizure of the state.

On the other hand, systematic illegalization of working class organizations is on the order of the day. There are rumors that in addition to the already proscribed Proletarian Frontthinkers' Society, the Young Communist League of Germany is to be driven underground. The paper of the Socialist Labor Party of Germany, the Sozialistische Arbeiterzeitung, has been confiscated and its publication suspended. Flank attacks of this sort against the working class are on the

order of the day for the Von Papen government, the government that is clearing the road for Fascism.

All these steps characterize the strategy of the German bourgeoisie at the present period, when the only solution for its class is that of the open Fascist dictatorship which requires the stifling of every shape and form of proletarian democracy to make sure of the least possible resistance of the toiling masses to its attempt at reducing their standard of living to the level of barbarism. Despite the division of interests between the various sections of the capitalist class, that class as a whole realizes that the moment is decisive for it, that a "strong arm" to which it will have to make concessions of a political nature is the only means whereby it will be able to escape destruction at the present stage.

That is the position of the working class in the face of this desperate determination of the masters? In spite of the indisputable natural barriers created within it through the crisis and unemployment, the German working class nevertheless senses the danger confronting it and displays a distinct fighting spirit. The May Day demonstrations this year were far greater in attendance and far more militant in sentiment than has been the case for years. The light-minded disregard of the Fascist menace by the treacherous social democratic leaders and by the confused and disoriented Stalinists has been overcome, in no small measure due to the sounding of the tocsin by comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition. The working class has been made aware of the entire import of the Hitler movement. It stands alert, it expects to fight.

But for the present, all there is, is the desire to fight, the determination not to let the enemy win without a struggle. The struggle itself has not yet been organized. The social democrats, the splitters and the traditional traitors of the German masses, though their influence has been tremendously weakened by the realism with which the Hindenburg-Von Papen regime has exposed their policy of the "lesser evil", still hold the overwhelming masses of the workers under their sway. The Stalinist leadership of the Communist Party of Germany, by its isolationist theory of social Fascism and by its ridiculous policy of ultimatums, demanding a guarantee of leadership in advance from the workers, has not been able to utilize the miserable position of the social democracy at the present moment so as to give it its death blow.

A great opportunity to sweep into the leadership of the masses disillusioned by reality with their social democratic misleaders, has been missed by the incapable and stupidly bureaucratic Thaelmann regime. But no more time is to be lost. It is a question now of defense in the face of an onslaught. The semi-turn toward a half-hearted united front with local organizations of the reformists, with the lower functionaries, must immediately be transformed into a full turn. The social democratic leaders must be pushed into the alternative of joining with the Communists in the forthcoming struggle or of breaking with the masses still under their control.

An open, sincere, full fledged turn is the need of the day for the C. P. and for the Comintern. There is no time to be lost in establishing the united front with the social democratic and reformist

organizations on a centralized basis. The Committees of action against Fascism, proposed by the German Left Opposition must be organized without delay and coordinated for immediate defense against the Fascists. The Fascists are concentrating their troops on the proletarian strongholds. They are preparing to encircle them. The encirclement must be encircled!

The eleventh hour is at hand in Germany. Epoch-making struggles are ahead. The working class has not yet been defeated. It is still disorganized, it is still disunited. Only its fighting unity will save off the harbingers of a new barbarism in Europe. International solidarity is the task of the working class of the world toward its German brothers. The call for the unity of the German workers is the concern of every proletarian in all the countries. What will happen in Germany will be of decisive place for our workers' fatherland, the Soviet Union. The seizure of power by Hitler, involving a protracted internal struggle which will pose most sharply the question of class against class, will inevitably gain the support of the foreign imperialists in the ultimate.

Bourgeois Germany, under Hitler as well as under all the previous governments, will remain impoverished, bankrupt. It will not be able to carry on without foreign aid against its own working class. In return for this aid, it will have to repay its debt on the advent of a Hitler regime means war against the U. S. S. R. On the day of Hitler's coming into power, the Soviets will be faced with the most direct problem of defending their own frontiers. The Left Opposition, with the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists at their head will be in the front ranks of this defense.

The struggle in Germany poses the question of world revolution once more in an acute and realistic form. It spells defeat for the reactionary theory of national socialism, it opens up new perspectives of international action for the proletariat. It brings the day of reckoning between Stalinist Centrism and Bolshevik-Leninism very close. The Worker Communists must be on the alert. The fate of Communism, the fate of the revolutionary working class stands before a new test.

"Socialist" Revolt in Chile

Led by the wealthy landowner and former ambassador to the United States, Carlos G. Davila, a new military junta has come into power in Chile. Utilizing the crying discontent of the Chilean masses as an aid to their demagoguery, Davila and his henchmen shamelessly fooled the workers and peasants into supporting their coup d'Etat.

Support of their social-Democratic half-brothers, Davila and Co., at first issued proclamations of various "Socialist" reforms that the new government was to inaugurate. The first dispatches declared the new government was going to nationalize industry and socialize property. Various other social reforms were to follow. In fact, the dispatches declared, they were going to model their regime after the Soviet fashion!

It is more than likely that Wall Street had something to do with those scare dispatches which were to act as a warning to the military clique in power not to go too far. The latest news emanating from Chile and quoting Davila directly is prompt in denying the "wild rumors about confiscating private property"—and more particularly "nationalizing foreign holdings." The junta had heard its masters' voice. The latest dispatches now tell of modelling the government after the "Socialist" fashion of Spain. A very commendable pattern after which to model a military junta! Paper reforms and oppression is now on the order of the day. Strikes, unless they have the sanction (!) of the government, are prohibited. The universities are to be re-organized so as not to permit student strikes. About the only "revolutionary" demand still left on the plank of this bunch of political hi-jackers is the demand for the pawnshops to return articles pawned without demanding interest!

Like most of the week-end Latin American revolutions, this one too, undoubtedly came about as a result of the conflicting desires of the two most interested imperialist nations in Latin America—the United States and England. The fact that the United States has been forcing England out all along the line is too obvious to require too much mention here. England, from having the foremost investments in Chile prior to the war, now plays a poor second fiddle to the richer and mightier uncle across the sea. The nitrate and copper interests of the United States have practically eliminated England as a serious contender to exploitation of the Chilean workers and peasants in these fields. Davila, the ambassador to Wall Street (sic), will see to it that the northern uncle's property is well protected.

It is one of the laws of capitalist production, and which its development carries with it, that compared to the total capital which it sets in motion and compared to the constant part of material (means of production and raw materials) there is a relative decrease of the variable part of capital (labor power). In other words, compared to the growing mechanization of industry the need for labor power diminishes relatively. The same number of workers can in the same time produce an ever growing amount of commodities. And, the number of employed workers are continually on the decline compared to the mass of the means of production and the commodities produced. It follows that that portion of living labor which is unpaid and represents surplus value is likewise on the decline compared to the value of total capital invested. This results in the fall of the profit rate. But the increase of the mass of the absolute surplus value appropriated by the capitalists, or the mass of profit, on the other hand, provides for the growth of the total capital—an ever growing accumulation of capital.

We have not figures available showing the actual relative growth of constant capital over variable capital. But the following figures, once before published in *The Militant*, illustrate the trend of the growing mechanization of industry:

From 1899 to 1929, in American manufacturing industry, the number of wage workers increased by 85.5 percent. While their nominal average wage increased 206 percent, yet their share of the produce of their labor declined from 41.4 percent to 38 percent due to the fact that during this period the value added by the process of reproduction represented a 566 percent increase. Expressed in monetary form, in 1899 the value thus added amounted to \$1,025 per worker. In 1929 it had increased to \$3,624.

This clearly illustrates the growth of the intensity of production due to mechanization of industry. But it also in a sense gives a picture of the accumulation of capital.

In the process of reproduction the increasing mass of surplus value, or unpaid labor, appropriated by the capitalists, leave an ever growing part to be turned into additional capital. The capitalist mode of production accelerates the accumulation of capital. But with that also the specific capitalist mode of production develops. Accumulation leads to an increased concentration of the means of production and a growth of the domination over labor.

The credit system which at first served as a modest helper of accumulation has now become transformed into an immense social mechanism for the centralization of capital.

(Continued on page 2)

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

A Food Worker Writes About His Union

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The situation in the Foodworkers' Industrial Union is very bad. To put it more correctly, it is going from bad to worse. This is the result of the ruinous policy the party bureaucrats have imposed upon the organization.

I will try to present in this article as clearly as possible the real situation in the union, without touching the theoretical question as to whether the FWIU is really "revolutionary" and whether the splitting away from the Amalgamated Food Workers was a correct policy for Communists to pursue.

To present fully what happened in the union ever since the split with the AFW would be too hard for me. For two reasons. First, I took no leading part then in the union. Secondly, I must admit that thanks to *The Militant's* policy on the trade union question, which I have begun to follow recently with much care, I have been able to see more clearly how false the party's policy in the union. Secondly, I must admit that thanks to question, which I have begun to follow recently with much care I have been able to see more clearly how false the party's policy in the union has been.

I am convinced that the only way out of the present crisis in the union is with the policy of the Left Opposition.

According to official reports, when the split took place and the union was organized, the membership was more than 2500. Today, it hardly reaches 700 and no more than about 450 in good standing. Conditions in union shops, especially in the cafeterias, are no different from those in the open shops. In some cases they are even worse. For instance, in the Chester and Royal cafeterias, the bus girls work 10 hours per day at \$12 per week, while in the Willow and other chain stores, women work 8 hours a day at \$14 per week.

This is not an accident. It corresponds fully to the policy recently adopted by the leadership of the union and approved by the T. U. U. L. The policy is

MILITANT BUILDERS

Our reiterated appeals for subs and for a staff of Militant Builders continue to bear fruit. Comrades and sympathizers are responding with subs and expressions of their esteem for our *Militant*. A comrade from Kansas sends us a dollar with the encouraging words: "—and must say the *Militant* is absolutely right." A comrade from Pennsylvania asks for "—a copy of several of your latest papers. Also price of same as we wish to subscribe." From California came the following: "—I do not feel able to afford a cash donation without something in return, so enclosed find \$1 for which please send me 2 copies per week—so I will have another copy to pass out. This is an excellent idea. Comrades who can do the same are invited to begin at once. Order a second copy for someone else. A comrade in Brooklyn writes: "—I'm only a step ahead of starvation but I'm enclosing a quarter and hope you can continue my sub for a while." You bet we will!

Best of all is the announcement from our Minneapolis comrades. Says comrade Coover: "—Send me 50 or more *Militant* sub blanks. We are going to attempt to build the *Militant* circulation some more." Good idea! With this kind of spirit and the results which are sure to follow we should build the *Militant* circulation closer to what we want it to be. Financially it should help us to weather the storm which still rages unabated.

In last week's issue we made a mistake which we want to correct. We offered a free copy of the bound volume of comrade Trotsky's pamphlets to each comrade who raised \$10 in subs and donations. It should have read: a free copy of the bound volume to each comrade who raises \$4 in subs. But these must be subs which he gets from workers other than himself. What we want is a staff of active pluggers. We are serious about this question of building the circulation of the *Militant* and increasing our influence among the Left wing and party members particularly and among the workers as a whole. For this we need a permanent staff of comrades one of whose chief duties will be to get subs.

In line with this idea for the period of the summer months we are offering a free copy of the new book by comrade Trotsky, *Problems of the Chinese Revolution*, with each one year sub to the *Militant*. This is everyone's chance to kill two birds with one stone. In sending in subs comrades should remember to ask for their free copies. The staff and its record follow:

C. R. Hedlund	4
O. Coover	4
M. Beardslee	4
M. Koehler	3
A. Basky	2 1-2
M. Bash	2
P. Vomvas	2
J. Elchna	2
C. Curtis	2
A. Ehrlich	2
M. Rehl	2
J. Booth	1-2
T. Halligan	1-4
The record by branches is as follows:	
Minneapolis	8
New York	7 3-4
Pittsburgh	4
Youngstown	4
Chicago	2 1-2
Philadelphia	2
Miscellaneous	2

to approach as many bosses as possible and to ask them to allow their workers to join the union without having any conditions in mind. As it was reported by one of the organizers "when they sign up plenty of shops, they'll declare a strike for conditions." A fine policy! It seems they have learned a good lesson from the fakers in the A. F. of L. who with just such a policy and with the aid of the Bosses Association organized local 302 of the countermen, used as a scab agency and as injunction servers against the RWIU.

Our "revolutionary" tactics within the union have helped to strengthen this local. For instance, the same methods of expulsion used by the fakers of the A. F. of L. against the Communists are being applied against militant union men who dare criticize the bureaucrats. In many cases, workers were fired by the bosses for upholding the union conditions without being protected by the organization under the pretext that we are not strong enough to resist. This attitude made the workers passive and gave the bosses a chance to hire help from employment agencies. Finally many workers from the industrial union and many shops as a whole fell into the hands of the A. F. of L.

Even members of the shop delegates' council, who are elected by the membership, were expelled from the council and branded as destructive elements for the same reasons mentioned above. The result of the bureaucraticism is that in the last four or five months not a single meeting of the shop delegates' council, executive or membership meeting has been held that was not broken up with fist fights. Party and faction decisions are considered by the workers as something against their interests. The party member realize this. But decisions from above must be carried out.

On the united front, the most important problem that the labor movement faces today, nothing is being done of actual value. A united front conference—"from below"—was held six months ago in which the delegates were members of our own union and 3 or 4, self-appointed. Even for us party members, including from the A. F. of L. and the A. F. W. the leaders, the united front question still remains as an unsolved puzzle.

On the Financial Question

The financial expenses of the union are extremely high, not due to its activities (because for more than a year, outside of the famous mass strike of fish workers, no other activities have been conducted), but because of the heavy staff of organizers. It is almost unbelievable that 7 full and 3 part-time organizers with 3 office girls should have to make up the staff of a union that has no more than 450 to 500 members in good standing. Of course, in a period of organization drives, even a bigger staff is necessary, but in this case, it is a matter of a permanent staff.

In order to balance even the wage expense of the union regularly, heavy assessments were levied on the membership time and again under the pretext that organization drive. This drive never took this money was to be used for the or place. Nor was a report made where the money went and when the initiation fee was finally increased and the amount of dues payment doubled, the whole burden fell on the backs of the workers in the shops whose conditions I have already mentioned above. A few days ago, a "reorganization" took place. But this means nothing. Such "reorganizations" have already taken place several times in the past. There are, besides, many other reasons why the union goes from bad to worse. It would be ridiculous to expect any change from above to remedy this. This task belongs to the sincere party members. Now is the time to act. We must not wait until the union is entirely destroyed.

—A FOODWORKER.

* A programmatic statement on the situation in Foodworkers Industrial Union will appear in *The Militant* shortly. —Ed.

Pioneer Publishers Notes

With the publication of *Problems of the Chinese Revolution* announced elsewhere in this issue, we add another weapon to the arsenal of revolutionary internationalism. The Chinese Revolution of 1925-1927 will be as decisive for us today as the revolution of 1905 was for the movement of the last decade. This new work by comrade Trotsky is the first Marxian analysis of the world shaking events of five years ago. It is indispensable to an understanding of the present situation in the Far East. It is a fundamental contribution to the colonial question.

We have been inexcusably late in getting it out. Now that it is on sale let us make every effort to give it the widest distribution possible. Get orders for it now, at once. Place it in book stores and in libraries. The cloth cover copies should make this fairly easy. And remember that a free copy goes with each one year sub to *The Militant*.

With each day our stock of pamphlets is getting lower. Some of the pamphlets are already out of print. Others are running out of print.

Trotsky Greets 'Unser Kampf'

To the Editorial Committee of the Jewish Paper *UNSER KAMPF* (Organ of the Communist League of America).

Dear Comrades:

The appearance of your paper was of itself a very important step forward. The first successes of the paper show that it was a necessity. Yes, and could it have been doubted even for a minute?

The Jewish workers in the United States are a large and important part of the whole proletariat of the country. Historical conditions have made the Jewish workers susceptible to the ideas of scientific Communism. The very fact of the dispersion of the Jewish workers in a number of countries should instill in them and does instill in them the ideas of internationalism. In view of just this alone the Communist Left Opposition has every reason to count upon a big influence among the Jewish proletarians in the United States. What characterizes the Left Opposition primarily is its profound international character. Precisely because of this it must speak in every national language. The existence of an independent Jewish publication serves not in order to separate the Jewish workers, but on the contrary in order to make those ideas which combine all the workers in one international revolutionary family available to them. You, it is understood, reject decisively and intransigently the old Bundist principle of federation of the national organizations. We stand entirely on the grounds of democratic centralism. The Jewish workers won over by your paper must struggle in the general ranks of the Communist League and the mass organizations of the American proletariat. In so far as your paper will develop and strengthen, it may also assume significance beyond the boundaries of the United States and Canada: in South America the bureaucratic Comintern reflects its link of the proletariat. The policy of rights, the Jewish workers are a weak economic sense and in the sense of civil ica, in Europe and Palestine. In the self most disastrously on the most op-

pressed and disfranchized part of the proletariat: in Poland, in the Baltic regions, in France, evidently also in Palestine. The working class cannot march towards its liberation by command. Revolutionary courage and political will can be strengthened only with the aid of creative ideas which the workers must learn independently through criticism, deliberation and examination by experience. Without this, the very sources of the movement inevitably dry up. And we see in actuality how the largest national sections of the Comintern, in spite of the exceptionally favorable circumstances, suffer defeat after defeat.

The workers are capable of withstanding the harshest political blows if they have the possibility of thinking through the reasons for failure and independently to extract from it all the necessary conclusions for the future. But the curse lies in the fact that the bureaucracy of the Comintern is not only incapable of leading the workers to victory, but cannot even permit them to think through the reasons for defeat. After each new blow of the enemies, the Centrist bureaucracy on its part hits the workers over the skull, prohibiting them from thinking, criticizing and learning. This criminal regime becomes the chief sources of disappointment and apathy. The first victims of the blows from the class enemy as well as from the Centrist bureaucracy fall, as already said, are the weakest links of the working class.

Your paper is the organ of the Communist League. Its immediate task is to gather the Jewish workers in America under the banner of Marx and Lenin. The more successfully this work is carried out the sooner it will rise to an international height, the more the ideas of the Left Opposition will penetrate into the midst of the Jewish workers of the Old World, the U. S. S. R. included.

With my whole heart I greet your paper and I shall try to be useful in your work with everything I can.

Yours,

—L. TROTSKY.

Prinkipo, May 9, 1932.

The Crisis, Unemployment and the Workers

(Continued from page 1)

zation of capital. It caused an enormous extension of the scale of production and of overproduction of capital. The general process of capitalist production brings forward ever more its antagonisms of monopoly, developed productive forces and the poverty and restricted consumption of the masses. In this process, the credit system accelerates the violent eruptions of these antagonisms, the crisis.

"The stupendous productive power developing under the capitalist mode of production relatively to population, and the increase, though not in the same proportion, of capital values (not their material substance), which grow much more rapidly than the population, contradict the basis, which, compared to the expanding wealth, is ever narrowing and for which this immense productive power works, and the conditions, under which capital augments its value. This is the cause of crises." (Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, page 313.)

In the light of the above it should now prove interesting to examine the present level of percentages of capacity production reached after two and a half years duration of the crisis. The New York Times index for the first quarter of 1932 gives the following results:

Industry	February	March	April
Pig Iron production	31.5	27.9	24.9
Steel Ingot	31.1	26.4	25.0
Electric Power	73.1	72.4	71.3
Bituminous Coal	62.5	74.5	71.3
Automobile	33.5	27.4	80.3
Boot and Shoe	90.7	96.6	91.0
Zinc	41.9	41.3	40.1
Cotton consumption	71.5	73.2	58.8
Freight car loadings	61.7	60.1	58.2
For the combined business index, of which the estimated "normal" is 100, we get the following figures:			
Combined business	62.6	61.6	57.2

Truly, the stupendous productive power developed under the capitalist mode of production contradicts the basis, and the conditions under which capital augments its value. And it is not altogether unnatural that the New York Times comments cynically in an editorial, of Sunday, June 5th, entitled—*This Crisis and Others*—"The break-down is permanent. The sharply curtailed consumption today is not primarily a reflex of a distress cut in income but a return to the 'natural' level (sic!). The unemployment figures of today are not emergency figures. They register the permanent effect of our triumphs in industrial efficiency, in methods and machines (hear, hear). Taking care of perhaps 8,000,000 persons out of work is a big problem, but one that can be solved if it is a temporary problem. But what the country must now look forward to is this huge mass of idle workers as a permanent feature of our economic life. Such is the fatal difference 'in kind' today."

Yes, this is the salient point of the crisis today and for the future prospects. The New York Times wants to warn its bourgeois readers. We must similarly warn the working class to draw its own conclusions.

We would not accept the above unemployment figure as accurate. In reality it is surely a good deal larger than that. Exact figures are not available. The bourgeois government fears to have such a computation made. But the index figures published by the Department of Labor give us somewhat of an idea. Its index figures are based upon returns from eighty-nine industries since the

end of 1930 and on fifty-four for the earlier dates given. They compare as follows for April this year with April of previous years, with the average for the full year 1928 reckoned as 100:

April, 1932.....	62.2
April, 1931.....	75.7
April, 1930.....	69.1
April, 1929.....	90.1
April, 1928.....	101.0
April, 1927.....	110.8

In this connection it will be well to also note the fall in the total payroll from the same index, covering the same industries and the same months. It will be useful for our further analysis. The payrolls for April compare as follows:

April, 1932.....	44.7
April, 1931.....	68.5
April, 1930.....	89.8
April, 1929.....	104.6
April, 1928.....	101.5
April, 1927.....	106.7

There is shown here an ominous disparity in the much greater drop in total payroll when compared to the drop in employment. This is indicative for the future working class prospects. A permanent, huge unemployed army and a reduced standard of living. But what the working class will do in this situation still remains the decisive question.

The return to the "natural" level, as the New York Times so cynically puts it, embodies these prospects for the American working class. The return aims to restore confidence, within capitalism, in the continuity of the process of reproduction, to extend the market and to restore a rate of profit on existing capital on this "natural" basis. But capitalism produces for an unknown market. And, the contradictions between the expansion of capital and the market limitations leads to ever deeper crises.

Capitalist production, as a continuous connected process, first of all produces and reproduces the capitalist relations. Henceforth these will be the relations of yet greater concentration of capital—means of production which serve as capital, serve for the exploitation of labor—with greater intensity of exploitation and with an ever growing section of the workers in enforced idleness.

"The real barrier of capitalist production is capital itself. It is the fact that capital and its self-expansion appear as the starting and closing point, as the motive and aim of production; that production is merely production for capital, and not vice versa, the means of production mere means for an ever expanding system of the life process for the benefit of the society of producers." (Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, page 208.)

—ARNE SWABECK.

(Note: Another article on the Crisis, Unemployment and the Working Class, particularly dealing with the present of efforts for expansion of credits, will appear in the next issue of *The Militant* —Ed.)

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RUSSIA: MARKET OR MENACE?

By Thomas D. Campbell

Longmans, Green and Co.
New York, Toronto and London 1932.
148 pages.

The appearance of this book urging American business men to develop trade with the Soviet Union by the extension of long-term credits, and eventual legal recognition, makes it instructive to draw a balance of the present state of this question in the ranks of the working class and its vanguard.

Mr. Campbell is a large scale agricultural capitalist, owner of a 95,000 acre farm at Hardin, Montana, a Mechanical and Agricultural Engineer, special expert and adviser to the Soviet Government in 1929-1930 in the development of large scale Soviet farm organization.

He marshals arguments convincing if only from the purely business point of view; for extension of credits: (1) "It has, during the past fourteen years paid all its obligations promptly and in full"; (2) "For many years to come Russia will be the world's greatest consumers' market for all kinds of manufactured goods"; (3) "It will relieve American depression"; (4) "American banking and financial institutions... have sold to the American public since the war, two and a half billion dollars of German securities, a portion of which have been used by the Germans to extend credit to Russia." (5) "Germany has received a flood of orders from Russia including \$75,000,000 worth of industrial equipment since April 15, 1931." (6) Stable Government. "It is my opinion that Russia would not now be the important nation she is, if Joseph Stalin and his supporters had not succeeded in displacing the more violent revolutionists of the Trotsky type... Stalin is a strategist of another sort, a man who can advance or retreat, thrust or parry, denounce or defend, and still advancing towards his ultimate goal." The American bourgeoisie will agree with him.

These arguments and others are advanced by Campbell to assure timid business men that trade with Russia is a good business proposition, repeating again and again that he is firmly opposed to Communism in any form.

That Campbell represents a live view among certain strata of American manufacturers is attested to by the recent resolutions of the Toledo and Cleveland Chambers of Commerce, basing themselves on a three million dollar loss of orders from the Soviet Union due to the "short-sighted diplomatic policy" of the government, they want an immediate cessation of playing with this question, and demand recognition of the Soviet Union as a basis for revival of certain American industries.

The cry has been taken up by the Democrats in their anti-administration propaganda and proposals have come before congress. It may become a substantial secondary campaign issue in the coming elections.

The slogan of long-term credits and trade with the Soviet Union has a powerful political appeal to workers suffering unemployment in the present crisis. There is no question of the response that the Communist party and its auxiliaries got, after they reluctantly adopted this "counter-revolutionary" slogan. Because of their hesitant, "tongue-in-the-cheek" policy, however, there has been no real effort to build on this key slogan. Abstract and pacifist slogans of "Defend the Soviet Union" type have been substituted.

In spite of the obvious effectiveness of this slogan in connecting up the fight against capitalist misery directly with the cause of the Workers Republic, little progress has been made in the ranks of the American workers. It still remains for certain business men's groups to take the lead in this question, motivated by real loss of orders, shut-down of their plants, and panic at the extent of the crisis. How silly the bureaucratic "arguments" about this slogan lending aid to the capitalists in stabilizing their industry. As if credits for the Five Year Plan program would eliminate the gigantic contradictions of chaos and glut in the capitalist market.

A most astounding revelation in this book is the lengths to which Stalin has gone in his false "strategy" of "deceiving the bourgeoisie." While secret negotiations take place with capitalist magnates and diplomats for recognition and extension of credits as, for example, behind the scenes at Geneva, Sokolnikov in London and Bogdanov of the Amtorg in New York, in these manipulations behind the backs of the workers, the principles of the movement are bartered for a possible recognition or a possible extension of credits. That explains Litvinov's defection in signing the Kellogg Pact. Not the bourgeoisie but the workers are thus deceived as to the aims of the Workers Republic in the international class war.

But aside from disastrous consequences of the false theory of national socialism in world politics, you have the petty "deception" of the world bourgeoisie thru the medium of Stalin's interviews—the famous "twofold" policy, talking with one face to the workers and another to the bosses, and occasionally getting the faces mixed.

Campbell reports: "He (Stalin) unhesitatingly admitted, with disarming frankness, that under Trotsky there had been an attempt to spread Communism throughout the world. He said that was the primary cause of the break between him, self and Trotsky. That Trotsky believed in universal Communism while he wanted to confine his efforts to his own country. He explained that they had neither the time nor the money to try to communize the world, even should they wish to do so, and that his own chief interest was to improve the conditions of the people in Russia, without any international

:Book Review:

ence whatsoever from the government of other countries."

That this is an authentic statement can be shown by the following fact: "Upon leaving, he told me that the interpreter would prepare a typewritten copy of our conversation, which I received two weeks later in London, signed 'J. Stalin', and with this note—'Keep this record, it may be a very historical document some day.' (What arrogant conceit!)"

Are the bourgeoisie really fooled by these utterances? Note the wave of editorial irony in the capitalist newspapers about Stalin's back to capitalism (sic) movement in the questions of the new decree on individual sale of cattle and grain and the piece work system in the factories. They place a correct evaluation on Stalin's interviews and "twofold" propaganda.

And finally, let us examine the views of the author himself, who so earnestly extols the virtues of Stalinist leadership. "Communism" he says. "Thrives only in dark places, the cesspools of the world... (despite the depression) the producers of America's manufactured goods were loth to deal with Russia. They held aloof during those first years after the revolution WHEN RUSSIA WAS DOMINATED BY RADICALS OF THE MOST PERNICIOUS BREED, who threatened to overthrow our government and those of the other great nations. Years before the financial crash of 1929, the militant advocates of world revolution have been banished from Russia and expelled from the Communist party which rules Russia's 160 million people"

Oh! What a tangled web we weave, "When first we practice to deceive," —CARL COWL.

FILM REVIEW

NOT "ALONE" COMRADE!

The film, "Alone", produced by Sovkino of the U. S. S. R. and shown at present at the Cameo Theatre, is a significant portrayal of life in Soviet Russia, not in the heroic days of the Revolution, but at the present time, in the days of struggle against the kulaks and nepmen. Briefly told the story depicts the bleak but enlightening experience of an immature girl just out of Normal School who is sent most unwillingly to teach the children of a backward tribe away off at the edge of civilization in the Altai region of Siberia.

Here a village Soviet exists but we are made quickly and convincingly aware that although forms have changed, the underlying reality has not. The rich kulak who has divided his large flock of sheep forming the wealth of this region, among his "poor relatives" (the usual fiction), still wields the power. He uses the very Soviet to exploit the work-shepherds, helped along by the lazy and inefficient bureaucrat assigned as head of the Soviet.

The young Moscow girl, at first bewildered through lack of experience, comes soon to a realization of actualities, particularly when the nepman-kulak invades the class-room to withdraw the older children to make them tend the flock. She comes into conflict with the crafty kulak and when he attempts to slaughter the sheep, the main source of food supply for the village, for his own private profit, her appeal to the head of the Soviet being unavailing, since he has no "instructions", she decides to appeal to the higher-ups at the provincial center. Here she makes the mistake of accepting the help of the class-enemy who offers to drive her in his sleigh and she finds herself deserted, alone, in the trackless waste of snow. However she is found and against the opposition of the bureaucrat the village poor sent an appeal for help to save her life. An aeroplane does the rest. Meantime the village poor are aroused and force the regeneration of the Soviet by holding elections and casting out the bureaucrat.

We are informed that this picture of conditions as they now exist kindled a heated discussion in Moscow. Criticism was levelled at the playing up of a "star" as against the picturing of the "masses". Nevertheless, after the usual preview before selected workers to decide whether the film should be released to the Russian masses, these workers voted favorably on it as giving a true picture. In spite of which, the Cameo billboards repeat an announcement that this picture will probably never be seen publicly in Russia.

May we not conclude that the criticism as to "star" technique is just a wee bit disingenuous? That actually the bureaucrats felt more than uncomfortable under its too direct exposure of how, although they are not counter-revolutionaries, they play directly into the hands of the class enemies?

Yes, aimed at bureaucracy in Siberia, it struck home in Moscow as the workers could not fail to understand. No, the film must not be allowed to give aid and comfort to the Left Opposition! It is too symbolic of our own struggle for the regeneration of the Soviets. We heartily recommend the film to party comrades.

—J. WEBER.

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IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

A Letter From England

LONDON, ENGLAND

No doubt you have already heard of the expulsion of J. T. Murphy from the Communist Party of Great Britain. Since the struggle between Murphy and the political bureau of the party began over the question of credits to the Soviet Union, details of the discussion which led to J. T. Murphy's resignation and subsequent expulsion may be of interest to American comrades.

It must be remembered that Murphy is an old member of the party and has been for years on the central committee. He was for two years the British party's Comintern representative, one of the ablest men—maintaining all due proportions produced by the British party, an effective speaker and writer and a capable politician. Murphy was, moreover, foremost in the fight against "Trotskyism". He wrote the preface to the English edition of the "Errors of Trotskyism" and at the party's convention of 1927 moved the resolution endorsing Trotsky's expulsion from the party. It will be seen that J. T. Murphy has an excellent record in the service of Stalin.

In the April number of the *Communist Review*, Murphy advanced the slogan of "Credits to the Soviet Union". He prefaced this with a vicious attack on the Left Opposition and, having cleared himself of any suspicion in this direction, proceeded to argue that the slogan of "Credits" would be an effective weapon to aid the Soviet Union. The article appeared. Nothing was said. The May issue of the *Communist Review* contained no suggestion that there was any disagreement save that Murphy was no longer editor.

Then, on May 11, there appeared a statement in the *Daily Worker* that Murphy was expelled for the propagation of "anti-working class views and the desertion of the working class fight against war, starvation and repression at a decisively critical stage in the class struggle". Murphy's arguments were that the more credits we could obtain, the more trade there would be between Britain and Russia, the less inclined the capitalists would be to declare war on the Soviet Union. The political bureau correctly drew attention to certain statements in the article which would weaken the agitation against the war menace. But on the central point of the quarrel the political bureau was silent. They avoided any definite statements on whether or not the slogan of "Credits" was correct. All they did was to point

to Manchuria and scream about war, to say that such a slogan was not needed at this stage and to condemn Murphy for "moving nearer to the position of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists".

Murphy has since published articles in the socialist press, admitting that he did advance arguments which tended to cover up the danger of war. His articles fail to explain why the discussion conducted between himself and the political bureau was kept secret and why, when attacked, he resigned from the party. The discussion commenced, according to Murphy, in March if not earlier. The article in which he openly advocated credits appeared in April. All those C. C. members who are now rushing into print to denounce Murphy saw it and read it and by their silence accepted it until told by the secretariat—Rust and Pollitt—to do otherwise. For over two months the political bureau and Murphy concealed their differences from the membership and only Murphy's resignation forced the matter into the open. Not open struggle, not education of the membership by open political discussion, but diplomatic correspondence and the covering up of differences within the leadership—this is the line of the political bureau and Murphy.

Murphy started by accepting the theory of "socialism in one country" and built up his arguments for the "Credits" slogan on it. As a result, his tree bore reformist fruits. The political bureau, in reply, avoided the question. The U. S. S. R. needs credits, is at this moment

negotiating for them, but the political bureau believes with Stalin that diplomatic negotiation can secure more than mass pressure. This, they say, is a matter for the Soviet diplomats—keep the workers out of this.

It is here that our group of the Left Opposition takes up the matter. Making use of comrade Trotsky's pamphlet—*Unemployment and the Five Year Plan*—we are urging in the party that such a slogan can be an effective part of our immediate struggle. Those who argue that the U. S. S. R. is independent of world economy are going to find it very difficult to explain why the Soviet Union is negotiating credits and why we cannot advance it as a main slogan in the present stage of the struggle. But then, clear explanations and the honest facing of political issues is not the strong point of the party leadership. Molotov, Stalin have spoken—means must be found to agree.

—ANGLICUS.

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Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition

The Anglo-Russian Committee and the British General Strike

(Continued from last issue)

The Test of Events

The first really serious test of the Anglo-Russian Committee was the British general strike of 1926 which broke out in the midst of the great miners' strike. Just as metals are best tested in heat, so all the assurances of friendship for Russia, of loyalty to British labor and enmity to British imperialism, freely given by Purcell and Co., were subjected to a decisive test in the flames of the general strike. And just as the Opposition had warned, the British General Council, its Left wing as well as its Right wing, revealed its disgraceful cowardice and treachery, its fundamental loyalty to British imperialism, its hatred and fear of the revolutionary proletariat. After nine days of the general strike, in which a revolutionary situation was engendered, in which the strength of the ruling class rested not so much upon its immediate ranks as it did in the strength which the labor leaders, Left and Right, enjoyed in the working class, the General Council deliberately delivered the death blow to the general strike and to the miners whom all the other workers had struck to defend. In face of the extremely militant mood of the workers, in face of the pitiful helplessness of the bourgeoisie, in face of such phenomena as the refusal of numerous armed regiments to proceed against the strikers, all the trade union lackeys of the ruling class rushed to the government buildings to confer with the king's ministers on how to crush the movement. The "red" veneer with which the "Left" labor leaders had coated themselves was wiped off in a patriotic frenzy. The financial aid sent the striking miners from Russia was indignantly returned with the epithet of "the damned Russian gold". The red flag was hastily dropped for the Union Jack. Purcell and Co. proved to be not the "organizational center that embraces the international forces of the proletariat for the struggle", but a most reliable prop of a desperate ruling class. Had the whole affair been played out according to the plot of a stage drama, it could not have presented a more annihilating indictment of the Stalinist view and confirmation of the Opposition's.

And where was the Committee as a whole during these stirring days of magnificent struggle and base treachery? As Kautsky said plaintively about his Second International: it was only an instrument of peace: in times of acute conflict, it was worthless.

More correctly, it was worthless to the revolutionists, to Soviet Russia. But to the British labor fakery it had a distinct value. Purcell, Hicks, Swales and Citrine utilized to the maximum the prestige accruing to them out of their formal and inexpensive collaboration with the Bolshevik representatives in the Anglo-Russian Committee. Instead of helping to emancipate the British masses from the chains of their false leaders, the A. R. C. served these leaders as a "Bolshevik" shield from the blows of the rank and file, and particularly of the British Communists. Purcell could easily defend his treason from the attacks of "his own" Communists by saying: "The Russian Communists are different, as you see, they do not attack me as you do. Quite the contrary, they sit together with us in friendly conference.

The Demands of the Opposition
What did the Opposition demand? That

the prestige enjoyed among the British workers by the A. R. C. and by its Russian half in particular should be utilized to expose the treason of the British leaders. It demanded a demonstrative break with Purcell and Co. because of their open betrayal, so that the latter could no longer hide behind the Russian trade unions. Stalin and Bucharin violently opposed the break—the same Stalin and his apparatus (it seems incredible) who today consider it a crime to propose a united front not only to the Purcellists but even to the ordinary, misguided "social fascist" worker who still follows the Purcellists.

The Committee was now beginning to be justified by Bucharin and Co. on the grounds of "political", of "Soviet", of "diplomatic" requirements. And it is allegedly on this basis that a disgraceful "united front" was maintained with Purcell and Co. for more than a year after the abominable betrayal of the general strike! The Anglo-Russian Committee, it was argued, would prevent British intervention against Russia and thereby enable the Soviet republic . . . to build up socialism undisturbed. This fatal tragedy was played until the Berlin Committee conference in April 1927. What was accomplished then? Did the Committee protest the bombardment of Nanking by British imperialism? No! Did it protest the British raid on Arcos in London? No! Did it say a word about the treachery of its British half during the general strike and the miners' strike? No! Then what did it do? It adopted a resolution in which the Russians declare together with the Englishmen:

1. "The only representatives and spokesmen of the trade union movement are the Congress of the British Trade Unions and its General Council;

2. "Esteems, at the same time, that the fraternal union between the trade union movements of the two countries, in-

Trotsky on the Labor Party Question

I have reread the theses of the Second Conference of the American League concerning the question of the Labor Party. I find it excellent in every part and I subscribe to it with both hands. I find it necessary to emphasize my full agreement with those theses all the more as my interview to the New York Times of March 1932 gave rise to misunderstanding and misinterpretation, especially on the part of the Lovestone group.

1. What was my idea on the "Labor Party" in that statement? I stated that American politics will be Europeanized in the sense that the inevitable and imminent development of a party of the working class will totally change the political face of the U. S. This is a commonplace for a Marxist. The question was not of a "Labor Party" in the specific British sense of that word but in the general European sense without designating what form such a party would take or what phases it would go through. There was not the slightest necessity in that interview to enter into the internal tactical differences within the Communist ranks. The translation of my interview from the Russian text, which employs the words "rabochaya partiya", into the English was defective in that it permitted one to make a concrete and specific interpretation of what should have been general.

2. One can declare that even the general term "party of the working class" does not exclude a "Labor Party" in the British sense. Be that as it may,

However, such an eventuality has nothing to do with a precise tactical question. We can admit hypothetically that the American trade union bureaucracy will be forced, under certain historical conditions, to initiate the British trade union bureaucracy in creating a kind of party based upon the trade unions. But that eventuality, which appears to me to be very problematical, does not constitute an aim for which the Communists must strive and on which one must concentrate the attention of the proletarian vanguard.

3. A long period of confusion in the Comintern led many people to forget a very simple but absolutely irrevocable principle: that a Marxist, a proletarian revolutionist, cannot present himself before the working class with two banners. He cannot say at a workers' meeting: I have a ticket for a first class party and another, cheaper ticket for the backward workers. If I am a Communist, I must fight for the Communist party.

4. One can say that under the American conditions a "Labor Party" in the British sense would be a progressive step and by recognizing this and stating so, we ourselves, even though indirectly, help to establish such a party. But that is precisely the reason I will never assume the responsibility to affirm abstractly and dogmatically that the creation of a "Labor Party" would be a "progressive step" even in the United States because I do not know under what circumstances, under what guidance, and for what purposes that party would be created. It seems to me more probable that especially in America, which does not possess any important traditions of independent political action by the working class (as Chartism in England, for example) and where the trade union bureaucracy is more reactionary and corrupted than it was at the height of the British Empire, the creation of a "Labor Party" could be provoked only by mighty revolutionary pressure from the working masses and by the growing threat of Communism. It is absolutely clear that under these conditions the Labour Party would signify, not a progressive step but a hindrance to the progressive evolution of the working class.

5. In what form the party of the working class will become a genuine mass party in the United States in the immediate future we cannot prophesy because the socialist and "Labor" parties differ greatly in the various countries, even in Europe. In Belgium, for example, we see an intermediary sort of party arise. Certainly the phases of development of the proletarian party in America will be sui generis (unique). We can only affirm with the greatest assurance: Especially since the U. S., in the period from 1921 to 1924 has already had an important rehearsal in the creation of a "Labor" or "Farmer-Labor" Party, a resurrection of a similar movement cannot be a simple repetition of that experience but a far more pregnant and more crystallized movement, i. e., either under the guidance of the revolutionary Communist party or under the guidance of reformist elements against the growing Communist party. And if even in 1921-1924 the Communist party did not act and great possibilities for independent action inside the organization of an inchoate "Labor Party" it would have less possibility in the new phase of an analogous movement.

6. One can imagine that the trade union bureaucracy and its socialist and left democratic advisers may show themselves to be more perspicacious and begin the formation of a "Labor Party" before the revolutionary movement becomes too threatening. In view of the growing empiricism and provincial narrowness of the American labor bureaucracy and the aristocracy of labor, such perspicacity seems very improbable. The failure of such an attempt in the past shows us that the bureaucracy, so tenacious in its immediate aims, is absolutely incapable of systematic political action on a great scale even in the interests of capitalist society. The bureaucracy must receive a blow on the skull before taking such a "radical" initiative. However, if the creation of a "Labor Party" would prevent, in a certain period great successes of Communism, our elementary duty must be, not to proclaim the progressiveness of the "Labor Party" but its insufficiency, ambiguity, and limitedness and its historical role as a hindrance to the proletarian revolution.

Must we join that "Labor Party" or remain outside? This is not a question of principle but of circumstances and possibilities. The question itself has arisen from the experience of the British Communists with the "Labor Party" and that experience has served far more the "Labor Party" than the Communists. It is evident that the possibility of participating in a "Labor Party" movement and of utilizing it would be greater in the period of its inception, that is, in the period when the party is not a party but an amorphous political mass movement. That we must participate in it at that time and with the greatest energy is without question, but not to help form a "Labor Party" which will exclude us and fight against us but to push the progressive elements of the movement more and more to the left by our activity and propaganda. I know this seems too simple for

the great new school which searches everywhere for some method that goes over its feeble head.

8. To consider a "Labor Party" as an integrated series of united fronts signifies a misunderstanding of the notions both of the united front and of the party. The united front is determined by concrete circumstances, for concrete aims. The party is permanent. In a united front we leave our hands free to break with our temporary allies. In a common party with these allies we are bound by discipline and even by the fact of the party itself. The experience of the Kuo Min Tang and of the Anglo-Russian Committee must be well understood. The strategic line dictated by the lack of a spirit of independence of the Communist party and by the desire to enter into the "big" party (Kuo Min Tang, "Labor Party") produced inevitably all the consequences of the opportunist adaptation to the will of the allies, and through them, to that of the enemy. We must educate our cadres to believe in the invincibility of the Communist idea and in the future of the Communist party. The parallel struggle for another party inevitably produces in their minds, a duality and turns them on the road of opportunism.

9. The policy of the united front has not only its great advantages but its limits and its dangers as well. The united front, even in the form of temporary blocs, often impels one to opportunist deviations which are frequently fatal, as for example, with Brandier in 1923. That danger becomes absolutely predominant in a situation in which the so-called Communist party becomes a part of a "Labor Party" created by the grace of the propaganda and action of the Communist party itself.

10. That the "Labor Party" can become an arena of successful struggle for us and that the "Labor Party", created as a barrier to Communism can, under certain circumstances, strengthen the Communist party is true, but only under the condition that we consider the "Labor Party" not as "our" party but as an arena in which we are acting as an absolutely independent Communist party.

11. All the resolutions about the British Labor Party must be evaluated not as they were written before the experience of the Comintern and the British Communist Party in that regard, but in the light of that experience. The attempt to apply them mechanically now, in 1932, to the American conditions, is characteristic of the epigones' mind and has nothing to do with Marxism and Leninism.

12. It is not necessary to say that the idea of a Farmer-Labor party is a treacherous mockery of Marxism. Prinkipo, May 19, 1932.

—L. TROTSKY.

June "Young Spartacus" Out

The June issue of the *Young Spartacus* is off the press. Among its contents are: Japan's War Threat to Soviet Union. Growth of the Fascist Danger in Germany.

A unity appeal of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) to the Young Communist League.

On Memorial Day and National Youth Day
On International coordination of Left Opposition Youth
Reports of activities of American Opposition Youth
Students struggle against increased fees.

Child Labor Legislation
Review of Foster's Towards Soviet America.

Comrade Trotsky's Appeal to the C. C. of the Soviet Union
The comrades should order bundles of this issue and distribute them to young workers and students. It is particularly necessary to reach the members of the Young Communist League with our unity appeal.

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The National Youth Committee at a recent meeting decided to launch a campaign for the issuance of an eight page *Young Spartacus* by September. This can be done if the youth and adult comrades will cooperate.

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N. Y. SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB MEETS

The New York Spartacus Youth Club meets each Friday evening, 8:00 P. M., at the Stuyvesant Casino, 9th Street and Second Avenue. At these meetings a short business agenda is combined with a discussion on current questions or historical and theoretical problems. A beach party is being planned for the near future.

Young workers and students are invited to attend and participate in these discussions. If more information is desired it can be obtained from the Club president, Herbert Capelis, 34 E. 10th Street, New York City.

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On the Slogan of "Rank and File Leadership"

Some questions have arisen about the remarks in a recent issue of *The Militant* on the slogan of "Rank and File Leadership" which deserve a somewhat extended answer. The idea has been expressed that this slogan of the Stalinists really has some merits, that in reality it is only a restatement of the old demand of the Left wing for trade union democracy, and that in any case the slogan is not wrong in principle. In our opinion such views are entirely erroneous in all respects, and only add to the confusion. And since the matter has a considerable importance—nothing will bring quicker disaster than a false direction in the trade union struggle—another attempt to clarify the issue will be worth while. The negative manner in which the slogan was discussed in the previous treatment, without reference to an alternative formulation, also came in for criticism and perhaps gave ground for misunderstanding. The present article, therefore, will undertake to deal with the latest trade union slogan of the Stalinists in a more rounded fashion and suggest a positive alternative.

ANARCHIST CONCEPTION OF LEADERSHIP

Is "rank and file leadership" a new demand of the Left wing or is it simply the restatement of an old one? There are two answers to this question. It is an old idea that permeated the needle trades Left wing more or less before the emergence of the Communist leadership. But its advocacy by Communists is something new—one of the many Stalinist "innovations" which are in reality borrowed from anti-Marxist schools. Before the rise of the Communist influence in the needle trades the Left wing was heavily tainted with the prejudices of anarchism and syndicalism in their various forms. The I. W. W., defeated organizationally in the needle trades, succeeded nevertheless in grafting a part of its ideology onto the militant section of the rank and file. The brilliant idea of "no leaders," of the rank and file leading the rank and file—which is just another way of saying "rank and file leadership"—gained a certain sympathy from the workers who were in revolt against the bureaucracy.

The leaders of the "company union" did not begin their treacherous work yesterday. The workers had good reason to learn about it even before 1919. The old movement against the bureaucrats, which had not yet thought out its problems and formulated a clear program, had a tendency to identify the idea of leadership with the ruling clique and had to a certain extent fell victim to nihilistic conceptions on the question of leadership as preached by the anarchists and the I. W. W. In this respect, but in no other, it can be said that "rank and file leadership" is an old slogan of the needle trades Left wing.

But ten years or more ago the Communists came to the front and soon gained the decisive leadership of the Left wing movement by virtue of their superior policy. One of the first positive steps of the Communist Left wing was to clear up the muddled ideology of the movement and sweep out the anarchistic rubbish which had paralyzed the struggles and strengthened the position of the reactionary bureaucrats. Rank and file demagoguery and formlessness in the domain of organization gave place to the conception of democratic centralism. The old and outworn reformist method of workers' organization makes an artificial division between the masses of the membership on the one side and the ruling bureaucrats on the other. This state of affairs created the conditions for anti-leadership prejudices to gain a foothold. The Lenin idea of democratic centralism fuses the leaders with the masses and removes any ground for contrasting the one to the other. This idea gained the hegemony in the Left wing, and was one of the most important reasons why its fighting capacities grew by leaps and bounds. From a chaos revolving around one spot the Left wing became a real contender for power in the unions, and in some cases achieved it.

In its struggle to break the backbone of the bureaucracy which was throttling the unions the Communist Left wing advanced along the line of principle in all questions, including the organization question. This was its strength. The Communists formulated their fighting slogans precisely and accurately, and in consonance with a general theory of organization. Confronted, then as now, with the sabotaging role of the bureaucrats in strikes, they did not attempt to leap over the difficulty by denying the necessity of an official leadership. On the contrary, they formulated a general demand applicable to the union as a whole, and a subordinate one, consistent with it, applicable to the management of strikes.

HISTORY OF THE SLOGAN

On the one hand the Communist Left wing raised the demand for honest, militant leaders in the union in place of the corrupt, reactionary fakers. In harmony with that, and consistent with the organization program which the Left wing would apply when it gained the control of the union, it demanded the democratization of the union, and particularly of the strike machinery. (At that time, you see, the Left wing was not conducting a temporary excursion into the reactionary unions; it was aiming to conquer them, step by step, and it formulated its slogans accordingly.) The Left wing did not bluster about rank and file "leadership"; it demanded rank and file control. Moreover, it formulated this demand precisely, so that everyone could understand just what was meant.

In the program adopted at the Third

Conference of the Needle Trades Left wing, September 12-14, 1925 the idea is expressed as follows:

"It is only through a strike machinery thoroughly representative of the workers in the shops that the membership can effectively be mobilized for strike activity. . . . Therefore, foremost of our immediate aims during strikes is the democratization of the strike machinery. We therefore demand, pending the democratization of the whole union machinery as provided in this program: (1) that the general strike committees and heads of the strike be elected by the delegates and chairmen from the shops and responsible to them; (2) that all strike assessments be collected as legally due to this strike committee, to be expended only for strike purposes; (3) that secret diplomacy be done away with and negotiations with the employers be conducted on an open basis."

Have these demands, so clear, so precise and so consistent with the whole general program of the Left wing for the renovation of the union on the basis of democratic centralism anything in common with the latter day mumbling about rank and file "leadership" of strikes? Are the Stalinists perhaps now saying, or trying to say, the same thing in a different way?

CONTROL OF LEADERSHIP?

In reply to this question it is only necessary to ask: If they mean the same thing that the Left wing meant in 1925, then why did they change the precise and correct formulation of that time for the present self-contradictory mish-mash? The reason for the change is clear enough: the aims are different now and the slogan has a different meaning. In 1925 the Left wing was fighting inside the union with the aim of wresting it out of the stranglehold of the reactionaries. In 1932 the Left wing, under the influence of the proconsuls of Stalin, are still monkeying around with the theory of "company unionism" and are searching for some kind of strike organization outside the existing union.

The fact that they hit upon a slogan that has no real sense or meaning, and that flatly contradicts Marxist conceptions of organization in favor of Wobblism, is nothing to be surprised at. They always do something like this when they experiment with "theory". A short while ago it was "independent leadership of strike struggles". After they had cracked their heads on the rocks with this formula, they quietly dropped it. Now, with a "new" slogan, which is quite different in appearance, they are attempting to accomplish the same design that failed before, namely, to find a substitute for the existing union in the midst of a strike regardless of the attitude of the majority of the workers.

Under pressure of the criticism we have brought against the slogan of rank and file leadership, and no doubt also stimulated by the poor reception it has received from the "rank and file", attempts are being made to interpret the slogan in a different way than was originally intended. Rose Wortis, for example, who strives to avoid obvious absurdities when the Party bosses are not watching, speaks in the *Daily Worker* for May 31st about "a real strike for union conditions under rank and file control." (Our emphasis.)

Thus it would appear, according to the Wortis version, that rank and file leadership and rank and file control are synonymous expressions. But this is by no means the case, either in the field of organization or in the dictionary. In every democratic organization the ultimate control of the rank and file is presupposed; but the selection of the leadership and its functions remain a separate question. Only those who deny the role of leadership can solve the problem for themselves by a reference to "control". Wortis, for example, was a leader, but three-fourths of her leadership consisted in maneuvers to escape this "rank and file control" she talks about.

ROLE OF LEADERSHIP IN STRIKES AND UNIONS

"Leadership is a necessary condition for any common action," says the resolution of the Third World Congress of the Comintern. This principle, which does not at all exclude rank and file control of the leadership, implies however a selection of persons for leading functions. And it has the same force whether the persons selected are professional leaders or rank and file workers elevated to leading positions or committees. In every organization and in every action the question arises at once, and inescapably: Who is going to lead? You can answer, this group or that group; this committee or another. But if you wish to be taken seriously, do not say the rank and file is going to lead the rank and file. And do not try to pass the problem off with a statement that the rank and file will control. That is not the same thing.

In every organization certain persons are selected for leading functions or committees. By that fact they become "leaders", regardless of whether they have had previous experience or not. Such leaders, under the principle of democratic centralism, are inseparably fused with the rank and file, they are accountable to and controlled by the rank and file. This is understandable to anyone. But to confuse the leadership with the mass, or to contrast one to the other as the slogan of rank and file leadership does, presents a muddle which no one can understand and for which everyone can have his own interpretation.

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM IN UNIONS

Leadership is one thing, control of the leadership is another. Democratic or-

ganization means, in the last analysis, rank and file control. But the Communists who think things out and formulate their ideas clearly do not speak merely of democracy. The organization form they advocate is democratic centralism. And what does that mean? On the one hand it means democracy in the organization. On the other hand—as against the anarchistic and I. W. W. idea of "no leaders"—it means a recognition of the function of leadership. This leadership, in the Communist conception is not some kind of a clerical staff or information bureau. It is invested with real functions and powers, that is, it is given the possibility to lead. But—and herein lies the distinction from bureaucratism—the leadership is selected by the rank and file, is responsible to and, in the final analysis, is controlled by the rank and file. Democratic centralism, the Communist organization principle, therefore presupposes rank and file control, but excludes confusionist and demagogic demands for rank and file leadership. The 1925 program of the needle trades Left wing was permeated through and through with this rounded conception. The slogan of today contradicts it in principle. The Wortis improvisation tries to smooth over the fundamental contradiction. She has had a lot of practice at that sort of business.

It has been said that our previous article on this question confused matters by contrasting the "rank and file" agitation of the Stalinists in the trade union to their bureaucratic regime in the Party. The party, it is urged, is not the same as the trade union, and therefore the comparison is inappropriate. True enough, a distinction must be made between the political organization of the vanguard and the economic organization of the broad mass. They differ fundamentally in many ways, including organization forms, but according to the Lenin doctrine the organization principle of each is the same. Rank and file "leadership" is an absurdity in either case; rank and file control is ultimately necessary in both.

TROTSKY ON RANK AND FILE CONTROL

Note the remarks of comrade Trotsky on this point in the June 4 issue of the *Militant*: "As the first condition of the party control over the government Lenin put the control of the party mass over the apparatus." These words will bear a careful reading several times. To shout for rank and file leadership in the union and soft pedal about rank and file control in the party is a double mistake, a howling inconsistency all the way around. Some of the Right wing union fakers, it seems, snatched up our criticism of the inconsistency of the Party bureaucrats and made use of it for their own purposes. But this by no means invalidates the criticism. The corrective for such parasitic exploitation of our exposure of Party errors by the Right wing is not to keep silent about the errors, but to compel the Party to correct them. Let the Party members exert some "rank and file control" in this respect in their own Party. The same task in the trade unions will then be greatly simplified and facilitated.

In order to wage an effective fight in the trade unions today, and to fortify the victory of tomorrow, the Left wing must have consistent slogans all along the line. As a minority it must defend those principles of organization which will govern the union when it comes under the control of the Left wing. It must practice in the Left wing unions under its leadership that same method which it demands in the reactionary unions where it constitutes an opposition. If the Left wing fails to do this, if it shuttles back and forth with a policy of expediency on every occasion, it will lose its principle guiding line, and with it the power to shape and lead a victorious movement of the masses.

This is what has been happening in recent years under the direction of full-blown Stalinism. The results speak for themselves; and in the catastrophic situation of the Left wing in the needle trades they speak with an exceptional force and clarity. The most pressing task of the Party and the Left wing is to throw off this incubus that weights it down and halts its progress at every step. The general fight to liberate the movement from this paralyzing influence has to be supported by a concrete struggle on every point, against every error which contributes to the defeat of the Left wing workers. The slogan of rank and file leadership is one of these errors, the harmfulness of which is clearly demonstrable.

There can be no ground for compromise with such a policy. The Left Opposition, by its criticism, has driven the Stalinists from more than one false position. It must not halt for a moment the effort to do the same in this case. A correction of this error requires no new wisdom. With the aid of the Lenin teaching the Left wing solved the problem in question in its program of 1925. What is needed now is a return to the 1925 formulation.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

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STRIKE STRATEGY

by LEON TROTSKY

In the sphere of the trade unions the Communist leadership has entirely confused the party. The common course of the "third period" was directed toward parallel trade unions. The presupposition was that the mass movement would surge over the old organizations and that the organs of the R. G. O. (The Red Trade Union Opposition) would become the initiative committees of the economic struggle. A mere trifle was lacking for the realization of this plan: the mass movement. During floods in springtime, the waters carry away many a fence. Let us try removing the fence, decided Losovsky, perhaps the floods of spring will then rise!

The reformist trade unions have survived. The Communist party succeeded in getting itself thrown out of the factories. Thereupon partial corrections began to be introduced into the trade union policy. The Communist party has refused to call upon the unorganized workers to join reformist unions. But it likewise has taken a stand against workers leaving the trade unions. While creating parallel organizations it has engendered the slogans of a battle for influence within the reformist unions. The whole mechanism represents an ideal self-sabotage.

Die Rote Fahne complains that many Communists consider meaningless the participation in reformist unions. "Why should we revive the old push-cart?", they declare. And as a matter of fact, why? If one intends seriously to fight for the control of the old unions, one should appeal to the unorganized that they enter them; it is precisely the new strata that can supply the backing for the backing for the Left wing. But in that case one cannot build parallel unions, i. e., create a competitive agency to enroll the workers.

The policy that is recommended from above for work within the reformist unions rests on the same heights with all the other hodge-podge. *Die Rote Fahne* on January 28, laced it into the Communist members of the Metal Workers Union of Dusseldorf because they issued the slogan "War without mercy against the participation of trade union leaders" in the support of the Brüning government. Such "opportunistic" demands are disallowed because they presuppose (1) that the reformists are capable of refusing to support Brüning and his emergency decrees. Truly, this smacks of vicious horse-play! *Die Rote Fahne* deems it sufficient to call the leaders names but disallows their being subjected to a political test by the masses.

And all the while, it is precisely within the trade unions that an exceptionally fruitful field is now open for action. While the social democratic party still has the wherewithal to fool the workers by political hullabaloo, the trade unions are confronted by the impasse of capitalism as by a hopeless prison wall. The 200,000-300,000 workers who are now organized in independent Red unions, could serve as a priceless leaven within the reformist brotherhoods.

CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

Towards the end of January there was held in Berlin a Communist conference of the factory committees from the entire country. *Die Rote Fahne* printed the report, "The factory committees are welding the Red Workers Front" (February 2, 1932). But you would seek in vain for information regarding the composition of the conference, the number of industries and workers represented. In contradistinction to Bolshevism, which painstakingly and openly marked every change in the correlation of forces within the working class, the German Stalinists, following in the footsteps of the Russian, play hide and seek. They are loth to admit that the Communist factory committees compromised less than 4 per cent as against 84 per cent of the social democracy! In this correlation is summed up the balance of the "third period." Suppose one does call the isolation of Communists in industry, the "Red United Front", will this really help further the matter?

The prolonged crisis of capitalism induces within the proletariat the most virulent and dangerous line of demarcation: between the employed and the unemployed. Through the circumstance that the reformists control the industrial centers while the Communists control the unemployed, both sections of the proletariat are being paralyzed. The employed are in a position to bide a while longer. The unemployed are more impatient. At present their impatience bears a revolutionary character. But should the Communist party fail to find such forms and slogans for the struggle as would unite the employed and the unemployed and thereby open the perspective of a revolutionary solution, the impatience of the unemployed will inevitably react against the Communist party.

In 1917, despite the correct policy of the Bolshevik party and the rapid development of the revolution, the more badly off and the more impatient strata of the proletariat, even in Petrograd, began between September and October, to look away from the Bolsheviks towards the syndicalists and anarchists. Had not the October overturn broken out in time, the disintegration within the proletariat would have become acute and would have led to the decay of the revolution. In Germany there is no need for anarchists; their place can be taken by the National-Socialists who have wedded anarchist demagoguery with conscious reactionary aims.

The workers are by no means immunized once for all against the influence of Fascism. The proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie represent coupled receptacles, especially under the present conditions, when the reserve army of workers cannot but effuse petty traders and hawkers, etc., while the bankrupt petty bourgeoisie effuses proletarians and lumpen-proletarians.

Salaried employees, the technical and administrative personnel and certain strata of the functionaries

composed in the past one of the most important supports of the social democracy. At present, these elements have gone or are going over to the National Socialists. They are capable of drawing in their wake, if they haven't already begun to do so, a stratum of the labor aristocracy. In this direction, National Socialism is penetrating into the proletariat from above.

Considerably more dangerous, however, is its possible penetration from below, through the unemployed. No class can long exist without perspectives and hopes. The unemployed do not represent a class, but they already compose a very compact and substantial layer, which is vainly striving to tear itself away from intolerable conditions. If it is true in general that only the proletarian revolution can save Germany from disintegration and decay, this is especially true as regards the millions of unemployed.

Alongside of the impotence of the Communist party in the factories and in trade unions, the numerical growth of the party resolves nothing. Within a tottering nation shot through by crisis and contradictions, an extreme left party can find new supporters in tens of thousands, especially if its entire apparatus is directed to the sole purpose of capturing members, in the line "of competition". Everything depends upon the interrelation between the party and the class. A single employed Communist who is elected to the Factory Committee or to the administration of a trade union bears a greater significance than a thousand new members, picked up here and there, who enter the party today in order to leave it tomorrow.

But the individual influx of members into the party will not at all continue indefinitely. If the Communist party continues any longer to delay the struggle until that moment when it shall have entirely pushed out the reformists, then it will learn for certain that after a given point the social democracy will cease losing its influence to the Communist party, while the Fascists will begin disintegrating the unemployed who are the chief support of the Communist party. Failure to utilize its forces for the tasks that spring from the entire environment never passes scot-free for a political party.

WHAT IS A "RED UNITED FRONT"

In order to clear the road for the mass struggle, the Communist party strives to stimulate sectional strikes. The successes in this sphere have not been great. As ever, the Stalinists devote themselves to self-criticism, "We are as yet incapable of organizing" . . . "We haven't yet learned how to attract" . . . "We haven't as yet learned how to capture" . . . What has "we" got to do with it, it unfailingly means "you". The theory of the March days in 1921, of blessed memory, is being resurrected, which proposed to "electrify" the proletariat by means of the offensive activities of the minority. But the workers are in no need whatever of being "electrified". What they want is that they be given a clear perspective, and be aided in creating the bases for a mass movement.

In its strike strategy the Communist party is obviously motivated by isolated citations from Lenin as interpreted by Manuilsky or Losovsky. As a matter of fact, there had been periods wherein the mensheviks fought against the "strike frenzy", while the Bolsheviks, on the contrary, took their place at the head of every new strike, drawing into the movement ever increasing masses. This was in response to the period of the awakening of new class strata. Such was the tactic of the Bolsheviks in 1905; and during the industrial upward trend in the years preceding the war; and during the first months of the February revolution.

But in the period directly preceding October, beginning with the July clash of 1917, the tactic of the Bolsheviks assumed another character; they held back strikes, they applied the brake to them, because every large strike had the tendency to turn into a decisive battle, while the political postulates for it had not as yet matured.

However, during those months the Bolsheviks continued to place themselves at the head of all strikes which flared up, despite their measures of precaution, chiefly in the more backward branches of industry (among textile workers, leather workers, etc.).

While under some conditions the Bolsheviks boldly stimulated strikes in the interests of the revolution, under other conditions, they, on the contrary, restrained from strikes in the interests of the revolution. In this sphere as well as in others, there is no ready made formula. But in every given period, the strike tactics of the Bolsheviks always composed a part of the general tactics, and to the advanced workers the connection between the part and the whole was always clear.

How do matters stand now in Germany? The employed workers do not resist wage cuts because they are in fear of the unemployed. Small wonder; in the face of several million unemployed, the ordinary trade-union strike, so organized, is obviously futile. It is doubly futile in the face of political antagonism between the employed and unemployed. This does not exclude sectional strikes, especially in the more backward and less centralized branches of industry. But it is just the workers of the more important branches of industry who, in such an environment evince a leaning toward heeding the voices of the reformist leaders. The attempts of the Communist party to unleash a strike struggle, without changing the general situation within the proletariat, lead only to minor guerrilla operations, which, even if successful, are left without a sequel.

—L. TROTSKY.

(From WHAT NEXT—Vital Questions for the German proletariat)

ON THE SPOT

It seems there is nothing new under the sun. We were of the opinion that the Bonus Expeditionary Force bivouacked in Washington set a precedent in American history until Dana Rice enlightened us through the columns of the New York Times. Indeed, in 1783 recruits from Lancaster, Pa., joined soldiers barracked in Philadelphia and marched on the congress of the confederation demanding more pay. Congress refused to be intimidated so it folded its tent and moved to Princeton, New Jersey. The congressional slogan probably was: "Those who spout and run away may live to spout another day."

The Bonusers were much impressed with the theory, popular in our best circles that it is an honor to weave through a flock of bullets for one's country. Those who did not see the German bullets until it was too late got a slice of country wherever they fell. Those who blocked them and survived to some extent are enjoying themselves in hospitals; some in strait jackets. Those who returned, sound in body if not in mind are listening to the epigrams of the stomach slinging a hunger ditty. They don't appreciate the music so they are going to Washington to demand their reward for making Wall St.'s billions safe and Holland quite safe for the Kaiser.

The war was a great success for the profiteers if not for the soldiers. It didn't turn out so bad for the Kaiser either. Most any veteran would rather saw a bit of wood with the Kaiser every day to keep his appetite at the proper degree of sharpness than fight bed bugs on the Bowery and drink coffee until he is ready to declare war on Brazil, the home of the bean. The heroes of 1917-18 are the bums of 1932. They want the bonus which was promised them for killing German workmen in the Kaiser's uniform. But to give it to them would put a price on patriotism! Perish the thought! Patriotism is priceless.

The Bonusers properly call attention to the fact that the federal government made two billions of dollars available to the railroad companies who made tremendous profits during the busy war days. They believe that they are at least as much entitled to what the government owes them as the railroads are to what the government does not owe them. The veterans lack a sense of reality. They don't seem to know whose country this is or whose government this is. The country belongs to the capitalists and so does the government. The proletarian ex-soldiers are merely tolerated, if they starve quietly, just the same as the rest of the working class.

The capitalists do not like the idea of this march on Washington. They do not like the idea of giving those fellows a bonus. They have just accomplished the patriotic task of balancing the budget. It was a heart-breaking task but they bore up bravely under the strain. Why impose another load of taxes on them? Many of them are committing suicide. A capitalist with only three million dollars left in his kkk feels as insecure as an unemployed worker holding on to his last nickel. Samuel Insull the Chicago utility baron is left with a measly income of \$18,000 a year. The poor capitalists have their troubles too, which proves that there are no classes in this country.

There are twelve millions of workers unemployed in this fall and free land of ours, including the heroes. There is nothing in sight for them except starvation, slow or galloping. If the war veterans can be bamboozled into the belief that they can get relief from the government by holding themselves apart from their fellow workers in distress who did not have the privilege of fighting for the House of Morgan, then all we can say is that they are meant for another shower of bullets. We read that George Washington, the Father of His Country, threatened to send troops to shoot down the soldier marchers of 1783. We wonder what will Hoover, the current Father of His Country, do if the Bonus Expeditionary Force grows much more formidable than it is now. This is an election year and 1932 is not 1783—not by 149 years. There was no Soviet Union in those days.

Before the panic the leaders were big shots in the capitalist world. Business unionism was in its hey day. Labor ranks flourished, and enterprising labor fakers went in for coal mining, real estate and pine-apple groves in a big way. Labor was going to lift itself out of a state of dependency by its bootstraps. The workers were going to be saved one by one. Alas, it was not to be. This pleasant road of escape from wage slavery was not strewn with roses but with ground glass. Most of the labor banks have gone the way of all flesh.

—RIDEEM.

Slogans in the Elections

Must Link Up Communist Goal with Immediate Demands

The downward trend of the crisis that is throwing increasing layers of workers on the surface of the class struggle offers the Communists the most favorable opportunity in the present election campaign. The trend of economic instability in America and in world capitalism as a whole has created confusion in the top ranks of the master class and has forced them into a position never before faced. The social reformers of all varieties are undergoing a sort of verbal transformation to the Left while their material evolution is proceeding to the Right. This favorable objective situation with its increasing dangers from reaction and "reform" places on the shoulders of the revolutionists the task of clearly pointing to the road of action and its direction.

Left Opposition Excluded
The national nominating convention of the Communist party presented Foster and Ford as standard bearers but has sent them into the field with standards every serious Communist must question. The election offers a wide field for unity of the workers against the capitalist offensive but the Stalinist bureaucrats talk of unity and shut the door to a Marxian United Front policy in the elections by ejecting delegates from the conventions in New York, Chicago and Minneapolis. The Communist League (Left Opposition) sent delegates in order that our organization may give full support to the Communist candidates in the coming elections, to win greater numbers to revolution. In denying the Marxist wing seats in the different conventions, the Centrists closed the door to a Leninist United Front policy.

C. P. Platform Deficient
The platform the convention adopted is not to the credit of the Communist forces; and will leave the party farther to the right at the end of the campaign than they are even today. Why do Communists participate in elections? Centrism thinks it answers this by publishing Lenin's article in the Daily Worker on this question. This is necessary, but Communist theory must be translated into action; and a Communist campaign woven around six immediate demands, as slogans (which must be questioned) in no way connected with our ultimate demand, results in reformism. We need such a slogan, not an ultimate slogan of action today, but as a slogan of propaganda coordinated with our immediate demands.

The ultra-Lefts who speak in terms of ends only and the reformists who speak in terms of means only are swamps Lenin guarded against. Centrism in America presents demands to which any reformist can subscribe. Centrism presents immediate demands in no way connected with our goal—a slogan for the overthrow of capitalism as the determining factor to distinguish the Communist program from all those of the reformists.

Centrism tries to find a way out of the impasse by speaking of the revolutionary way out of the crisis. The social democracy in every revolution or crisis tells the workers—their road is the revolutionary way out. The latest "revolutionary way out" of the socialists was demonstrated in Spain. What do you mean by "revolutionary way out"? Communists cannot throw out this phrase without concretizing it as a connecting link. To speak of the revolutionary way out and present six immediate demands may signify good intentions but it expresses reformism unless these immediate demands are coordinated with a propaganda slogan for the overthrow of capitalism.

Slogan Is Workers' Government
The Centrist slogan of "Workers and Farmers' Government" must be replaced by the slogan of "Workers' Government". The workers of America must be told that the Communists propose a Soviet United States, as a proletarian dictatorship, which will establish a "Workers' Government". The Stalinists are entering the campaign to obtain votes. We want votes, we want the support of every worker as well as that of our allies, but we only want votes on the basis of a Marxian platform. Voters who understand what relation our immediate demands have to our goal. We want quantity—but not without quality.

The party platform dismisses the reformers with the epithet of "social fascists". All shades and tendencies of reformism as well as the Right wing and Left wing currents of Communism are catalogued together. This is the most valuable service one could render to reformism. Our election campaign must be conducted by a bitter fight to win the followers from the fakers and this can only be done by exposing from a Marxian standpoint, the position of each tendency and shading and by following this up with proper tests in action.

The party platform presents the slogan of Social Insurance as the central slogan of the campaign and does not in any way raise the slogan of the "Six Hour Day and Five Day Week without reduction of pay." The Socialist party is reaping the harvest of this blunder and in many places is contrasting its immediate

demands with those of the Communists to "prove" that they are the more "radical". On the basis of immediate demands, and "incorrupt" ones at that, we cannot expose reformism unless we clearly define our goal. In spite of the fact that sharp class turns and events throw the slogan of Social Insurance to the forefront in the fight against unemployment, the fact remains that the determining immediate demand from now on in the unemployment situation in America will be the slogan for the short-term work day.

Although Social Insurance is the main demand of the party, the Daily Worker has relegated it to the background and presented the struggle for the Bonus as the first order of business. It is correct to exclude the Bonus slogan from the platform, but it is wrong to regulate this auxiliary unemployment struggle above the struggle of all the workers for Social Insurance.

Relief For Workers Also
The platform (point 3) call for emergency relief for the farmers and completely ignores the need of such relief for the fifteen million unemployed workers who are in just as dire straits. The demand must be one of emergency relief for workers and farmers.

The Communist League of America (Opposition) calls upon the workers to vote Communist. To unite the working class against the capitalist reactionaries and reformers. The Communist League will give full support in every way to the Communist candidates but our presentation of why workers should vote Communist will not be on the same basis as that of Centrism. We enter the campaign on the basis of organically connecting proper immediate demands with our revolutionary goal, for the overthrow of capitalism.

Workers in Fight Against Forced Labor in Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Attention of all alert workers must be called to the scandalous system of forced labor which has been introduced by the Minneapolis City Relief Administration. Over 7,000 unemployed on the relief lists are involved, 800 men each day must prove that "they are willing to work", although no wages are paid. If anyone refuses, he is cut off from further relief and finally evicted from his house—which means misery and persecution for his family. On top of all this, the work is done on the property of private real estate dealers, railroads, landlords. All people who could well afford to pay wages for the work done—if they were really sincere and not hypocrites about their slogan of creating jobs for the unemployed—also on city property, work that can be done by regularly paid city workers!

Resist Forced Labor
The Communist League calls on the

G. O. P. Meets in Chicago Confab

After a four year's intermission, the Republican Party convenes in Chicago to put on its grand jamboree—called a convention—to nominate the president of the U. S. A. It meets in the gala holiday atmosphere, that makes it resemble a circus or a field day rather than a serious political gathering to decide the destinies of the nation for the coming period.

We are informed that between the classy hotels where the delegates are lodged and the Chicago Stadium where the convention is taking place, the speakies are doing a thriving business. But despite all this the spirit of four years ago seems to be missing. Gone are the thunderous plaudits that rend the roof and shiver the windows into splinters. Gone is the wild cheering, the mad parading around the convention hall, the insane blaring of brass bands that lasted for hours at a time, that greeted the making of some obscure point that strikes the delegates' fancy.

Even the mention of the nomination of Herbert Hoover which raised a storm of interminable hurrahs, a few years ago was received with a coldness that would make even the eskimos shiver. Now we can account for the large sale of prohibition liquor to the delegates. The moonshine is consumed not so much in the spirit of celebration, but to bolster up the depressed state of mind of the convention delegates.

Three years have passed since the beginning of this bitterest and deep-going crisis and it is still getting worse. The republicans have full and good cause for being gloomy and pessimistic. The people, they are fearful, will attribute the crisis to them, and vote them out of office. But, protests the G. O. P., the crisis operates according to immutable laws. Correct—but these immutable

(Continued on page 2)

Brown Shirts Legalized

New Decree Forms Part of Anti-Working Class Move

The establishment of the Von Papen government in power has not as yet called forth a wide spread and vigorous move toward united working class defense action. Temporizing on the part of the working class leaders has permitted the midwives of the Hitler dictatorship to raise their heads ever more arrogantly. Every day brings new blasts of reaction against the German proletariat.

The latest act of the new cabinet is a decree slashing to tatters what little is still left of unemployment insurance and relief. It must be remembered that one of the planks of the Von Papen combine before it came into power was—no more emergency decrees. Yet, the new anti-working class measure is based directly on the draft prepared by Brüning before his downfall.

What the Decree Calls For

The manifesto signed by Hindenburg calls for a "reorganization" of the system of unemployment relief and cuts the so-called dole by fully twenty per cent. The annual expenditures for the jobless are in this manner reduced by more than \$19,000,000. But adding insult to injury, the Junker cabinet goes further and declares its intentions of raising the funds required for what still remains of unemployed insurance by levying a new tax—another plank was: no more new taxes—6.5 per cent on the income of "all those gainfully employed!" More than that the exemption in the turnover tax for incomes below 5,000 marks is abolished.

The new decree is a well rounded out attack against the living conditions of all the lower classes. Unemployment compensation is reduced, as the Times correspondent remarks, to the level of ordinary poor relief—a bare monthly \$10, on which families of four and more must

attempt to subsist. The wages of the workers still employed undergo a further reduction of more than six per cent. The small shop keepers are squeezed still tighter by the turnover tax.

There can be no doubt that the new measure will meet with the greatest indignation by the broadest layers of the population. According to the social democratic Vorwarts, one of the first results of the decree was a deluge of protests from workers organizations and other bodies. The shameless action of the Junkers, arousing popular resentment to the highest pitch, makes the possibilities and the need of united working class counter-action greater than ever.

First Signs of United Action

United front activities encompassing the Communist and social democratic organizations have already begun on a local scale. In places like Oranienburg and Bernau, etc., cartels of proletarian mass organizations have already been formed and put into motion. The emergency law promulgated this week should give the necessary impetus toward broadening out these united fronts into a centralized, national movement that will break the apathy of the German working masses and bring them forward a good way in their fight against threatening danger and abject enslavement.

In Oranienburg, in Bernau, the Left Opposition was the one to take the initiative in uniting the workers organizations. The successes achieved will no doubt instigate our German comrades toward a determined and powerful effort to swing the whole party into line behind this genuine movement of united action.

Time is pressing. The Brown Shirts of Adolph Hitler, banned under the Brüning government, have been legalized. Already, the Fascist deputies have donned their uniforms in the Prussian diet. Street processions of Nazis march in celebration throughout the Reich. Clashes between Hitlerites and workers are constantly increasing. The organization of the Fascist coup d'Etat is developing apace.

Clear Words Needed

The new dose of misery which the latest decree has brought for the working class—even a salt tax has been established (Remember the "gabelle"!)—cannot fail to have its sobering effect on the German people. More than ever will all workers feel the need of unity and action today. On the brink of disaster, the masses are straining their attention for a clear word, for a firm command.

Only the Communist party is capable of meeting the needs of the moment. But for that, it is necessary that it cast off with one stroke all the fetters of bureaucratism and ultimatum that have been binding its action. It is necessary that it throw off its isolationist policies—the theory of "social fascism", of the "red united front under our leadership", etc., etc. It must make a clean breast of the mistakes it has committed and open for itself the road of putting the reformists to the test before the working masses—the road of gaining the confidence and support of the majority of the class.

What is at stake—we repeat—is the fate not only of the German proletariat, but of the Soviet Union and the working class of the world as a whole. Every Communist worker is duty-bound to demand first of himself, and then, of the leadership of the party here and of the Communist International, a clear answer to the question: What is to be done? The Left Opposition has sounded the alarm. Incalculable danger lies ahead. Let every worker Communist realize his task!

Youth Meetings in N. Y.

The Spartacus Youth Club will hold its regular meeting on Friday, June 18th at 8:00 P. M., at the Stuyvesant Casino, Ninth Street and Second Avenue. This week's meeting will be devoted entirely to a lecture by comrade Carter on the extremely timely and important subject, **WAR AND ITS ASPECT TODAY**, which will be followed by a general discussion from the floor.

On Saturday evenings the Club holds its weekly open air meetings at Seventh Street and Avenue C. We have a group of good speakers and interesting topics. All who can, are urged to attend these meetings.

For the following week, we plan a discussion on current events. Plans are being made for a camp-fire, the definite arrangements for which will be announced in next week's Militant.

All young workers and students are invited to participate with us in our work and discussions. Information can be obtained by writing to the Spartacus Youth Club, 84 East 10th Street, New York City.

German Paper Interviews Trotsky

The following is the reply of comrade L. D. Trotsky to three questions posed by the Berlin weekly, Montag Morgen in a recent questionnaire. The questions were: "Do you believe that the seizure of political power by the National Socialists is imminent? Do you not consider it the urgent command of the hour, that social democrats and Communists, leaving all the conflicts in principle unimpaired, must create a common organization of struggle? Would you be prepared, to work for such an organization in your person and with your name?"

1. Yes, I believe that if the most important organizations of the German working class continue their present policy, the victory or Fascism will be assured almost automatically, and in a relatively short interval of time at that. Whether the Centre party will serve Hitler there will of necessity ensue a process of differentiation and of decomposition. The relation of forces would sharply change to the disadvantage of Fascism even on the threshold of the struggle. There would open up before the working class and the German people great perspectives.

2. Yes, I believe that the Communist party must propose an agreement for

and the leadership of the Free Trade Unions, from below up to the very top. In contrast to the decorative and impotent "iron front", the united front of the working class against Fascism must have a fully concrete, practical and militant character. Its point of departure should be: defense of all institutions and conquests of proletarian democracy, and in a broader sense; defense of culture before barbarism.

A bold and frank initiative of the Communist party along these lines would not only increase its authority extraordinarily, but also change the political situation of Germany from the bottom up. The monopolistic bourgeoisie would immediately begin to feel that to play around with a Hitler dictatorship means to play around with the fire of civil war, in which not the paper values alone are in danger of going up in smoke. Among the countless and formless masses whom despair has driven into the camp of Hitler there will of necessity ensue a process of differentiation and of decomposition. The relation of forces would sharply change to the disadvantage of Fascism even on the threshold of the struggle. There would open up before the working class and the German people great perspectives.

3. Of course, I stand not only theoretically but even practically, altogether and completely on the ground of the tactics I have developed in many of my pamphlets, particularly the last. What Next? Every day only confirms anew the fact that there is no other path for the German working class. The question of the fate of Germany is the question of all humanity for a big historical period. No revolutionary can help subordinating his forces and his fate to this question.

May 12, 1932

—L. TROTSKY.

what is necessary here is more than a manifesto or an article in the press. What is necessary is a concerted drive. This means nothing less than repudiating the sterile factional intrigues which now tie the hands of the Left wing movement. This means the united front. All power to this movement!

Open Letter

A system of forced labor has been introduced by the Minneapolis City Relief Administration, 7,000 men 800 each day, toil on city and private property on pain of losing the miserable charity they receive. None can deny that relief is given out only to keep the worker, starving in the midst of the plenty he has created, from taking it by force. Under the conditions of the present economic crisis, our masters, who still make fat dividends are reducing conditions of labor to that abject slavery, where men work for their board and keep, without pay, in constant fear of punishment by starvation and eviction from their homes.

The work is divided into two classes: (1) Cleaning up nuisances on privately owned property, such as Thorpe Bros., Minneapolis, and Southern Ry., and other who can afford to pay wages to have this work done and who pay nothing to the city. Remember, these are the same landlords who evict you for non-payment of rent. (2) Work on city property, which could be done by paid labor instead of Charity labor. Many city employees are now working on city property without pay. This plan is being executed with the cooperation of the Farmer-Labor Administration in the Court House.

This vicious system serves a triple purpose: (1) It keeps the unemployed in submission; (2) It displaces and discharges regular wage workers; and (3) It is an entering wedge to permanently smash the wages of those employed by threatening to do their work with charity workers.

Only a short time ago, the bosses raised the cry of "Forced Labor!" in Soviet Russia—an excuse to cut off trade and recognition of the Workers Republic. On that account, many factories producing goods for Russia were shut down, and we see where workers now enjoy genuine forced labor right here in Minneapolis!

It makes no difference who originated the plan—the Citizens Alliance, the Tax Payers Association or the Farmer-Labor politicians in the Court House. The bald fact is: They who amassed profits from the workers toil are now trying to crawl out of their crisis by smashing labor conditions. In this plan, the capitalists have the cooperation and support of the Farmer-Labor Party.

Capitalist System Real Cause

The present unemployment situation is due to the chaos in capitalist production and distribution. The capitalist system, based on the profit idea, cannot distribute what you workers need, regardless how greatly you need it. The profit system must go. In its place must be put a

(Continued on page 2)

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

News from Canada

TORONTO ONTARIO—

An anti-war conference initiated by the Friends of the Soviet Union has been organized in Toronto.

The first meeting saw the usual gathering of our old "stand-bys", but the leaders of the conference, in light of the new united front policy, made no attempt to delude themselves on the delegates.

The second meeting brought several new faces and plans to go directly to the reformist trade unions.

Our comrades were elected on the credential, organization and executive committees.

Our motion that the speech of Litvinov in view of its pacifism and incompleteness be referred first to affiliated organizations for discussion and recommendation before printing, was rejected. Likewise, our amendment that Tchicherin's and Lenin's speeches at the Genoa conference be considered in its stead. One of the leaders of the F. S. U., who spoke against, said if we accepted Lenin's and Tchicherin's speeches we would be injecting politics. Another delegate said Litvinov was more up-to-date.

In the discussion on the anti-war resolution we pointed out the tremendous significance of the victory in Germany would have both for the war against the U. S. S. R. and the new imperialist blood path.

The conference is very timely and can do some very good work.

Labor Fakers Have Hot Time

The Toronto police are not going to be accused of making concessions. After allowing a previous anti-war gathering, the second meeting called by the anti-war youth conference was smashed up.

The crowd together with those from the rationalist meeting which had also been broken up went up to the Labor Party gathering.

To listen to the Labor Party brand of fakers requires more than a conscience and good stomach and before long the Left wing workers began heckling the speakers. "Back to Russia", answered fakers. "Call the police", mocked the workers.

As matters became hotter, the labor fakers began to appeal to the crowd on the basis of the fight they had carried on for free speech. What this fight was they didn't explain.

Police and detectives by this time had arrived and encircled the radical section of the crowd but nevertheless when Comrades declared the meeting over the crowd shouted for "questions".

To the surprise of everybody, police included, the fakers, consented to allow questions. The questions were brief and likewise their exposure of the half-drawn question asked. The fakers couldn't answer one and his floundering around must have embarrassed the "Dicks".

More of these meetings and the Toronto Labor Party will feel no more use in "educating" the masses.

—M. Q.

Party Member Joins Opposition

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Dear Comrades:

I did not intend to write this letter, for I believe it is overstatement of oneself to do so. But one of the members of the Left Opposition thought it would be of interest to others.

"Intellectuals" who attempt to reveal the bankruptcy of Communism, instead reveal their own lack of knowledge. Perhaps I was one of these so-called "intellectuals." For in endeavoring to reveal the shallowness of the Left Opposition, of "Trotskyism", the barrenness of Stalinism which masquerades in the Comintern as Leninism, became evident.

When I knew nothing except the slanders (I did not know they were slanders) thrown at Trotsky, I felt sure that I could make every "Trotskyite" look like two cents. But when I actually met these "counter-revolutionists", or when I read the literature of the Left Opposition, I could not see any "Menshevik tendencies." I was engulfed not by the shallowness of "Trotskyism" but I was saturated with its depth, with its logic.

If it is treason to rebel against Stalin, who has deluded Leninism, I am proud of being a traitor. If Trotsky is a counter-revolutionist for defending the Leninist path, then I must enter the ranks of counter-revolution. But I know that the Left Opposition is not a counter-revolutionary faction. Instead it is an organization which will divert the Communist Party from a Stalinist line back to that laid down by Lenin. Therefore I enter the ranks of the Left Opposition, not by discarding the true voice of Communism, but by striving to have the stiflers of Communism stifled.

Within the party I shall fight for freedom of speech, against bureaucracy, and for the unification of all Communists. (Not a unification of Centrists and Lovestonettes).

—PARTY MEMBER.

THE MILITANT

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Max Shachtman Maurice Spector

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Workers Fight Bureaucracy

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

At the meeting of the International Workers Order, Branch 21, following the Minneapolis nominating conference so ably described by a delegate to that conference in *The Militant* of May 21, Delegate Singer of Branch 21 I. W. O. made his report. It was substantially the same as reported in *The Militant*.

Delegate Singer was almost immediately denounced as an enemy of the workers and a renegade, etc. and finally withdrawn as a delegate of Branch 21. They then proceeded to the election of another delegate to the conference and after several had been nominated and had as quickly declined, the chairman, in desperation, called for volunteers and Meyer Shulberg accepted.

We wonder if delegate Shulberg will have the courage to also raise his voice in protest against the bureaucratic actions of the local party leaders and then report the truth back to the workers of Branch 21, of the I. W. O. We sincerely hope so.

The above sample of the way the party bureaucrats treat workers who honestly strive to make the party a real Communist party accounts for the stationary membership roll of the party, despite the favorable conditions for recruiting workers into the party. The above is the story as related to me by a member of Branch 21 of the I. W. O.

—COOVER.

WHAT NEXT?

With the publication of *Problems of the Chinese Revolution* out of the way, we are going ahead with *WHAT NEXT?* The book should be ready in four weeks at the utmost. Very probably by next week, we will be able to announce the exact date of its appearance. Comrades who want copies should order them now as every order we get in advance will enable us to get the book out that much sooner. The price is fifty cents in paper cover and one dollar in cloth.

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84 East 10th Street,
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The Drug Clerks and the Class Struggle

The Drug Clerks' Union local 581 of the A. F. of L., is conducting a "strike" at Halper's Pharmacy, 180th Street and St. Nicholas Ave. Halpers' refused to sign a collective agreement with the union. The store employs two licensed pharmacists, one junior pharmacist, two soda-fountain clerks and a porter.

This new experience has already become a decisive factor in the further development of the Drug Clerks' Union and a source from which important conclusions of organizational strategy should be drawn.

Picketing is undoubtedly a highly effective weapon in the hands of the workers, if efficiently wielded, to extract concessions from the bosses. But it is no less effective as a means to arouse the dormant class instinct of the worker and put him on the road toward class consciousness. There, on the picket line, he clearly sees the living alignment of the police and judiciary forces and the entire governmental machine with his boss against him and his fellow workers, drawing the class lines of the contending forces in the most contrasting colors. However, these class lines of the struggle are usually blurred under the reactionary leadership of the reformist and reactionary union. The case of the drug clerks, as the writer of these lines has had the opportunity to observe, the enlightening effect of picketing is quite glaringly manifest.

It is highly interesting and instructive to observe a drug clerk put on the picket line for the first time. He does it timidly, reluctantly, casting shy glances at the passers-by. For even those drug clerks who have joined the union are still imbued with the asphyxiating idea of "professionalism", which blurs their real position on the social scale of our class society. But after a few hours of picketing a noticeable change in his gait and facial expression takes place. The meek, gloomy look disappears and a ray of proud resoluteness lights up his countenance. He notices with fervent admiration that the working class element responds favorably to the pickets and that it manifests a gratifying solidarity. "And why shouldn't they? We are also workers", he remarks proudly. A few hours of picketing, an infinitesimally short period in a person's life-time, but what a thoroughgoing change may occur in one's own outlook in so short an interval. I believe that the writer of these lines has not exaggerated when he remarked: "If it were only possible to have every member of the union to do a few hours of picketing, we would have

a strong militant union." Unfortunately, only a few of the members are doing picket duty. The greatest majority of the membership, however, have not only failed to participate in the activities of this so-called union, but have generally shown an attitude of indifference and distrust toward the union and its leadership. The reasons for such a state of apathy among the members are to be traced directly to the ideological make-up of the executive board and the manner in which it has been conducting the affairs of the union, which I shall discuss in the latter part of this article.

This so-called strike has made quite a commotion in the "higher spheres" of pharmacy. "A labor union has no place in as honorable" a profession as pharmacy. The strike method is particularly "degrading pharmacy to the low level of wage labor", shriek the self-appointed peers of the various drug store owners' associations and some backward clerks, who find consolation for their bitter lot in their false pride of being a "professional" man.

Yes, gentlemen of the "honorable profession" of pharmacy, "the bourgeoisie has, (long ago) stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science into its paid wage-laborers." (*Communist Manifesto*). Yes, bootleggers of the "honorable profession" of pharmacy, you have not only "lowered" it to the level of wage labor, but you have degraded it to an occupation of the underworld. You "ethical" pharmacists, who are so greatly concerned about the high standards of your "profession", will not hesitate, for the sake of saving a measly penny to deprive the patient of the benefits of a medicine by substituting inferior, therapeutically void drugs, by dispensing moldy, deteriorated fluid extracts, tinctures, syrups and other medicinal preparations. For a measly weekly wage of twenty or twenty-five dollars you exploit your licensed or junior clerk seventy to eighty hours a week. And to qualify for such a lucrative position one has to be, besides, a licensed pharmacist, an expert soda dispenser and sandwich maker; he also is required to wash floors, run errands and other such "trifles". No—it is not the standard of pharmacy that concerns you so greatly—but it is the resultant of the unionization of the drug clerks that you fear so much.

The New York Pharmaceutical Conference is acting as the spearhead in the present crusade against the union movement. It pours out torrents of demagoguery and lies against it. Moreover, it has been attempting to behold it by organizing an auxiliary association of drug clerks under the guardianship of the Conference, i. e., a company union in its crystalline form. A serious challenge to the union movement among the drug clerks, however, cannot come from such an anemic organization as the New York Pharmaceutical Conference. Its whole existence has been an expression of impotence of the disorganized and prostrate drug industry. The real danger, however, is lurking from within the boundaries of the present "leadership" of the Drug Clerks' Union.

The executive board of the Drug Clerks' Union is composed of politically backward and organizationally inexperienced elements, incapable of giving independent leadership. The membership, naturally, is composed of the same backward elements; their ideology due to the professional veil and business basis of their occupation, is thoroughly petty-bourgeois. Their attitude toward the union is extremely vague and indecisive.

It is true that the earnestness of certain leading members of the executive board in the activities of the union is rather questionable. However, these elements, precisely because of the vacillating attitude of the membership toward unionism in general, the backwardness and ignorance of the executive in particular, have not so far been able to exercise any influence upon the membership. Consequently, the conditions for the growth of a militant opposition within the present loose frame-work of the union are highly favorable.

(To Be Continued)

—I. DREYER.

This is the first installment of Comrade Dreyer's series of two articles on the situation in the Drug Clerks' union in N. Y. The next installment will appear in the forthcoming issue of the *Militant*—Ed.

Pamphlets Wanted

If comrades throughout the country will send us their spare copies of *The Draft Program, World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan* and *The Turn in the C. I. and the Situation in Germany* we will be able to make up an additional number of Bound Volumes of the pamphlets. To the comrades who send them in, we will give credit against their copies of the Bound Volumes. *Problems of the Chinese Revolution, What Next?* or any of the other works by Comrade Trotsky.

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MANY OF THE PAMPHLETS ADVERTISED ELSEWHERE IN THIS ISSUE CAN BE HAD IN JEWISH, SPANISH, RUSSIAN AND ITALIAN.

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New York City

—GUY SOUTHWORTH

MILITANT BUILDERS

Two comrades, thus far have won the bound volumes of the pamphlets offered to each comrade who, during the summer months brings in \$4.00 in subs. The two comrades hail, as might have been expected, from Minneapolis. They are comrades Hedlund and Coover. Other comrades who expect to get one of these bound volumes will have to get a move on as they are running out fast.

Our comrades and readers, it seems, are determined to carry on the good work they did during the drive. A comrade writes from Youngstown: "Now that I have a little more time to devote to sub-getting I am going to try my best to get enough subs this month to earn that free copy of Comrade Trotsky's collected pamphlets. And I'm going to do my bit to get more than enough." The Minneapolis branch passed a motion to continue the sub drive. Everyone familiar with Minneapolis' performance in the sub drive knows what that foretells.

Our staff is growing and embracing a larger number of comrades and readers. That is what we started out to accomplish. That is what we need to increase the circulation of the *Militant*. But it is not yet large enough. Every comrade should set before himself the necessity of going after and getting a certain definite number of subs each month. And of course he should make every effort to realize this self-set quota. By this steady plugging we can build up the circulation of the *Militant* closer to what it ought to be. At the moment this is our revolutionary duty.

The staff and its record to date follows:

M. Beardslee	5
C. R. Hedlund	4
O. Coover	4
M. Koehler	3
A. Basky	2
M. Basin	2
P. Vomvas	2
J. Elchma	2
C. Curtis	2
A. Ehrlich	2
M. Reim	2
J. Keller	2
W. Kitt	2
M. Geldman	1

Republican Confab

(Continued from page 1)

laws are of capitalism itself. And the Republicans are the most ardent defenders of the capitalist system. They come in for a thrashing whichever way you look at it. Their three years tenure of office (since the crisis) is enough to convince the most benighted and uninformed worker that not only does capitalism plunge them into misery, but it stubbornly refuses to do anything to alleviate their suffering.

Consider the speech of the Keynote, Senator L. T. Dickinson. For more than an hour he prated and boasted of the achievements of the president. He refused unemployment insurance to the jobless workers because it would degrade American manhood and drove them right on the breadlines. No doubt—that will unbalance the budget. Then the congress turns right around and grants a subsidy of several hundred millions to the R. R.s to pay off overdue dividends. He maintained the high standard of wages. How? By the famous agreement of three years ago, in which the capitalists gave their promise not to cut wages and the A. F. of L. sold out by its promise not to strike. Result? In the words of Dickinson "wages have been maintained at the high level wherever possible", which is an euphemistic way of calling this vicious wage cut drive that has included all categories of the American working class. "There have been fewer strikes than in any preceding depression", which means the treachery of the labor fakers has been complete. And now this same Bill Green comes crawling back on his belly to the same exploiters who so unceremoniously spit in his face a short time ago, to plead for the five day week, to allay the rising discontent of the working masses!

And what is the big issue at this convention, where everything is decided behind closed doors in luxurious hotel suites? Prohibition. But we don't want to get rid of this camouflage issue too hurriedly, so we'll write a program that is neither wet nor dry, call it "resubmission" and let it hang for three more years.

—CLARKE.

Forced Labor in Mpls.

(Continued from page 1)

planned system of production and distribution based on your needs and desires. You are the only useful class in society. Thru organization, both political and industrial, the present system can be done away with, and a Workers' government established.

The elections are at hand. Use the ballot to register your nonconfidence in the capitalist system by voting for the candidates of the Communist Party. Stay away from the capitalist primary elections. Sign petitions to put Communist candidates on the ballot in November.

Refuse to work without wages!

Demand cash wages instead of grocery orders!

Unemployed insurance out of bosses' profits!

Solidarity of employed with unemployed workers!

Long term credits to Russia!

Join and help build the unemployed Councils!

Stay away from the primaries!

Sign petitions for the Communist party candidates!

For Communism and a workers' government!

—Communist League of America (Opposition)

Henry Ford Counsels Workers to Return to Feudal Serfdom

Henry Ford has let the cat out of the bag. Why should an employer of labor on an extensive scale worry about workers who haven't got five cents for a head or lettuce? Yet that is what he is thinking about, according to a recent interview written up in the *New York Times*.

When the interviewer questioned the efficiency of Ford's plan for each of his workers raising his own lettuce instead of buying it, Ford replied, "There you go with the same old idea, the money standard of everything; why I know plenty of workers who haven't got five cents for a head of lettuce!"

So it happens that Ford of all people is perfectly ready to scrap modern principles of efficiency such as mass production, the division of labor, and specialization of work and skill and evolve instead a system of compulsory gardening for each worker. Of course this system has no connection with his plan of "raising auto" by producing on the farm, gold-enrod and muskmelons to be converted into rubber and gasoline. What then is the idea? Simply to make the workers work for next to nothing—And why? Because Ford too is helpless in a "system" of competitive chaos—in a period of relative prosperity he could afford to pay relatively "high" wages, especially since the market for autos had not reached the saturation point—But now the market is ruined, not because everybody has a car but largely because nobody has any money.

Since Ford is helpless in this situation, the best thing to do is to force the workers to raise some garden stuff—This of course will not support a family so the worker will still have to work in the factory—for a very low wage. Naturally he doesn't need a decent wage if he raises part of his food himself!

This is a long step backward toward feudalism; that is, a subsistence level for the general population, a sort of feed-your-own-face agriculture with no surplus save rent paid to the landlord in the form of labor and produce—No surplus for exchange, no market, no buying public.

It is quite conceivable that Ford, a tyrant in management but a typical capitalist anarchist in relation to social, organized life, may lead the way to a sort of modern feudalism—He makes a virtue of being flexible and alert to circumstances—the usual vice of an anarchistic tyrant—and at the moment he seems to be working on the theory that he must see that his workers get, not good wages, but food! This is just another way of saying that capitalism has broken down.

But how far can industrialism go in the direction of feudalism? The world market is disorganized—The buying public is "liquidated". Farmers are being forced to cut their specialized market products and go in for self-subsistence. Workers are being forced to buy shovels and hoes and raise food, and millions have no work at all. One fourth of the state of Mississippi has been sold at public auction in default of taxes. Tenants

are obliged to feed themselves rather than concentrate on staple crops—Corporate farms are increasing. Only the luxury trades have buyers.

Yet it remains true that modern industrialism and feudalism are two incompatible systems—Ford, to finish the feudal parallel, would have to eat his autos! That is consume the surplus produced by the workers. If the workers of the world are to be "liquidated" in respect to wages, who will buy the products of their labor? If practically everybody today, outside of bureaucrats, is a low-paid employee or unemployed,

Back Numbers of Militant Wanted

Some time ago we issued an appeal for missing back numbers of *The Militant*. As a result of this appeal comrades in different parts of the country sent in what they had and we made up a number of files which are now on sale. We are sure that comrades still have in their possession extra copies of the numbers we need. If they will send them in at once, we will be able to make up an additional number of files. We need not emphasize the financial importance of the sale of these files to us. It is obvious.

The numbers we need are: Vol. 1, No. 1, November 15, 1928; Vol. 2, No. 4, February 13, 1929; Vol. 3, No. 31, October 1, 1930; Vol. 4, No. 2, January 15, 1931; Vol. 4, No. 10, May 15, 1931.

We need all of these numbers, but at the moment we need the last one a little more than the others. A little more than a year ago we made up a number of files of *The Militant* from Vol. 1, No. 1 to the last issue of 1930. Comrades who bought these files have been waiting for bound files of the subsequent issues.

The issuance of the weekly *Militant* last July in a larger format created a new binding problem. We decided to bind in separate files the few issues of the old format of the year 1931 for those comrades who have the old files, to save them the necessity of buying the new files and duplicating much of what they already have. We need about thirty of the missing issues for 1931. Comrades, don't wait. Send in all of these issues that you have at once.

N. Y. OPEN AIR MEETING

An open air meeting of the New York Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will take place on Saturday, June 18, at 8 P. M.

Place: 125th Street and Fifth Avenue. Speakers: Clarke, Capelli, George Saul. All New York comrades and sympathizers are asked to be on hand.

Note: On account of technical difficulties, the second article in the series on Unemployment and the Crisis by comrade Arne Swaback was skipped this week. It will appear in the forthcoming issue.—Ed.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

The Situation in Italy and the C. P.

The Fascist Dictatorship in the Throes of the Economic Crisis

Against the background of the world economic crisis which shows a marked tendency toward accentuation, there presents itself a grave appearance, and in spite of the ferocious dictatorship of Fascism, of the explosion of the contradictions deriving therefrom which threaten to break out openly.

The Fascist government succeeded in riveting such shackles for the working masses that it was possible for it through long years to carry out a policy of systematic reduction of the workers' wages and equally systematic spoliation of the working peasants and of the middle strata in general. Thanks to such a policy, it was possible during the former years to satisfy to a sufficiently large extent its own requirements and the requirements of the large industrialists and landowners.

But a systematic policy of unlimited starvation of the entire working population could not but lead Italian capital-

ism into a blind alley. Indeed, the sharpening of the world economic crisis has reduced and limits continually the possibilities of exportation to the foreign markets for the agrarians and industrialists at the same time that the absorptive capacity of the internal market has been reduced to the last limit. Since this problem which is interlinked with others of the greatest importance has attained an intolerable acuteness and as the Fascist government is not in a position to be able to solve it by the habitual police methods, the Italian bourgeoisie manifests signs of a profound uneasiness.

How is it possible to reduce the costs of production if wages have already been slashed to the barest limit, beyond which it is impossible to go? How is the state to meet its payments inside and outside of the country if the provisions of the budget have not been realized and in place of a surplus one finds for the past year a deficit of approximately two billions, the large mass of the taxpayers being constantly less able to pay? How can one meet the growing requirements of industry and agriculture which are going through a sharp crisis, if the state coffers are empty?

These questions are raised by pretty nearly every one in Italy. And over these questions there developed heated discussions in the various industrial and agricultural conferences which in conclusion demand instantly from their Fascist government which in controlling and in intervening, largely holds the entire economic life of the country has already lowered the standard of living of the whole working population to such a degree that it will gain nothing or almost nothing more than at present, while its own requirements (armaments, enormous army, police, spies, provocateurs, militia, bureaucracy, etc.) are constantly increasing. As a result of this, not only is it unable to grant further large credits, but it is forced to address itself to its capitalist masters for aid. The last national loan of four billions floated by the government, which was covered in several days, proves how the Fascist government hesitated charily before embarking on the step. But the economic situation is serious and the requirements of the Fascist government are so great, that other, similar, "voluntary" loans appear to become indispensable, and within the capitalist class the contrasts will sharpen, the uncertainty and panic will bear a path for themselves.

The intensification of the objective situation contributes to the growth of the discontent and the problems existing in the bourgeoisie, the determination not to endure the internal situation created by Fascism which is beginning to manifest itself among the working masses. The orientation of the middle strata together with the persistent and tenacious anti-Fascist attitude of the workers creates an entirely new situation where the outbreak of an open political crisis presents itself as a very probable eventuality in spite of the efforts of the Fascist press to belittle about the solidity of the regime.

The extension of the discontent to all the categories of the working population, and the sudden and even violent explosions arising from this discontent with a growing persistence in all the regions of Italy bring about in the bourgeois class those concerns and uncertainties which are characteristic of the moment when the ruling class is no longer certain of the possibility of its governing by the existing method but lacks the courage to change it for fear of instituting something worse. On the other hand the class which stands opposed to it, the proletariat, is not yet conscious of its force to assume the initiative of the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeois regime. It is in connection with such a situation and its duration that the middle classes may succeed in taking the initiative of the anti-Fascist struggle which assumes already especially in the case of the country, a mass character.

Thus we can explain the efforts made at present by the democratic parties of the "anti-Fascist Concentration" which through their movement of "Justice and Liberty" attempt to intervene in the Italian situation with the purpose of organizing successfully in collective manifestations the discontentment of the working masses in order to exert a pressure on these doubtful and worried strata of the bourgeoisie, in order to win them over to their cause and thereby provoke the open political crisis from which they hope to emerge victorious.

The hesitation of these bourgeois layers to resolve upon a change in the form of government derives principally from the fact that ten years of Fascist dictatorship have so much enlarged, so greatly exasperated the class contrast, have raised such a high barrier between the labouring population and the capitalist class, have so radicalized the situation that even the parties of the "Anti-Fascist Concentration" have been forced to move from the moral ground of the anti-Fascist struggle on to the ground of the revolutionary struggle, having as its tendency to overturn together the Fascist dictatorship, the monarchy also. But there can be no doubt that to the extent that the mass movements will develop, and the incapability of the Fascist dic-

tatorship to control them will become more clearly manifest, the displacement of these strata towards the solution of the crises foreseen by the "Anti-Fascist Concentration" will manifest itself to a continually larger extent.

One of the more especially characteristic of the "Anti-Fascist Concentration" is exactly that of seeking to exploit the mass movements in order to accelerate its compromise with the bourgeoisie, a compromise based on the security of the capitalist class. But in the eyes of the broad masses the reactionary character of the "Concentration" is not yet clear, and consequently it would be a very serious error to underestimate the still large possibilities for it to deceive the labouring masses.

The program of action with which the "Anti-Fascist Concentration" through the movement of "Justice and Liberty" seeks to influence and to mobilize the working masses against the Fascist dictatorship is able to arouse broad sympathies among the Italian working class. The democratic demands set forth by this program, as for example land to the peasant, control over the industries, nationalization of the banks, and republican Constituent Assembly elected by universal suffrage, directly and by secret ballot, cannot but exercise a large influence in the working masses if one takes into consideration the fact that in the course of the last five years the exceptional laws have reduced the workers to a condition of atrocious misery and of intolerable political slavery. Cornered in such a situation the broad working masses are inclined to follow the political movement which in their opinion has the largest possibilities and probabilities of freeing them as soon as possible from the tragic situation in which they are forced to live.

There is no doubt that between the time of the bankruptcy of the Aventin and the present the Italian situation has been enormously radicalized; this is also proved by the changes that have supervened in the Concentrationist program of action. This fact is of great importance for the Communist Party because there exists a number of infinitely greater possibilities than in the Matteotti period, in order to win the leadership of the mass movements.

But the conquest of the leadership of the mass movements by the Communist Party does not operate naturally, due to the fact that the Communist party is the only party that struggles in the interest of all the toiling population; but it operates only on the condition that the Communist Party can convince the masses that it is, in actual fact, the only party. The conquest of the leadership of the masses by the party is consequently closely connected with the correctness of its policy. Unfortunately the leadership of the C. P. I. is more concerned with reconciling its policy with the disastrous zig-zags of the international leadership than with the real situation in Italy. Also, if the rank and file comrades aided by us do not succeed in causing a radical change in the present policy pursued by the party toward the social democracy and the "Justice and Liberty" movement it is to be foreseen that the party will play quite a secondary role, in the period of preparation preceding the crisis as well as in the period when the crisis will have burst.

(Despite the scandalous campaign carried on at the present time against Bordiga in the party, the policy of the leadership basically maintains his (Bordiga's) ultra-Leftist ideology, of which it is only a caricature.)

After the death of Lenin followed the Stalinist political leadership in the C. P. S. U., which was made the leading

center of the C. I., a mere supplement to its disastrous policy of bureaucratization in the heart of the C. I. and the Communist parties. They had already led our party to grave errors in the struggle against the "Trotskyist" Opposition in the C. P. S. U. And they wanted the logic of bureaucratization to be continued in the ranks of the C. P. I. to the utmost degree of servility towards the present leaders of the C. I. Thus the leaders of the C. P. I. have along with understandable hesitations, arrived at the acceptance of the theories of the "third period" with all that flows from them. One must recognize that once they crossed the rubicon, our leaders showed an inimitable agility. In fact, in order to catch the ear of Moscow, they cried very loudly that until an hour ago, they were deceived into not seeing that Italy also presented the peculiar characteristics of the third period; better still, that Italy was in the vanguard of the revolutionary upsurge. This, in such a way that all at once the passive masses have been presented as active; the social democracy, an opposing force to Fascism, has been presented as social-Fascist; the large section of the toiling population, who, they only a day before said, were bound to be influenced by the social democracy, was presented as having already passed under the banner of Communism. They affirmed that everything was represented by the formula: Fascism or Communism. Consequently the social democracy no longer had any role to play in Italy. They further maintained that the proletarian revolution struck so loudly on the door that our leaders did not know what to do in order to arrive in time to be useful in leading it. And we, Oppositists, who wanted to restore a small measure of reason to those who over-heated themselves—in the frost, we have been branded as counter-revolutionists.

About one year after our expulsion the C. C. convoked the Fourth Congress of the C. P. according to the usual bureaucratic procedure. This congress met in the beginning of the year 1931 when in the C. I. another turn was already in operation and that no one spoke any more of the third period. In the congress, the leadership of the C. P. I. recognized having committed several errors. The Italian situation was in reality not as advanced as they had judged it to be; the social democracy has not only not ceased to exist, but still is a political force to be reckoned with.

The Congress condemned considering this fundamental strategic object accomplished: the conquest of the masses, influenced by the social-democracy basing themselves on the disappearance of the other anti-Fascist parties. . . . In the same way, the Congress warned the party, "that one must not forget that there still exists a large passive mass whom we are as yet far from leading." . . . and what is more "it is necessary to note that if it is true that the party has resisted the reaction and has continued to struggle, it is also true that it has suffered the consequences of the blows inflicted on it by the class enemy and also the fact that the whole working class has been forced into a retreat by Fascism (disbursement and renewing of the cadres, weakness in the industrial centers, temporary interruption of mass work)". And still more, the Congress warned the leadership that the "democratic danger" that is to say, the danger that "sections of the middle class can divert the revolutionary movement of the peasant masses and hinder their political solidarity with the proletarian movement, is in fact particularly serious in these regions (Midi); and it is an error to think that they will be eliminated merely by objective factors. The revolutionary bloc of the workers and peasants can only be the result of the political action of the party in the country." (Theses and Resolutions of the Fourth Congress.)

(Continued on page 4)

The Organizational Progress of the German Left Opposition

GELSENGIRCHEN.

Gelsenkirchen: Our comrades, Weber, Klayberg and Meyer of Gelsenkirchen have received the following letter from the district leadership (C. P.) of the Ruhr:

Secretariat: "We communicate to you that you are expelled from the Communist party for disintegrating work and factional activity. Motive: Despite the repeated warnings of the secretariat of the sub district you openly spread Trotskyist pamphlets and you defend Trotskyism which is the vanguard of the counter-revolution. The leading party of the proletariat cannot tolerate such openly counter-revolutionary knaves in its ranks. Continue on this counter-revolutionary path and one day you will find yourself on the other side of the barricade with all the counter-revolutionists in the struggle against the proletariat. Signed: District Leadership of the Ruhr. We publish several extracts from the reply of our comrades:

"From the accusations made in your letter: 'Disintegration of the Party', 'Factional activity and spreading Trotskyist pamphlets', the only one that is true is that we spread the pamphlets and the newspapers of comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition. (Not seeing any reason to hide what is we will give you the number of pamphlets and newspapers distributed since the tenth of February. They amount to seven hundred copies.)

"The letter speaks of openly counter-revolutionary knaves, who can no longer be tolerated in the ranks of the party. Does this signify that double-faced, secret and hidden knaves are less dangerous and because of that, can still be tolerated?"

"In the 'motive', you counsel us about pursuing 'our counter-revolutionary path'. If this manner of absurd speaking denotes the political and spiritual horizon of the district leadership or of the writer of the letter, we have every reason to admit that the Secretariat does not know what the word 'counter-revolutionary' means. To encourage comrades who have without exception worked for many years in the party, to follow a path that you consider dangerous and injurious—one cannot in all truth imagine anything more counter-revolutionary. Above all, if you think that up to the present time these comrades have demanded and tried in vain to engage in a serious discussion."

BERLIN.

Meeting of the Members of the Northwest District

The results of the elections were to be taken up. But, the report of Poike as well as that of the leader of the organization reached such a low level that entire locals "voted with their feet", that is to say, left the meeting. The reporter was often interrupted towards the end. From all the districts that communicate with us now similar manifestations of discontent are produced on the subject of the futile and contradictory policy of the party concerning the election results, of which they are well aware.

LEIPZIG.

Our position on the past of the C. P. G. in the trade unions and our positive criticism of the isolationist policy of the R. T. U. O. (revolutionary trade union opposition) and of the "Red United Front" have often been expressed in articles and theses in the *Permanente Revolution*. Experience proves the correctness of our position on trade union work in the practical realization of a true Leninist policy in the mass organizations. Our comrades are registering successes in their interventions in the trade union bodies. The discontent against reformism is favorable for the conquest of the masses, on the condition that we use a correct criticism.

The trade union of the maintenance workers organized a functionary meeting on March 8th, where they dealt with the subject of the "iron front" and where Borkert, general president of Berlin, was present as the reporter. In a report which lasted for two hours he tried to make the workers believe that the "iron front" and the candidacy of Hindenburg

were the methods of proletarian struggle against Fascism. Our comrade, Buchner spoke first in the discussion. He spoke for half an hour before two hundred workers. He demonstrated to the workers in an understandable manner that the policy of the A. D. G. B. (United German Trade Union Alliance—reformist union) has led to the strengthening of the reaction, that the leaders of the iron front are the same ones who support all the attacks of the bourgeoisie against the working class, against wages, against social "rights", etc. That the moment imposes upon the workers unity in an extra-parliamentary struggle against Fascism and that the candidacy of Thaelmann for the presidency of the Reich should signify the mobilization of the conscious proletariat for the extra-parliamentary struggle which approaches. Vigorous applause demonstrated the sympathy of the meeting for the political arguments of our comrade worker.

Coal Miners Strike in Czechoslovakia

All the parties, included also the Communist party, were taken by surprise by the outbreak of the North Bohemian mass strike. It was a healthy elementary mass movement. Shortly after the outbreak of the strike the Communist party very ably utilized the circumstance that the reformist leaders would have nothing to do with the strike but exclusively in the sense of the "demagogy of party politics". The Red Trade Unions gave to the movement no orientation, i. e., whatever demands were formulated were purely reformist—"social Fascist" demands. It was Zapotocky, this practical man, trained in all the dodges and artifices of Bukharinism* who was suddenly chosen as leader of the movement. Sméral stood behind him, made a programmatic speech before the large conference of miners at Revier. An old-time, Right-wing trade union bureaucrat could not pass over the question more superficially—that a mighty political struggle had broken out, that above all made it a duty of the Communist leaders to further it towards a goal whereby the opportunity presented itself to raise its political character.

A miners' strike in Czechoslovakia has the greatest significance only if the miners of the Ostrava-District participate in the struggle. The Ostrava mines and not those of North Bohemia are of vital importance for transportation and industry. However, the first ones who retreated in Ostrava and Klaude were the functionaries of the "red union". This was irreparable right up to the end of the struggle. In addition, the whole conduct of the official party, particularly the bourgeois speeches of Zapotocky, invites the conclusion that the C. P. did not in the least desire this extension of the struggle.

On the other hand, Sméral and Zapotocky indicated how the united front movement really appears when it is formed not by the "Lefts" but the Stalinists themselves. In the leadership of the strike the Communists and the Leftists formed a united front. In no city of the world did the Fascists function so openly as henchmen of the reaction, as formerly within the framework of the old Austria and the present Czechoslovakia. They were and are the party of the yellow strike breakers. It is sufficient to refer to the direct results of the liquidated struggle. Every local election in the German arena ends with an unexpected victory of the Fascists, while the C. P. can only point to entirely weak advances or direct losses. In the united front of the C. P. with the yellow forces it was affirmed by the C. P., that the latter were not yellow strike-breakers but worthy comrades of revolutionary fighters.

The whole argument becomes more valid when one regards the numerical strength of the trade unions. In the German and Czech trade union organizations and in the National Socialist trade unions there is approximately 1,000,000 workers. (The Czech National Socialist trade unions are pure workers organizations; they are basically different from the German National Socialists in their composition and tendencies). In the reformist miners' organizations there is said to be 60,000 workers. The trade unions of the German Fascists number all in all several thousand members. Of these there are at least seventy percent who are confirmed strike-breakers. One might say that the red trade unions are no stronger. That is correct. But the fact is that the Fascists within the large trade unions have not the least influence; nor have they ever had, and on the contrary, the sentiment for Communism, for the Soviet Union, for everything that has a genuine revolutionary ring to it becomes strengthened day by day. So that the red trade unions should have had a thousand fold more favorable position. And the results of the mass struggle? An astounding rise of the party of the yellow strike-breakers, liquidation of the mass struggle on the basis of the most negligible "agreements", while the united strike leadership was not recognized.

Off the Press Today!

Problems of the Chinese Revolution

by LEON TROTSKY

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Nine Years of the Left Opposition

The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution

When the full history is written of the second Chinese revolution (1925-1927), it will stand out as an everlasting monument of condemnation to the leadership of Stalin-Bucharin in the Russian party and the International. For the first time in history was it given to the young proletarian of the Orient to take the power into its hands. Such a victory would have extended the Soviet power from the frontiers of Poland to the Pacific coast, brought together close to a third of the world's population under the triumphant banner of Bolshevism, and given such a mighty impetus to the world revolution as it has not had since October 1917. Victory lay within reach of the hand for the Chinese workers and peasants, but something unprecedented in history took place: the leadership, clothed in all the formal authority of the Russian revolution and the Communist International, stood in the way like a solid wall. Stalin and Bucharin prohibited the proletariat from taking power. In the Chinese revolution the epigones played to the end, and with tragic results, the role which Lenin's struggle in the Bolshevik party in April-May 1917 prevented them from playing in the Russian revolution.

The policy of the ruling faction during the most decisive period of the Chinese revolution was, as Trotsky puts it, a translation of Menshevism into the language of Chinese politics. The theory of Stalin, Bucharin and Martynov can be summed up as follows:

The Stalin Theory

They proceeded from the standpoint that China, as a semi-colonial country, was being submitted to the yoke of imperialism which pressed down upon the whole nation, and upon all the classes in it with equal severity. On this ground, the bourgeoisie was conducting a revolutionary war against imperialism and had to be supported by the masses of workers and peasants, in a struggle which was to be carried to victory by the establishment of a "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants". The "revolutionary anti-imperialist united front" was to be constituted as a "bloc of four classes"—composed of the workers, the peasants, the petty and large bourgeoisie. The embodiment of this "bloc" was the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang, the party of Sun Yat Sen, and after his death, of Chiang Kai-Shek and Wang Chin Wei. The Kuo Min Tang according to Stalin, was a "revolutionary parliament", a "workers' and peasants' party" into which all the Chinese Communists had to enter as a subordinated group. Even after the Shanghai coup d'Etat of Chiang Kai-Shek, Bucharin shouted that "we shall never surrender the blue banner" (that is, the banner of the Kuo Min Tang).

Since the bourgeoisie, according to this conception, was conducting an anti-imperialist war against the foreign brigades, the class struggle at home was considered liquidated. For the workers and the Communists to make any serious attacks upon the Chinese bourgeoisie would be to disrupt the "bloc of the four classes". That is why Stalin compelled the Chinese Communists to submit quietly to the decisions of the Nationalist government which established compulsory arbitration in strike struggles. For the same reason, the peasants movement was checked with an iron hand in telegraphic commands from Moscow. Similarly, the Communists were instructed not to organize Soviets, first, because Soviets are the instruments of power of the proletarian dictatorship and "not of the democratic dictatorship", and secondly because to form Soviets would mean to overthrow the "revolutionary center", as Stalin called the Nationalist government of the bourgeoisie.

The principal arguments of the epigones against the Left Opposition were that "Trotsky did not understand" the "peculiar" position of China as a semi-colonial country where the revolution was "particularly distinguished" by the fact that it was anti-imperialist; further that Trotsky did not understand that this was a "democratic and not a socialist" revolution, consequently that its aim was a democratic and not a proletarian dictatorship; finally, that to "break the united anti-imperialist front" would be to alienate the bourgeoisie and "skip over stages".

This was the guiding line of the leaders of the Comintern. Its practical effects led directly to the victory of the bourgeois counter-revolution and the massacre of the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat and peasantry by the very "allies" whom Stalin had chosen for them.

The "Bloc of Four Classes"

What was the "bloc of four classes" in actuality? It was the form selected by Stalin and Co., in which the Communists, that is, the genuinely revolutionary vanguard, was subordinated, bound hand and foot, and delivered to the Chinese bourgeoisie. In the "bloc" the Chinese Communist Party did not retain a shadow of its own independence. The party, in a joint manifesto with the Kuo Min Tang, announced that it differed with the latter only "in some details", that the "united anti-imperialist front" had to be maintained at all costs, and that the Communists pledged themselves not to criticize the petty bourgeois doctrines of Sun Yat Senism. At the height of the revolutionary storm the Communists played such an insignificant independent role that they did not possess a daily paper of their own, and even their weekly periodicals—we shall say nothing of their contents—were published irregularly. In whole sections of the territory conquered by the Nationalist armies of Chiang Kai-Shek, the Communist party and the trade unions continued to remain illegal. The party, instead of becoming the leader in

arousing and preparing the masses against the bourgeoisie, became the instrument of the bourgeoisie restraining the workers from striking against their bourgeois "allies" and preventing the peasants from rising to take the land and drive out the kulaks. Rendered impotent in the revolutionary situation, Stalin nevertheless left the Chinese party sufficient strength for it to hand over to the bourgeoisie the proletarian and peasant masses it should have led against Chiang Kai-Shek and Co.

What conception did the Opposition defend? It took as its point of departure the fact that the semi-colonial position of China made the struggle against foreign imperialism an immediate task of the democratic revolution. But, it pointed out it is precisely this position with relation to imperialism that makes inevitable the coming agreement between the national bourgeoisie—seeking customs autonomy—and the imperialists, both of them bound together by a common fear of the Chinese masses. The democratic revolution sets the task not only of liberation from the imperialist yoke but also the solution of the agrarian question. In China, however, the country usurer and landowner is so intimately bound up with the urban big bourgeoisie, the compradors, and in the last analysis, the foreign bourgeoisie, that the agrarian revolution can only be carried out in violent struggle against all these elements. Will the bourgeoisie or even the petty bourgeoisie lead the masses in solving this problem? Quite the contrary. Only the proletariat of China can lead the peasantry in the struggle for liberation and the establishment of their own power. In this struggle, it is necessary to establish a bloc with the petty bourgeois masses, but a bloc which is led by the proletariat whose vanguard is organized into a separate Communist party, subordinated to no other party and acting independently.

What guarantees must the Communists establish for the victory of the revolution? Primarily, to rely upon themselves, upon their own armed forces, upon their own apparatus, and in the end, upon their own state machinery. The Canton government is not our government just as the Nationalist armies are not our armies and the Kuo Min Tang is not our party, but the armies and party of the bourgeoisie. The same holds true of the Wuhan government, established by the "Lefts" after Chiang Kai-Shek's coup d'Etat in Shanghai.

Everywhere, therefore, the workers and peasants must form Soviets, for which they are already fighting instinctively.

The Smashing of the Opposition

For advocating this course of action, the whole apparatus of the Russian party and the International was converted into a machine to crush the Left Opposition. From Stalin and Martynov down to the last functionary an international campaign was conducted to prove that Chiang Kai-Shek was a reliable ally, and after he had drowned the Shanghai proletariat in his own blood, his place of honor in the campaign was taken by Feng Yu-shiang and Wang Chin Wei. The whole Communist press lauded the bourgeois generals as "our own". The Kuo Min Tang, which the Russian Political Bureau had decided (against Trotsky's solitary vote) to admit into the Communist International as a "sympathizing" party, was presented to the world as only one step removed from Communism. To such lengths had Stalinism gone in the international that when Chiang Kai-Shek's armies entered Shanghai to consecrate in proletarian blood the victory of the counter-revolution, the French Communist party sent him a telegram of congratulations on the formation of the "Shanghai Commune".

The proposals of the Opposition for an independent Communist party in China were denounced without stint. This meant, cried Stalin and Bucharin, to leave the Kuo Min Tang, to "desert our allies", to drive away the bourgeoisie from the "united front", to "skip over stages". The bourgeoisie had to be supported, they contended, and the bloc maintained. It is true that in the "bloc" it was the bourgeoisie who ruled and the proletariat who served, but this fatal "detail" was overlooked completely in the interests of the "national revolution."

Even after the Chiang Kai-Shek coup (and it was not his first sign of counter-revolutionism), Stalin doggedly maintained his course. Only, in place of support to the "Kuo Min Tang center" of Chiang Kai-Shek which was supposed to be leading the "anti-imperialist revolution", was now put the "Kuo Min Tang Left" of Wang Chin Wei, which was supposed to be leading the "agrarian revolution". After Chiang Kai-Shek had led his troops to Shanghai in order there to join forces with the foreign imperialists against the Chinese masses, the government of the "Left" bourgeoisie was set up in Wuhan. In this case too the ghastly experiment in Menshevism was continued on a "higher scale". Stalin called the Wuhan government of bourgeois politicians the "revolutionary center" of the South. According to Stalin, the Wuhan clique was nothing more nor less than the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry". And if this was the case, the proposal of the Opposition to form Soviets in the Wuhan territory was, you see, a criminal adventure. For if we already have the "democratic dictatorship" set up, what purpose is there in organizing Soviets, which are organs of power and must consequently be aimed at overwhelming the existing regime? This is how the Stalinists argued.

Stalinist Ministerialism

Into the Wuhan government were sent two Communist ministers, one as the minister of labor and the other, Tang Ping Shan, who had already distinguished himself in Moscow and China in the struggle against "Trotskyism" because it "under-estimated the peasantry", as minister of agriculture. How did this bourgeois government, the "organ of the agrarian revolution", proceed to act? In the customary manner of all bourgeois governments that exist only by grace of the ignorance, disorganization and weakness of the revolutionary masses. It sought to crush the workers' and peasants' movement, and in this task it found the signal support of the two Communist captives who served the Chinese bourgeoisie as ministers under instructions from Moscow. Wuhan proceeded to "organize the agrarian revolution" by sending the Communist minister and anti-Trotsky expert into the countryside at the head of an armed division for the purpose of suppressing the insurrectionary peasants! In this one episode it eliminated the whole counter-revolutionary course which Stalinism pursued in the Chinese revolution. The Communist vanguard was transformed by Stalin into the club with which the bourgeoisie smashed the masses into submission.

It must be acknowledged that Stalin's allies in the camp of the Chinese bourgeoisie proved to be less faithful to him than he was to them. Practically at the moment when he was sharpening the knife for the neck of the Shanghai proletariat, Chiang Kai-Shek was being landed in Moscow by Stalin, who proclaimed him a loyal ally, and condemned the Opposition for proposing measures against him. Stalin suffered the same inevitable disappointment with the Wuhan government. It followed with almost staged accuracy in the footsteps of Chiang Kai-Shek. The "Left Kuo Min Tang" leaders proved to be not one whit more revolutionary than their Right wing brothers-under-the-skin. The fantastic "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry", which Lenin had kicked into the dustbin of history in April 1917, proved to be, in China of a decade later, a reactionary noose around the necks of the proletariat and peasantry.

With his "workers' and peasants' party", with his "anti-imperialist united front", with his "bloc of four classes", with his "revolutionary parliament" of the Kuo Min Tang, with his "democratic dictatorship" and opposition to the formation of Soviets under proletarian leadership—with all this Stalin played the reactionary part in China which Trotsky and Chernov sought unsuccessfully to fill in the Russian revolution of 1917. This is the only way in which the tragedy of the second Chinese revolution will be recorded in history. At every stage in the struggle, the Opposition defended the tested doctrines of Marxism, of Bolshevism. The Centrist apparatus crushed the Left Opposition. But in doing so it only crushed the Chinese revolution.

—SHACHTMAN.

The next article will deal with the struggle of the Opposition for the planned industrialization and agrarian collectivization in the Soviet Union.

The Situation in Italy

(Continued from page three.)

The change in policy that took place in March, 1930 and the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, which met in the early part of 1931, were not due to a re-examination of the Italian situation but were the result of a general change which occurred in the policy of the C. I. and proved with what lack seriousness the leaders of our party concern themselves with the destinies of the proletarian revolution in Italy. And that what we had occasion to say was equally true, was shown by the fact that at the Fourth Congress, organized by the leadership that expelled us, they were forced by the Congress to condemn several false political positions defended by them one year ago against us—and having accepted our position—they have not failed to slander us at this Congress. Nevertheless the fact remains very important for us that at the Fourth Congress, the leadership which expelled us from the party was forced to recognize the political positions defended by us as correct. If we had been able to participate in this Congress we would certainly have demolished the other false political positions which the leadership succeeded in getting adopted. In fact, the full responsibility for the Fourth Congress rests upon the shoulders of the party leadership which organized it after having estimated the situation correctly and after having put the party on guard against the "democratic" danger, for retaining the false theory of "social-fascism" and following from that, in persisting in the repudiation of the Bolshevik-Leninist tactic of the united front.

The Communist party should become the most powerful motive force in the Italian situation for the mobilization and the unification of all the forces of the movement against the Fascist dictatorship. It can be the center of attraction for all the working masses by aiding them in the efforts they are making to rise against the Fascist dictatorship. And in the course of the large movement which will multiply and gain leadership over it in a firm fashion. "But only on the condition that they do not turn their backs on the problems of democracy" (Trotsky), by giving up the absolutely negative policy towards the other anti-Fascist parties.

By continuing to lead according to the false theory of "social-fascism"; and consequently, by not applying the tactic of the united front as it was taught us by Lenin during the four Congresses of

STRIKE STRATEGY

by LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from last issue)

According to the testimony of Communist workers (cf., say *Der Rote Aufbau*), there is a great deal being said in factories to the effect that the sectional strikes have no meaning at present, and that only a general strike could lead the workers out of their troubles. "The general strike" here signifies: the perspective of struggle. The workers are the less apt to become inspired by disparate strikes because they have to deal directly with the state power; monopolistic capital speaks to the workers in the language of Bruening's emergency decrees.

At the dawn of the workers movement, in order to draw the workers into a strike, the agitators often refrained from launching into revolutionary and socialist perspectives, in order not to scare the worker away. At present the situation bears just the opposite character. The leading strata of the German workers can decide upon beginning a defensive economic struggle only in the event that they are clear about the general perspectives of the subsequent struggle. They do not feel that these perspectives obtain among the Communist leadership.

UNEMPLOYED AND EMPLOYED MUST BE UNITED

In relation to the tactic of the March days, 1921 in Germany (to "electrify" the minority of the proletariat instead of capturing its majority), the writer spoke at the III. Congress as follows: "At the time when the overwhelming majority of the working class takes no account of the movement, does not sympathize with it, or is doubtful of its success; then the minority rushes ahead and by mechanical means strives to drive the workers into strikes, then this impatient minority in the guise of the Party can fall foul of the working class and break its own head."

Does this mean that the strike struggle should be renounced? No, not renounced, but it should be sustained by creating for it necessary political and organizational postulates. One of these is the restoration of the unity of the trade unions. The reformist bureaucracy, of course, is averse to this. The split has hitherto assured its position in the best manner possible. But the immediate threat of Fascism is changing the situation within the trade unions to the detriment of the bureaucracy. The gravitation to unity is growing. Should Leipart's clique try under present conditions to prohibit the restoration of unity, this would immediately double or triple the Communist influence within the unions. Should the union materialize, nothing could be better; a wide sphere of activity would be opened to the Communists. Not half-way measures are urgent, but a bold about-face!

Without a widespread campaign against the high cost of living, for a short working week, against wage cuts, without drawing the unemployed into this struggle hand in hand with the employed; without a successful application of the policy of the United Front, the improvised small strikes will not lead the movement out to the open road.

LUXEMBURGISM—OR BUREAUCRATIC VILLIFICATION?

The Left social-democrats chat about the necessity of resorting to the general strike "in the event that the Fascists come into power." Very likely, Leipart himself flaunts such threats within the four walls. On this account, DIE ROTE FAHNE makes reference to Luxemburgism. This is villifying the great revolutionist. Even though Rosa Luxemburg overestimated the independent importance of the general strike in the question of power, she understood quite well that a general strike could not be declared at one's whim, that it was prepared for by the whole preceding course of the workers' movement, the policies of the party and the trade unions. On the lips of the Left social democrats however the mass strike is more of a consoling myth superimposed over sorry reality.

For many years, the French social democrats had promised that they would resort to the general strike in the event of war. The Basle Congress of 1912 even promised resorting to a revolutionary uprising. But the threat of the general strike as well as of the uprising assumed in these instances the nature of theatrical thunder. What is here involved is not the counterposition of the strike to the uprising, but the still-born, formal and verbal attitude to the strike as well as to the uprising. The reformist armed with the revolution in the abstract—such in general was the Bebel type of social democrat prior to the war. The post-war reformist brandishing the threat of a general strike is again a live caricature.

The Communist leadership, of course, bears to the general strike an attitude that is much more conscientious. But it lacks clarity in this question also. And clarity is urgent. The general strike is a very important weapon of struggle, but it is not universal. There are conditions under which the general strike may weaken the workers more than their immediate enemy. The strike must enter as an important element into

the calculation of one's strategy and not as a panacea in which is submerged all other strategy.

Generally speaking, the general strike is the weapon of struggle of the weaker against the stronger; or, to put it more precisely, of the one who at the beginning of the struggle feels himself weaker against him whom one considers to be the stronger; seeing that I myself cannot make use of an important weapon, I shall try to prevent my opponents using it; if I cannot shoot from cannons, I shall at least remove the gunlocks. Such is the "idea" of the general strike.

The general strike was always the weapon of struggle against an entrenched state power, that had at its disposal, railroads, telegraph, police and army, etc. By paralyzing the governmental apparatus the general strike either "scared" the government, or created the postulates for a revolutionary solution of the question of power.

FOR THE DEFENSIVE OR FOR THE OFFENSIVE?

The general strike is the most effective method of fighting under the conditions where the masses are united only by revolutionary indignation but are lacking military organizations and staffs, and cannot beforehand either estimate the correlation of forces, or work out a plan of action. Thus, one may suppose, that the anti-Fascist revolution in Italy, after beginning from one or another sectional clash, will inevitably go through the stage of the general strike. Only in this way will the present disoriented proletariat of Italy once again feel itself as a united class and match the strength of the enemy's resistance, whom it must overthrow.

One would have to fight in Germany against Fascism by means of the general strike only in the event that Fascism was already in power, and had firmly seized the state apparatus. But so long as the matter concerns the repelling of the Fascist attempt to seize power, the slogan of the general strike turns out to be just so much space wasted.

At the time of Kornilov's march against Petrograd neither the Bolsheviks, nor the Soviets as a whole, even thought of declaring a general strike. On the railroads the fight was waged to have the workers and the railroad personnel transport the revolutionary troops and retard the Kornilov detachments. The factories stopped functioning only in proportion as the workers had to leave for the front. The industries that served the revolutionary front worked with redoubled energy.

At the time of the October overturn there was likewise no talk of a general strike. The factories and regiments already on the eve of the overturn were recognizing, in an overwhelming majority, the leadership of the Bolshevik Soviet. Under these conditions, to call the factories to a strike meant to weaken oneself and not the enemy. At the railroads the workers strived to aid the uprising; the personnel under the guise of neutrality aided the counter-revolution. The general strike of railroad workers lacked any significance: the question was decided by the preponderance of the workers over the personnel.

Should the struggle flare up in Germany through sectional clashes initiated by Fascist provocation, the call for a general strike would hardly meet the general situation. The general strike would first of all mean that city would be isolated from city, one section of the city from another, and even one factory from the next. It is more difficult to find and collect the unemployed. Under such conditions the Fascists, who have no lack of staffs, can obtain a certain preponderance thanks to the centralized leadership. True, their masses are so disoriented that even under these conditions the Fascist attempt could be repelled. But that is already another side of the matter.

The question of railroad communications, for instance, must be taken up not from the point of view of "prestige" which demands that everybody should strike, but from the point of view of military expediency: for whom and against whom would the ways of communication serve in the time of conflict?

It is necessary, therefore, to prepare not for a general strike but for the repulsion of Fascists. This means that everywhere there should be created bases of operation, shock troops, reserves, local staffs and central authorities, smoothly working means of communication and the simplest plans of mobilization.

—L. TROTSKY.

(From WHAT NEXT—Vital Questions for the German proletariat)

* Some ultra-Lefts (for instance, the Italian Bordist group) holds that the United Front is permissible only in economic struggles. The attempt to separate the economic struggle from the political in our epoch is less feasible in our time than ever before. The example of Germany, where wage agreements and workers' wages are cut by means of administrative decrees should instill this truth even in small children.

We shall add in passing that in their present stage, the Stalinists are reviving many of the early crotchets of Bordism. Small wonder that the "Prometeo group", which has learned nothing and which hasn't taken a step forward, today, in the period of the ultra-Left zig-zag of the Comintern stands much closer to the Stalinists than to us.

Bound Volume of Trotsky Pamphlets

THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMINTERN
STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION
WORLD UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE FIVE YEAR PLAN
PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE U. S. S. R.
THE TURN IN THE C. I. AND THE SITUATION IN GERMANY
GERMANY—THE KEY TO THE IN-

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION IN DANGER

COMMUNISM AND SINDICALISM

The first, third and fifth pamphlets in the above table are out of print and are available only in the bound volumes. Again we wish to repeat that in our opinion these works by comrade Trotsky will be the texts which the coming generations of the revolutionary movement will study together with the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

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THE MILITANT

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ON THE SPOT

IT'S THE WORKER WHO ALWAYS PAYS

The B. M. T. (Brooklyn-Manhattan-Transit Corporation) decided to save five million dollars so dividends could be paid to the stockholders, as well as to bolster the price of B. M. T. shares on the stock market. Displaying an originality that is nothing short of amazing, the corporation's directors hit upon the bright idea of taking the five millions out of the paltry wages of the corporation's employees. They simply cut their wages ten per cent and called it a day.

THE ELEPHANT NEVER FORGETS

The national convention of the Republican Party renominated "Elihu" Over, the stalwart Briton and Charlie Curtis, his American expression. Wall Street wanted Hoover. Nobody except Mrs. Dolly Gann seemed to want Curtis. Hoover has an excellent record. He plundered his way to wealth and position. He was at home in any land where profits could be coaxed out of the sweat and blood of the masses. He served himself and his masters in Australia, China and in Siberia. He was a bit late in Siberia, for the Bolsheviks took over the country in the name of the working class and directed all exploiters to the sign which read: "This way out." Which partly explains Hoover's anti-Soviet phobia. The G. O. P. is grateful to Hoover for his services while an inmate of the White House. It does not forget its loyal servants.

BOLTER BORAH CANNOT SWALLOW BOOZE PLANK

Senator Borah, the eminent bolter from the almost uninhabited state of Idaho again threatens to bolt the Republican Party in the election campaign. He does not like the hermaphroditic plank on the liquor question which was framed with the object of holding the dregs in line, and giving encouragement to the beerocrats who want their beer at a dime a stein instead of two bits. It's a two-way plank and Borah is a natural. We predict that the senator will be sitting behind the elephant's ears before November with Rajah Hoover in the howdah.

WHAT MAKES THE JACKASS WILD?

The Democrats are expected to put on a livelier show in Chicago than the one staged by the Republicans. The G. O. P. menagerie contains a better collection of animals than the Democrat zoo. The G. O. P. is more responsible to the Wall Street trainer and is the keeper's favorite. But sometimes the customers like a change and the jackass replaces the elephant in the White House cage. They both serve the capitalists, though the Democrats are a bit wilder and woolier, many of them hailing from the hills. The class-conscious worker will call down a plague on both parties and vote the Communist ticket. It makes no difference to the worker or the workless whether he is plundered and reduced to starvation by the Republican confidence man or the Democratic highwayman.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY ALSO RUNS

After several years of comparative inner peace the Socialist Party enters an election campaign with a factional fight on its hands. The fight is over the question of Americanization, which means that Morris Hillquit's job is not considered an asset in a vote-catching campaign. Anyhow, a fight over the physiognomy of the party chairman proves that the S. P. is still alive.

THEN THEY'LL HAVE NO BRAINS AT ALL

The Human Betterment Foundation of Pasadena, California proposed to the summer session of the American Association for the Advancement of Science that approximately one-sixth of the population of this country is mentally defective and should be sterilized to prevent race degeneration. We learn that the enlightened state of California, home of Hoover and Jailer of Mooney and Billings, has had considerable experience in this race-preserving experiment. We also learn that six out of seven operated on are quite satisfied and regret they can be cut only once like the patriot who wished he had two lives to give to his country. Eighteen million mental defectives out of a population of 120,000,000 may seem an exaggerated figure but when one considers that thirty or forty or perhaps fifty millions of workers and their dependents are starving in the midst of plenty, the estimate is rather low.

While they are at it they might sterilize the mental defectives who looked for the Lindbergh baby.

Not to speak of those who believe the repeal of the 18th Amendment will liquidate the depression.

—RIDEM.

A New History Making Trotsky Book

PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, by Leon Trotsky. With an introduction by Max Shachtman. 418 pages. Pioneer Publishers, New York. Paper, \$1.00; cloth \$1.50.

The Eighth Plenum of the Communist International in May 1927 occupies a unique place in the annals of our movement, if only because formally speaking it occupies practically no place at all. Confronted as it was with problems more acute than those which faced some of the preceding international gatherings, there has yet to come out of it a record of the proceedings. The Plenum took place at a time when the Chinese revolution was approaching its highest point, with sufficient material at hand to draw the most instructive conclusions. In it were argued out the fundamental questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics. Opposing the official course were the two outstanding leaders of the Executive Committee—Trotsky and Zinoviev, as well as the secretary of the Young Communist International, Vavoyitch. What was decided there deeply affected the whole future of the world revolutionary movement. But to this day you will look in vain through all the voluminous accounts of the Congresses and Plenums of the Communist International for a definite report of the Eighth Plenum, for the documents presented to it and the speeches delivered.

Suppressing the Documents
In a word, Stalin and Bucharin suppressed all but the most meager account of this Plenum. The theses and articles of Trotsky and Zinoviev were put on the index expurgatorius as counter-revolutionary literature, punishable under the Soviet penal code; Stalin even suppressed one of his own speeches a week after it was delivered! This little detail in the mechanism of the inner-party struggle did not prevent Stalin from demanding that the whole membership of the International vote to condemn the Opposition's standpoint in the Chinese question. And—let us remember it with a deep and bitter shame—such a vote was obtained without much difficulty. Just as the pre-war social democracy knew that its voyage towards opportunism would be facilitated by the suppression of Marx's biting criticisms of their course, so Stalin kept the revolutionary criticism concealed from the parties so that Menshevism in China might the more easily get the stamp of approval from its principal foe, the Communist International.

But even when you have at your disposal what the social democrats did not have—a proletarian state apparatus—it does not suffice for all time. Little by little, sometimes only in fragments, the works of Trotsky have virtually been stolen out of the underground bureaucratic vaults and smuggled beyond the frontiers. These are the only terms that can be used to describe the conditions under which the basic documents of Bolshevism have seen the light of day in recent years under the Stalin dispensation.

We have such a document, or more properly a series of documents, in the present work. Here is no fragment, but a closely-knit study of the problems of the Chinese revolution in the last seven years which will furnish us to the next generation with the fundamental exposition and critique of the most vivid chapter of the great epoch in which we are fortunate enough to be living.

The Value of Marxism
This bulky volume by comrade Trotsky is a most striking proof of the unequalled "practical" value of Marxism. For the professors, with and without diploma, Marxism is a dry closet philosophy. For the proletarian revolutionists, it is a searchlight whose batteries are the distilled essence of past experience, enabling us to throw a piercing light into tomorrow so that the course of the revolution may be properly guided. It is his mastery of Marxism that enabled the leader of the Opposition, as is shown by the contents of this book, to analyze each stage of the Chinese revolution, predict its next stage with accuracy and present the policy best calculated to meet the needs of the Chinese revolution.

Credit System During Crisis
It is well to stop at this point for a moment to pose the essential question: How does the credit system operate during a crisis?

When the process of reproduction flows "normally" credits are stable and continually expand. When a stoppage in this flow occurs, due to delayed returns and overstocking of markets, there is a superabundance of capital, of productive capital available; but, in a form in which it cannot perform its function. It is a mass of commodity capital which is unsaleable because of its very superabundance. It is a mass of fixed capital which remains unused because the very process of reproduction is at a standstill. Witness today the enormous pro-

duction capacity of American industry, now not utilized, and with it the millions strong army of unemployed workers. In such a situation credit is contracted for good and sufficient reasons.

Firstly, because this capital remains unemployed. Secondly, because the confidence in the continuity of the process of reproduction is shaken and thirdly, because the demand for this kind of commercial credits decreases. Those manufacturers who curtail, or cease production because they have lots of unsold goods on hand, or at least lack demand for their goods, do not need to buy on credit.

It is not a case of there being no need of loan capital. There is such a need. But loan capital performs one distinct function during the upward curve of the production cycle, and an entirely different one during the crisis. During the upward curve, loan capital is in demand for the purpose of being transformed into productive capital. During the upward curve, loan capital is in demand for the purpose of being transformed into productive capital. During the crisis bills of exchange continue to press for conversion into cash. But the majority of the bills represent actual sales and purchases, which, to make matters worse, have been extended far beyond the demands of society.

Operation of Loan Capital
In times of crisis the demand for loan capital reaches its maximum. But the borrowing is done for the purpose of paying in order to settle previously contracted obligations. In this manner, the

are not "bums but the flower of 1917." Alas, the flower is sadly wilted.

The several rows of shacks, put up out of sticks, tins, lousy blankets, and rags ferreted out of lots and wrecks of former houses nearby, are no more than three feet high. The once "proud Expeditionary Forces" now creep into these worse-than-dog-kennel holes for sleep or for shelter from the scorching sun; they're useless in time of rain, when the men, as one of them put it, "look like so many rats huddled together." But the men are patiently trying to improve these dumps by such means as, for example, mowing the grass down to use it for thatching and bedding or by using the all-too-few shingles for roofing. A good number of "our heroes" have no blankets and are forced to sleep on the damp ground. Like the camps, the men are as bedraggled, worn and dirty, a lot as you see on the Bowery. They try to

put up a brave show of keeping themselves clean, but it's a sorry show. As one of the soldiers expressed it, "It's tough to keep yourself clean with one shirt and one pair of underwear which you have to wash in the dirty Potomac."

The unsanitary conditions and the poor food (scraps of frankfurters, half-dried spuds, etc., contributed by local restaurants) are putting the men under a severe strain.

Diseases Rampant
It's difficult to ascertain the number taken sick, but it must be considerable. The morning I arrived about forty men were taken to the hospital, suffering from exposure, malnutrition and pneumonia. Almost all of one contingent from Ohio—about sixty men, arrived in Washington sick from exposure. They took a freight train at Canton, O., where railroad officials promised them a fast

(Continued on page 4)

Leninist Turn Imperative in Germany!

United Mass Action - Not Parliamentary Opportunism - Will Defeat Fascism

The lifting of the ban on the Nazi Storm Troops has already led to a big spurt in the number of armed and bloody clashes with working men all over the German Reich. In Hamburg, in Altona, in Kiel, in Essen, in Berlin, in Frankfurt, the street battles between the Hitlerites and the workers have resulted in about a dozen deaths and in scores of wounded during the last week alone.

Meantime the Minister of the Interior of the reactionary Junker government, Baron Von Gyl, is bringing pressure upon all the state governments to hasten the lifting of the Brown Shirt ban locally, where it has met with some opposition. Every day, the plans of the Von Papen government—as the government of the organization of the Fascist coup June 22, we read:

d'Etat—are becoming clearer. With the tremendous growth in the number of armed conflicts, the danger of the Hitler coup becomes a matter of days.

How does the Stalinist leadership of the German Communist Party react to this highly tense and foreboding situation? It must be said openly: It reacts with measures of despair, it displays a feeling of utter helplessness. At a time when only the broadest and most centralized mass action on part of the whole working class can be effective, at a time when Hitler's hordes are at the gates, it resorts to petty parliamentary policies which only prove its complete bankruptcy.

In the Daily Worker of Wednesday, June 22, we read:

"With a view of preventing the final election of a Fascist president in the Prussian Diet, the Communist party proposes to refrain from filing its own candidates and to vote for candidates of the Catholics and Socialists, providing these accept two conditions, namely, the restoration of freedom of assembly, of press and radio with the Communist right to speak and agree to reject the Papen emergency decrees for Prussia."

Unannounced, unexplained, restricted to the parliamentary field alone, this form of the "united front" can only bring further confusion into the minds of the Communist workers. As a first step, this sort of "united front"—limited to parliament—smells of the worst sort of opportunism, the opportunism of the Brandler type of 1923. As such it must be decisively rejected by all serious Communist workers.

What is needed now is first of all, a frank and sincere avowal of the ultra-Leftist mistakes by the leadership of the C. P. G. If a turn in policy is to be carried out, it can only be done effectively in the Bolshevik manner, in the manner of Lenin—before the eyes of the whole working class. The entire policy of bureaucratic ultimatums, of the "red United Front", of social Fascism must be honestly and thoroughly brushed aside. The confidence of the working class in the seriousness of the Communist leadership must be regained.

The action of the C. P. G. in the Prussian Diet is a rotten caricature of the "united front". Only desperate bureaucrats, only people who are at the end of their rope can believe that the Fascist menace can be warded off by an agreement to vote for the candidates of our political enemies—the Catholics and the social democrats. The whole affair is a distortion, a travesty on the Leninist United Front.

The aim of the Leninist United Front is to set the masses in motion, to prepare them for Communist leadership by proving to them in action that only the Communist program is adequate to their needs. That is why the Left Opposition must discard this step of the Stalinists which is merely a headless zig-zag from the "united front" only from below" to the "united front" with the top pure and simple.

The Communists must approach the social democrats and the reformist leaders with an eye directed to their followers. This requires that a concrete and realistic program of action be proposed as the basis of the united front. Such a program is the program of mass united front action proposed by our brother section, the German Left Opposition.

The German Bolshevik-Leninists propose the following as a basis:
"1. Military Defense Against Fascism. The formation of Red Hundreds in factories and unemployment registries, in the working class quarters, to beat back Fascist attacks and punitive expeditions."
"2. Against wage and unemployment relief reduction. The formation of cartels locally, in the factories, and finally in the whole Reich, consisting of factory councils and committees of the unemployed, to counter wage and relief reduction with strikes, with the seizure of closed down factories and by of controlling production through these organs. Execution of a plan of economic collaboration between Germany and the U. S. S. R."

"3. Struggle against war. Prevention of war production and munition transports by strikes."
"4. The National Congress of these cartels is to make preparations to meet Hitler's terrorist acts and his seizure of power locally and nationally and will elect a National Cartel of factory and Unemployed Councils."

"5. As the first common action of the Communist Party of Germany, the Socialist Party of Germany and the Free Trade Unions, demonstrations under the following slogans:

"Against the dictatorship of the Generals and against Fascism."
"Against all wage and unemployment relief reduction."
"For Control of Production."
"For the National Cartel of Factory and Unemployed Councils."
"For the Defense of the Soviet Union."

We must say candidly and sharply: There is a crisis in the leadership of the German Communist Party which breeds disaster. Only the immediate and determined aid of the Communist workers all over the world can prevent the baleful consequences of this crisis.

Worker Communists, members of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.! Raise your voices before it is too late. Pass resolutions in your units and forward them to the Communist Party of Germany. Demand an open and sincere turn to a Leninist United Front policy that will defeat Fascism before it seizes power. Push the C. P. G. into action! For the revolutionary working class of the world, the key to the situation lies in the hands of the Communist Party of Germany.

—THE MILITANT.

NOW READY!

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A First Hand Account of Events on the «Bonus Battle Front»

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Fifteen minutes from Union Station by trolley is the suburb of Anacostia, situated on the Potomac, and at the edge of one of the filthiest parts of the river is the camp of the "Bonus Expeditionary Forces". Through a long dusty gully off the B. & O. Railroad freight tracks, one comes down to the circle of the large flat field, about four city blocks in diameter, clumped with half-wilted grass; the least rain turns the ground to a miry, mosquito-infested swamp. From a distance, the camp looks like so many sticks of wood, rusty tins, dirty blankets, rags, heaped up pell-mell like garbage, or like the very excrement of the ground. And here, as a matter of fact, away from official, monumented Washington, the government has dumped in this one camp alone the bodies of six or seven thousand ex-servicemen who, as the slogan on one of their dilapidated trucks proclaims,

are not "bums but the flower of 1917."

Alas, the flower is sadly wilted.

The several rows of shacks, put up out of sticks, tins, lousy blankets, and rags ferreted out of lots and wrecks of former houses nearby, are no more than three feet high. The once "proud Expeditionary Forces" now creep into these worse-than-dog-kennel holes for sleep or for shelter from the scorching sun; they're useless in time of rain, when the men, as one of them put it, "look like so many rats huddled together." But the men are patiently trying to improve these dumps by such means as, for example, mowing the grass down to use it for thatching and bedding or by using the all-too-few shingles for roofing. A good number of "our heroes" have no blankets and are forced to sleep on the damp ground. Like the camps, the men are as bedraggled, worn and dirty, a lot as you see on the Bowery. They try to

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(Continued on page 4)

The Unemployment Situation, the Economic Crisis and the American Working Class

The American government is proceeding full blast in developing its "reconstruction" program to "break the backbone of the depression". It solicits the support of bankers and industrialists. The program is epitomized by the national policy of credit expansion aiming at "releasing hundreds of millions of dollars in credits to start the wheels of industry turning."

So far two main measures have been taken: (1) the loans advanced by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and (2) the release of funds by open market buying of government securities by the Federal Reserve Banks. About \$1,000,000,000 in financial resources has been mobilized and set in circulation by these measures. But, as one financier laconically remarked: "Nevertheless, credit has not gone into productive channels, loans advanced by the member banks are showing marked declines."

Credit System During Crisis
It is well to stop at this point for a moment to pose the essential question: How does the credit system operate during a crisis?

When the process of reproduction flows "normally" credits are stable and continually expand. When a stoppage in this flow occurs, due to delayed returns and overstocking of markets, there is a superabundance of capital, of productive capital available; but, in a form in which it cannot perform its function. It is a mass of commodity capital which is unsaleable because of its very superabundance. It is a mass of fixed capital which remains unused because the very process of reproduction is at a standstill. Witness today the enormous pro-

duction capacity of American industry, now not utilized, and with it the millions strong army of unemployed workers. In such a situation credit is contracted for good and sufficient reasons.

Firstly, because this capital remains unemployed. Secondly, because the confidence in the continuity of the process of reproduction is shaken and thirdly, because the demand for this kind of commercial credits decreases. Those manufacturers who curtail, or cease production because they have lots of unsold goods on hand, or at least lack demand for their goods, do not need to buy on credit.

It is not a case of there being no need of loan capital. There is such a need. But loan capital performs one distinct function during the upward curve of the production cycle, and an entirely different one during the crisis. During the upward curve, loan capital is in demand for the purpose of being transformed into productive capital. During the upward curve, loan capital is in demand for the purpose of being transformed into productive capital. During the crisis bills of exchange continue to press for conversion into cash. But the majority of the bills represent actual sales and purchases, which, to make matters worse, have been extended far beyond the demands of society.

Operation of Loan Capital
In times of crisis the demand for loan capital reaches its maximum. But the borrowing is done for the purpose of paying in order to settle previously contracted obligations. In this manner, the

loan capital wanders right back to the banks in settlement of interests and maturities. The rate of profit, and with it, the demand for industrial capital have almost reached the vanishing point.

It is therefore no wonder that the loans advanced by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, to the tune of more than one half billion dollars today, with but two small exceptions, all went to meet obligations of principal or interest. The two exceptions were a \$27,500,000 to the Pennsylvania Railroad, and a \$4,399,000 loan to New York Central Railroad, both of which are claimed to be for purposes of reconstruction. From the other category of loans we will mention only one instance, that of \$32,500,000 to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, advanced solely for the meeting of outstanding obligations of the company.

Credit and Industry
Surely, the credit expansion policy is developing full blast. The bankers and industrialists are being taken care of. For the latter the maturing bills are being met and for the former the bills of exchange are being converted into cash. But—the wheels of industry are not turning.

Will the "ingenious" proposal offered by the Young Committee of bankers and industrialists have better prospects of success? We recall that much ado was made out of the creation of this committee and its prospective aid in the "reconstruction" program. By its make up, the committee alone was said to represent aggregate capital resources of about \$18,000,000,000. Now the committee has labored; and here is what it proposes: There are so many hundreds

of thousands of small home owners who have mortgage obligations which, during these hard times, it becomes doubly hard to meet. And that is the grand idea of the committee, to facilitate the advancing of loans for such purposes. It is not so much to make sure that the small home owner keeps his home. No, the bankers do not want to have too much real-estate on their hands. But meeting these mortgage obligations enables the banks to keep their dividends in shape. Of course,—this will not start the wheels of industry turning either.

How do matters then stand with the second measure of the credit expansion scheme? During the period of accelerated buying, or taking over, of government securities by the Federal Reserve Banks, between April 13 and May 18, a total of \$480,000,000 were released. This operation is now said to have "arrested the catastrophic decline in bank credits in progress since last July." But loans and investments made by all the member banks throughout the country continue to lag nevertheless.

Where are the Markets

With these huge funds made available, the problem still remained one of finding ways and means for putting them to work. The dilemma is, what to do with the credits available—with the expanded credits. Where are the markets for profitable investments? This is the question asked by the perturbed financiers; and the cruel answer is: The market for which capitalism produces has become severely contracted!

The National City Bank of New York in its monthly letter of June bewails the

(Continued on page 4)

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

Oppositionist Seated at Philly Conference

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The Philadelphia "United Front Anti-Terror Conference" called by the International Labor Defense met on June 16 at Friends Meeting House. The meeting opened at nine o'clock with thirty people, delegates and visitors, present. After the chairman, the secretary and a joint credentials committee were elected, the I. L. D. organizer reported. He told the purpose of the meeting and depicted the current police terror against the workers and the curbing of the well-known "constitutional guarantees". A prepared organizational report was presented. Mimeographed copies were given to the delegates. It called for the ordinary methods of organization and propaganda work, dealt with a demonstration on July 4 and a petition campaign against the state Sedition Act.

The floor was opened for discussion of the report. Leon Goodman was the delegate of the local branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and began the discussion. The capitalist terror is not unexpected to Communists. The vanguard bears the brunt of attack now. This is a prelude to a broadened attack on the whole class. It is impelled by sheer necessity to defend itself. By defending every single case, the workers protect their own interests. Thus the case of Mooney symbolizes labor's enslavement.

To reach and organize the workers we must take advantage of every avenue of "democracy" open to us under this capitalist system. The plan for a demonstration of July 4 is most fitting. Whatever legality the movement has must be defended. We should learn the lessons of the recent Canadian experiences. After a false start, the I. L. D. there adopted the united front policy as the only means to defend the movement. The conference there changed its name to "conference for the repeal of section 98" and approached the A. F. of L. unions and other organizations with some success. But a full and wholehearted, consistent approach is needed.

Goodman proposed that since the meeting was not really a conference at all, it constitute itself a preliminary conference to call a real united front conference of all working class organizations to meet shortly before July 4—which should mobilize further for the demonstration and the other work outlined. Further—that the name "Anti-Terror Conference" is not the best, it did not fit in with the elementary duty of the conference, and should be changed since it is misleading. He proposed to take the name "United Front Conference to Defend Workers' Free Speech". Then it will be clear to all that we will be defending the rights of workers to meet, to speak and to organize. The defense of these rights will necessarily be a defense against capitalist terror. Goodman told the meeting that in all the work outlined by the conference, his organization, the Communist League (Opposition) would give its wholehearted support.

When he had finished and another delegate had spoken, the chairman announced that there was an original proposal of the committee to call another conference June 30. He then left the room to meet with the committee. No one knew what for? There was little discussion. Comrade Holmes denied the advisability of changing the name of the conference. He said in substance that the struggle for free speech, etc., was not as broad and inclusive as the term anti-terror; and that the main work of the conference would in any case be for the defense of workers' free speech. He called attention to the fact that two of the three slogans dealt directly with workers' rights. No more was said by any of the other delegates.

The credentials and resolution committee reported that there were represented 54 delegates of 35 organizations with a total membership of 7,500 workers. Twelve I. L. D. branches, two A. F. L. locals, three T. U. U. L. unions, three political organizations and fifteen fraternal bodies.

Goodman rose at once to ask what were the names of the "political organizations". The information was stubbornly refused. The committee in charge, old Lovestonite bureaucrats, adept at "hiding the name of the party", were here trying to hide the name of Communist League (O.), in order later to say—no delegate was present. Goodman asked that the names of the organizations be read. A vote was taken, 22 for, 7 against.

The 7 votes surprised the bureaucrats, and after some delegates had taken the floor again on this, the chairman, Bill Lawrence, made a turn about face—gave his stamp to it and took a vote again. This time 28 voted to read the names. The names surprised no one. The usual list—Lithuanian Chorus, Jewish Workers Club, etc., Unions—2, A. F. L. locals, 3, T. U. U. L., The Communist party, the Y. C. L. and, reluctantly, the name Communist League (O.), were drawn from the list. No delegate took the hint of the chairman, for any objections to any organization, and all delegates were declared seated.

Resolutions against the Dies Bill, against the Flynn Sedition Act and for the release of Lawrence, Roth and Adams, etc., were unanimously passed; as were various other telegrams of protest to the mayor and the governor. A resolution and motion Goodman introduced based on his proposals was defeated. The chairman warned him not to "bulldoze" the meeting when he insisted on a vote on his resolution.

—L. G.

Party's N. Y. State Nominating Convention

BUFFALO, N. Y.

We have just returned from the party's state nominating convention at Schenectady. It must be said that we left the convention with very little inspiration. One can't continue to get enthusiastic over omnipresent monolithism. And that was just how dead this gathering was. For all the concrete things achieved there, the convention might just as well have been held in Astrakhan or for that matter, in Oshkosh.

There were about 400 delegates, hermetically sealed Stalinists "representing" the International Workers Order, the I. L. D. and other kosher mass organizations. Prominent among the big shots were the old goose master, I. Amter, Wobbling William Weinstone, etc., who are filling the higher places in the party market.

Things dragged along in the usual manner with the same soap box speeches and the same sectarian narrowness. No local issues were raised, in spite of all the theses and resolutions about "linking up". No concrete tasks were outlined. The "leaders" seemed to be intent to restrict themselves to implanting illusions in the delegates concerning the possible election successes. The burning international situation, the crystal-clear Fascist danger in Germany, did not receive even a moment of attention.

Instead, all the picayune and petty gestures were employed to illustrate the general line. Thus, for instance, the rigid insistence on the nomination of negro candidates by white comrades and vice versa. This seems to be the best way the Stalinists know of applying a correct tactic toward the Negro question. Many comrades are frankly disgusted with this comedy. They realize that it is first of all necessary to have a serious attitude to approach the problem of the unity of the white and the black workers. Some remarked about the sterile, schematic way in which the party treats this problem and mumbled something—in jest—about the "dialectic" capacities of the leadership.

But the spice of the program was Amter's proposal to put forward the slogan "to postpone the war so as to give the Russian comrades an opportunity to entrench socialism". We have become so accustomed to Amter's phantasies that even this gem got by without a ripple. A comrade told us that if Amter brings this slogan out to the last ditch, he would fight it to the last ditch. This is just about the limit of absurdity. No serious party comrade is going to swallow such a ridiculously pacifist slogan. And it would not at all be surprising if a fight around this slogan will evoke a sort of a general denouement of the theory of socialism in one country.

Another Stalinist convention—another peg in the coffin of Stalinism. The impasse of the bureaucratic leadership is becoming more and more apparent. Rest assured, the ranks will not remain quiet. The Left Opposition even is due for

The Recent Beet Strike in Colorado

The strike of 18,000 beet workers in Colorado is something new in that branch of agriculture! We have seen before the united efforts of beet farmers, seeking better contracts with the Great Western Sugar Co., which were hailed by A. F. of L. bureaucrats as efforts in unionism. We have seen before politicians and child welfare societies agitating against (?) the enslavement and exploitation of five and six year old children in the beet fields of Colorado. We have seen the fruit of their demagoguery, the federal law against child labor, unconstitutional, as held by the Supreme Court of the U. S. We have presented before us for the first time in the history of this branch of agriculture what we have dreamed and yearned for and advocated—the rising of the slaves themselves!

The strike was not a well organized one, it is true. Shortcomings in defense and relief work were numerous. Certainly the strategy of the strike appeared not to have been planned at all. But what was important and new and vital was that it was not a petty bourgeois farmer nor a self-seeking politician proposition in this instance: it was a strike of the proletarians themselves, the unskilled, "backward", highly exploited sugar beet workers!

There can be no doubt that had the strike been well planned and prepared and quickly enough and sufficiently supported by other working class organizations it would have constituted a far greater impetus to further class action not only in this, but also in other branches of agriculture in the irrigated districts of the southwest; but the working class organizations by and large neither understood its importance nor, to this day, realize its place in the building of the new unions.

The Trade Union Unity League, which led the strike, puzzled and confused from zig-zagging on the industrial field, neither grasped nor conveyed this meaning from analyses of the whole situation or from the living logic that brought onion workers in the same district into strike activity at the same time.

All of which makes it necessary that the reasons why this strike is the first page in a whole chapter of new unionism and strike struggle, especially in the southwest, be made known.

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The Drug Clerks and the Class Struggle

II.

It is obvious, that the principal task of the leadership of the Drug Clerks Union consists primarily in dispelling the illusion of professionalism, which is so greatly hampering the development and orientation of the drug clerk toward unionism, and raise him to the level of a class conscious worker. But, to perform this colossal task, the present leadership is particularly incapable.

The executive board, in order to cover up the tremendous gap between its position as a leader and its inability to lead, garbs itself in a cloak of secrecy. When a rank and file asked the secretary, at the last membership meeting, to state the reasons for not reading the minutes of the executive meetings, she answered that, "certain methods of organization were discussed, which cannot be divulged at present." Of course an organization at times must recognize the right of a leading body to deal with matters confidentially. At present, the truth is, the same manner as a cover serves an empty container in a window display: to convey an impression of genuine merchandise. The minds of the executive members are not only bare of any "secret methods" but are perfect vacuums, as far as methods of building a union are concerned. "When a secret is kept too long it becomes no secret," say the old folks. The executive has been secretive too long and has, naturally, aroused the suspicion of the membership as to the real motive behind the secrecy. Disillusionment followed; and their confidence in the leadership has been badly shaken. Hence the present state of apathy among the members.

The elementary method to disperse the suffocating illusion of professionalism among the drug clerks consists, quite obviously, in holding membership and educational meetings as often as possible. In order to present an opportunity to an ever greater number of members and non-members to express their views on matters pertaining to the existence and growth of the union. And in this manner attract their interest, arouse their enthusiasm, and direct this nascent enthusiasm into chambers of organizational activities, which will serve as motive power for the further progress and growth of the organization. The executive, however, has done the exact reverse. It has called meetings in an arbitrary manner; it is only at the last membership meeting that a motion was passed to hold membership meetings regularly, once a month. Until then, meetings were held whenever the executive needed the official sanction of the membership on some matter. For instance, the last membership meeting was called to ratify a certain "collective agreement", about which I shall write at another opportunity.

It must be quite obvious that the first stage of organizational activities of the union, i. e., the transition from its amorphous state into an organized, unified and compact body, is far from being completed. As a matter of fact, it has not yet begun. To skip this stage and pass over to its second stage, i. e., to establish the union as a bona fide workers body and demand recognition from their bosses, is an adventurous move that is sure to meet disaster on its way. The present so-called strike is an attempt by the executive board to skip the first stage of organizational activities and plunge into the second stage which may prove fatal to the feeble structure of the union.

The ushering in of the second stage of organized activities of a developing union on a yet unorganized industrial field is usually signified by the clamor call of a general strike. However, a general strike of drug clerks, in times of an ever sharpening crisis and under conditions of a declining drug industry, presupposes not only the rallying of a decisive majority of licensed and junior clerks under the banner of the union but also the unqualified, organized support of the soda-fountain and luncheonette workers, who operate an important branch of the drug store business today. It goes without saying, that a capable revolutionary leadership is an unquestionable prerequisite for its possible success.

A well organized minority of drug clerks, however, can and should develop a real struggle AGAINST WAGE CUTS AND LONG HOURS in one or two stores. Such a struggle will necessarily draw the membership into the activities of the strike: picketing, distributing circulars, organizing "open-air" meetings, etc., which will teach them a valuable lesson in the class struggle and free their minds from the fetters of professionalism—the greatest obstacle on their road toward consciousness.

Moreover, such a strike will touch a sore spot in the hearts of the unorganized clerks, arouse their sympathy and cause them to gravitate toward unionism. In this manner, the union will augment its forces and give greater assurance to the success of the strike and its spreading to other establishments. Even in case of failure, which might result from the crushing pressure of the brutal law of the club and the injunction, it will disillusion them only with the "democracies" of capitalism rather than with the feasibility of organized resistance. It will only give rise to new methods of struggle.

However, to attempt to "throw a picket at the door", in order to compel the bosses to recognize the union and the clerks, "to join it up", is a method of organization entirely inimical to working class organization strategy. This "make 'em join" strategy was originated and has been used by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy; it is the incarnation of its utter contempt for the working masses, and

its manner of subordinating the membership to its despotic rule by alienating them from the activities of the union and cowering them into submissiveness.

In a period of industrial rebirth, the conditions for a "successful" application of this reactionary, purely A. F. of L. "make 'em join" strategy are often favorable. The history of many a local of the A. F. of L. has been written under its pressure. But in a period of an ever deepening crisis, the margin for its success is rather a precarious one.

However, the eminent failure of this "make 'em join" method of organization, as it is being applied by the budding bureaucracy of the Drug Clerks' Union, is not only due to the crisis and the ever increasing unemployment but largely to the anti-working class contents of the strategy itself. For it is utterly devoid of any elements of appeal, which may arouse the personal interest and class solidarity of the drug clerks and thus result in their ever expanding union.

On the contrary, this "make 'em join" strategy is apt to precipitate confusion within the ranks, arouse the antagonism of the unorganized and in this manner result in an ever narrowing union of the drug clerks.

"What can we gain by this struggle?" At the utmost—a few new members of a rather doubtful quality and the unionization of a store where union conditions will never be enforced," says one clerk to another disenchantedly.

"You cannot force me into the union—there are no jobs anyway," cries defiantly the unorganized clerk . . .

Yes, fellow drug clerks! The success of such an attempt can only gain prestige for the bureaucracy and temporarily strengthen its position—but not one minim of benefit for you! Its failure, however, might cause the disintegration of the union movement among the drug clerks and set it back for a long period to come.

The executive board of the Drug Clerks' Union, as I have already pointed out, is incapable of giving independent leadership and is, therefore, obliged to take advice and direction from "foreign" sources. Its most brilliant ideas usually emanate from Louis Sherman, head of the HOUSE OF SHERMAN that practically controls the activities of the union.

The members of this notorious house are as follows: (a) Louis Sherman, organizer of the Drug Clerks' Union. This individual has never had any connections with the drug industry and has never organized any kind of a union. He succeeded, however, in impressing a group of drug clerks as being an "old hand" in organizing unions; his services were accepted and paid for. Now, since the union has become a local of the A. F. of L. outfit, he "severed" his relations with the union and became organizer of the so-called "Federation of Retail Drug-gists", using the union as a tool to further his own interests.

(b) Mrs. Frances Gargie, Sherman's sister, is secretary-treasurer of the union. Mrs. Gargie is a pharmacist but has long ago abandoned the profession of pharmacy in favor of matrimony. Her awakened interest in pharmacy in gener-

al and in the union in particular is rather questionable.

(c) Mr. George Sherman, brother of Mr. Louis Sherman, is a leading member of the Executive Board and parades under the name of Gerson. He is not a Pharmacist, but a petty swindler, pure and simple. These facts, MUST AND WILL BE EXPOSED before the membership at the coming meeting, which will undoubtedly lead to the downfall of the Sherman dynasty. However, the consequences of the upheaval cannot yet be foreseen.

J. DREYER.

MILITANT BUILDERS

With Problems of the Chinese Revolution as a premium with a year's sub to the Militant it should be fairly simple to get subs. Every Militant Builder on his toes! It's touch and go from now on! We expect to clean out the whole edition in eight weeks, the bulk of it in six weeks, or just about the time What Next? comes off the press. After that the book will be unavailable.

What sympathizer of ours can resist such an offer? And what serious Left wing worker can fail to consider it? It is entirely up to us to produce results. And for that all that is needed now is a little energy. We speak from experience. It is really astonishingly easy.

52 issues of the Militant and 450 pages of comrade Trotsky at his best on the Chinese question! A good percentage of the population of Minneapolis should fall under the sustained attack that they are planning up there. And in New York—we will let the result speak for themselves. From Youngstown, from Cleveland, from all over come signs that with the book as a lever we will increase the circulation of the Militant.

Some time ago we became committed to the idea that we were going forward with building the circulation of the Militant. That is we set ourselves the necessary task going forward steadily without downward curves in the graph of our progress. Thus far we can record a steady, if slow, rise. The growing staff and its record prove that:

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Miscellaneous	2

Wage Cut for Federal Gov't Workers

The salaries of the Federal civil service employees have come under the knife. As part of the general wage cutting drive and the campaign for cheaper government, \$12,000,000 has been slashed from the wages of the federal workers at one fell stroke by the U. S. Congress. After weeks of anxious deliberation the legislators summoned up enough courage to put through the wage cut, under the trick name of the "furlough bill." Like the bonus veterans the civil service workers crowded every space in the chambers and galleries of the senate to watch their trusted representatives apply the axe to their payroll.

They were watching a little show which is the first act of unseating the government employees from their throne of privilege. The strongholds of the labor aristocracy are being broken down with unrelenting consistency.

First the skilled workers who managed to escape the ruthless advance of the new machine inventions, were caught in the wage cut drive that was the reward for their docility, class collaborationism, and business union ventures during the period of "prosperity". And now civil service workers are getting their compensation for their patient service to the capitalist government in the form of slashes in their envelope. The road is being cleared for a unified and homogeneous working class movement that will cut across all the traditional prejudices and strata of the proletariat.

While the current economic crisis means no good for the workers in a material way it is a veritable boon for the capitalist masters. The ruling class not only takes advantage of the huge unemployed army to scale down the standard of living but to put the screws to their henchmen who run the government for them. They want cheaper and more efficient government. The time is over, they say, when they can afford to squander money on their lackeys. The leading imperialist government of the world, with a battle on its hands for markets and colonies and a discontented working class which must be held in check, needs a bureaucracy which will do its work efficiently—on rations. During the last few years preceding the crisis the expenditures and corruption of the federal gov't ran the treasury into a deficit of several hundreds of millions of dollars. This must be made up somehow. Certainly, the Wall Street mag-

nates do not intend to pay for this out of their own profits. After squeezing the petty bourgeoisie dry in the stock crash they milked what remained of their rapidly vanishing wealth by the imposition of a heavy load of new taxes. But this is not enough. Consequently the white collar slaves came in for a well rounded trimming.

The bill reducing the wages of the government employees is an interesting commentary on the hypocrisy the capitalist lickspittles, of the republican and democratic parties alike, peddle off in the name of philanthropy. The very name of the bill is indisputable proof of this.

It is called the "Furlough Plan". This means that instead of an outright and brazen wage cut, the federal employees are given a month's vacation during the year—without pay, of course. It is reasoned, we suppose, that since all the workers, nowadays are on a more or less permanent holiday there is no ground to discriminate against the Washington office workers. The bill is so calculated as to put all those earning slightly more than \$1,000 per annum on the five day week with a corresponding reduction of pay, and on enough vacations to bring their salaries down to the one thousand mark. The bill even reaches out to the country-side to hit the rural mail carriers for an 8 1-3% cut and a one-eighth cut on their allowance for vehicles. This measure will no doubt, do its bit to remove these people from the "idiotcy of rural life." It will help to make this backward section of the working class more class conscious.

Another hypocritical gesture of the bill is the 15 percent reduction made in the huge salary of the vice-president (evidently the value of Curtis's sleeping performances have declined in the crisis deflation), and the 10 per cent cut in the \$10,000 salaries of the congressmen. Who can say our legislators are not self-sacrificing?

The unmistakable identity of the republicans and democrats is shown by their attitude towards the civil service workers. Only the republicans were more "radical" in this instance. The democrats wanted an outright cut in wages while the G. O. P. preferred to camouflage the cut with the "furlough plan". The republicans were the stronger, so the democrats compromised and helped the former trim the office workers.

—CLARKE.

REVIEW OF CHINA BOOK

(Continued from page 1)

the situation. That the Chinese revolution of 1925-1927 proved to be a tragedy can in no sense be ascribed to the Opposition. There was no excuse for the catastrophe from which the Chinese proletariat has not yet emerged, for the Opposition sounded the tocsin at every point. As you read the book, you are impressed by the fact that at no time did the Opposition make its criticism post factum, when it is not so difficult to be wise and see clearly.

The book deals with the revolution in a semi-colonial country, in which the young bourgeoisie and the proletariat and peasantry fought for a time on the same side of the barricades. There is nothing fundamentally new in this relationship or forces. Virtually every bourgeois revolution in which the proletariat had the possibility of marching a big step farther towards establishing its own power, has offered a somewhat similar spectacle. We find it in the bourgeois revolutions of the last century, where the rising capitalist class fought together with the artisans and nascent proletariat against feudalism and absolutism. The policy of the bourgeoisie was: we make use of the people as troops, keep them subordinate to us in the name of the "united front against the dying order" or the foreign enemy; and as soon as our victory is assured, we crush the "counter-revolution at the left", that is, smash the allies of yesterday. As Marx said, the proletariat which has followed the bourgeois watchwords of "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality" is rapidly confronted with new slogans of a now triumphant bourgeoisie: "Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry."

It was with this in mind that Marx, drawing the lessons of the uprisings of 1848, wrote to the Communist League in 1850 his brilliant strategic outline of the permanent revolution, the theory that the proletariat, even in embryonic form, does not come to a halt with the victory of its ally, the bourgeoisie, but surges forward from the bourgeois revolution against feudalism to the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie. The whole policy of the Left Opposition in the Chinese revolution was animated by the same idea which, while it was no absolute guarantee against defeat, was nevertheless the only possible road to victory.

China and Russia

With this in mind, it's a happy coincidence that comrade Trotsky's work on China appears at the same time as his history of the Russian revolution. Place the two side by side and you have a staggering contrast between the policies of Bolshevism and Menshevism in the latest moments of the two outstanding post-war revolutionary movements.

After the February revolution in Russia, the workers were urged by Chernov and Tseretelli (and, let us add, by Stalin) to support the national bourgeoisie "in so far as" it fought against the foreign enemy. In China, Stalin and Bucharin commanded the Communists to bear in mind that the "outstanding feature" of the revolution was its "anti-imperialist character", which allegedly required that the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang be supported. In Russia, the Mensheviks sought to liquidate the class struggle by their "contact commission". In China, the Stalinists sought to do the same with their support to the arbitration commissions. In Russia, the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists curbed the agrarian revolution, sought to emasculate the Soviets in the villages, told the peasants to wait for land—until the provisional government was firmly established and the threat of war had subsided. In China, Stalin telegraphed instructions that the agrarian movement be stopped, he argued that Soviets must not be formed, that the bourgeoisie must not be alienated "prematurely". In Russia, the Marxian conception of the class nature of the state was replaced by the Tseretelli with the mystical idea of the "government of the revolutionary democracy" (the "democratic dictatorship"), which is what the socialists are doing in Spain at the present moment. In China, the Stalinists shattered this cornerstone of Marxism by championing the government and the bloc "of the four classes".

But while in Russia this miserable Menshevik burlesque of Marxism was swept off the stage of events by the wisdom and authority of Lenin, the Russian revolution and the Comintern, authority usurped and violated by the present ruling clique. The essential difference between the two revolutions is that in Russia, the brief farce of Menshevism was played by the Menshevik party leaders, whereas in China their role was assumed with calamitous consequences by Stalin and Bucharin, the official spokesmen for Bolshevism! What sardonic satisfaction it must have given the ghost of Martov to see himself so well impersonated, with his worst features and to the bitter end, in the events of the Chinese revolution!

Not even the most elaborate review—and much less a brief one—can do justice to the present volume. For that, you must read and study the book itself. In the literature of Stalinism, there is very little to be read about the Chinese revolution. That is comprehensible, for the bureaucrats must feel that the less said about this question the better for them. The opportunists hate to be confronted with their own recent past; they thrive on the forgetfulness or ignorance of the masses.

But that is only an additional reason

Industrialization and the Collectivization of Agriculture in the U. S. S. R.

At the present time, when even the bourgeois world, harassed by its deep crisis, is grudgingly conceding the advantages of plan in economy and the entire Communist world has come to accept it with enthusiasm as an incontrovertible idea, it is difficult to realize the stubborn resistance encountered by the proposals for planned industrialization and the collectivization of Russian agriculture when they were first put forward. The Communist worker whose head has been systematically pumped full of lies and who has been taught a history of the past ten years which never took place, frequently answers the criticisms of the Oppositionist with a general reference to the undoubted successes of the Five Year Plan. In nine cases out of ten, however, he is not aware of the fact that it took a five year struggle (1923-1928) of the Left Opposition merely to have a Five Year plan adopted by the party leadership, that the first proposals of the Opposition were dismissed with ridicule and abuse, that the first Plan proposed by the leadership and submitted to a withering criticism from the Left was finally thrown on the dust-heap by the leadership itself; and, finally, that every important step in changing the Plan has had to be made under the criticism of the Opposition and in its general direction.

The Origins of the Struggle

The introduction of plan into Soviet economy can be traced as far back as July 1920. The whole railroad and transportation system was a wreck. All attempts at progress were shattered against this obstacle. The party put comrade Trotsky in charge of rehabilitating the transportation system and on the date mentioned the famous "Order No. 1042" was issued as the first of a series of systematic measures which finally brought order and regularity where chaos and collapse had prevailed before. The attempts made subsequently to discredit this tremendously successful job and its principal author cannot hide the fact that in its time it was enthusiastically saluted by Dzherzhinsky, Zinoviev, and others, and particularly by comrade Lenin, who spoke of it as an example of what had to be done in the other branches of industry. The report made by Trotsky to the eighth congress of the Soviets, based on this experience, and the theses he prepared together with Emshauov, were warmly defended by Lenin against the "skeptics who say: 'What good is it to make forecasts for many years ahead?' In those days too were to be found people to argue against the plan to eliminate the prevailing system of working from hand to mouth, from day to day; but in Lenin's time they were not the leaders of the party!

The question of long-term planned economy was raised more sharply in 1923 by comrade Trotsky. Unaided this time by a Lenin who had already been compelled to withdraw from the party councils, Trotsky laid before the party his arguments for the elaboration of plan in economy in order to carry out successfully a collectivization of the country and a collectivization of its backyard.

for the publication and distribution of comrade Trotsky's book. It does not deal with the past alone but with the present as well. Starting with the principal thesis submitted by Trotsky to the Eighth Plenum, with some articles written at the same time on current Chinese events, the reader is taken through all the stages of the movement to the present time. The Canton insurrection of December 1927 is dealt with extensively; so is the whole question as it was posed after the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. There will be found Trotsky's later polemics against Zinoviev, Manuilsky and Malraux, the French apologist for Stalinism. The period of ultra-Leftist adventurism in China is brought up to date, and capped with a thorough, documented study called "Stalin and the Chinese Revolution", a compendium of the blunders and worse of the present regime.

In the appendix will be found Zinoviev's thesis in May 1927 which, while not identical with Trotsky's position, is filled with important facts. The suppressed speech of Vuyovitch at the Eighth Plenum is also among the appendices, showing how the Opposition gave its warnings in time and all the time. The last appendix is the famous "Letter of Three Comrades", Stalinist supporters in China who, independently, corroborated all the contentions put forward against the party line in Moscow by the Opposition leaders. A convenient glossary of names and terms completes the book.

This work of some 450 pages, well printed and bound, sells at the exceedingly low price of \$1.00 in paper and \$1.50 in cloth, prices not only more than in accord with the times but also with the need of distributing it as widely and speedily as possible. With all respects to pamphleteering and if we are not to be misunderstood, this is not simply a transient pamphlet. It is the most fundamental study of the Chinese revolution to appear in the camp of the Marxians. We may well be proud of having produced it in English when most of it has yet to appear in other modern languages. It is a tremendous weapon in our hands, an instrument for opening up closed minds, for educating even those who are educated. It is a permanent contribution, in the same sense as were Marx's and Lenin's studies of the defeats suffered by the proletariat in other epochs. Like them, it will clear the road to the victory. —S.

scattered, individualistic agriculture. The critics of the Opposition, be it said in passing, never stopped to explain the "contradiction" (created by themselves) in their claim, first, that Trotsky was opposed to building socialism in Russia, and secondly, that he was too extreme in his proposals for industrializing the country and particularly its agriculture. People who are not over-scrupulous in crushing an opponent apparently do not concern themselves with such trifles!

From Lenin on, the Opposition pointed out, as Trotsky said, that the only material foundation for socialism is large machine industry capable of reorganizing agriculture as well. Russia's backwardness made the speedy development of such an industry especially imperative in view of the retardation of the international revolution. In addition, the Left wing showed, the vast mass of the peasantry was undergoing a process of differentiation in which the rich peasant (the Kulak) was growing stronger and making dangerous advances which only the organization of the poor peasants and their systematic introduction to collective farming would be able to impede. The Opposition demanded an industrial program that would be able to dominate and reorganize agriculture, satisfy the needs of the peasantry on a cheap basis, and provide the economic basis for abolishing the petty bourgeois strata of the village population.

First Reactions of the Bureaucracy

How did the bureaucracy reply? These "practical people" who would not allow themselves to be taken in by "fantastic ideas" about planning for years in advance, launched a furious assault upon Trotsky. The brochure in which he developed his ideas, "The New Course", was virtually suppressed in this day; outside of Russia it remains to this day a rarely-seen and never translated (except into French) document. The fragments which made their way out were inundated beneath a flood of misrepresentation and calumny. Rykov hastened to report to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern that Trotsky's proposals were a petty bourgeois deviation from Leninism, that the Russian party leadership was doing all it could do and all that could be expected of it in the field of industry and agriculture. Stalin sneeringly replied to the Opposition's arguments with the comment that it wasn't a plan that the peasant needed, but a good rain for his crops! The danger of a growing Kulak strength was derided (just as Stalin a few years later derided the idea that there was any danger to the revolution from Chiang Kai-Shek, and Tomsky saluted the fraternal British labor leaders with the fraternal embrace).

But the Kulak was growing in strength and beginning to dominate not only the country-side but was also beginning to permeate the party—a whole section of it—with his ideology. The first two years of struggle of the Opposition finally bore fruit in the revolt of the revolutionary Leningrad proletariat in 1925, which compelled its leaders, men like Zinoviev who had fattered the campaign against "Trotskyism", to combine in a bloc with the 1923 Opposition. The alarm felt by the Leningrad proletarians at the inroads being made by the Kulak and his urban associate, the Nepman, was not, however, shared by the crust-hardened bureaucracy. Instead of adopting the proposals for a plan in economy, for a systematic industrialization of the country, the Stalin-Bucharin leadership steered a course towards that same Kulak whom, later on, when they had taken fright at his growth, they sought to "liquidate" at one fell swoop, by ukase.

The Slogan: "Enrich Yourself"

To the already well-to-do peasant Bucharin cried out the advice: Enrich yourselves! Kalinin made speeches denouncing the poor peasants as lazy good-for-nothings because they did not accumulate and praising the diligence and industry of the "economically powerful peasant", that is, of the Kulak. Pravda (in April 1925) urged that the "economic possibilities of the well-to-do peasant, the economic possibilities of the Kulaks, must be unfettered". The Commissariat for Agriculture of the Georgian Soviets, in harmony with the prevailing atmosphere in the ruling strata of the party, elaborated a project for the denationalization of the land. In the Ukraine, the supporters of the Stalin-Bucharin ap-

paratus gave birth to the highly ingenious idea that if "the worst comes to the worst", the Soviets could "withdraw" to the position of the "Old Bolshevik" slogan of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry! In 1926, the Kulak course of Stalinism was pushed so far that—although it was later repealed under Opposition pressure—the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets granted the vote to exploiting peasants, again, to the Kulak. In all this period, the belated present-day upholders of the Five Year Plan "as against Trotsky", not only had industrialization and collectivization furthest from their minds, but not only its staunchest opponents, but actually steered a directly opposite course.

In 1925, that is, even before the 1927 platform of the Opposition bloc, comrade Trotsky once more wrote in detail about the tremendous possibilities which the concentration of economic and political power in the hands of a proletarian dictatorship offered for the progress of socialism, even on the basis of an isolated workers' state. In "Wither Russia"? he advanced the idea that even with an independent reproduction based on socialist accumulation, the Soviet republic could show a speed of industrial progress unknown and impossible under capitalism. His prediction of a possible 20 per cent annual growth (and six years later this was proved to be an entirely moderate figure, greatly attainable), was the subject for great merriment among the functionaries assembled at one of the party congresses, caused by the "ironical" ridicule which Stalin showered upon the prediction. The official position was instead, expressed by Bucharin who put forward the perspective that Russia would build socialism "with the speed of a tortoise", at a snail's pace!

The Platform of 1927

The 1927 platform of the Opposition was the most elaborate and definite proposal it had presented to the party, and this was undoubtedly one of the reasons why it was so rabidly attacked. It was officially suppressed by the bureaucracy, which refused to print it. Its circulation in mimeographed form was made a crime punishable by imprisonment for exile, and numerous are those in Siberia today for having distributed the ideas which Stalin was himself compelled to adopt in large measure two years later. In the platform, the Opposition demanded a categorical condemnation of the first Five Year Plan elaborated by Rykov and Krzhizhanovsky, and adopted by the party leaders. "This timid, worthless plan proposed an annual growth of 9 percent for the first year and a decreasing percentage subsequently until it would reach a 4 percent growth at the end of the plan. The bolder proposals submitted by the Opposition, which later was proved to be infinitely more realistic and applicable, met with just as strong a condemnation from the Stalinists. On all sides the Opposition spokesmen were taunted by the bureaucrats with the question: Where will you get the means?—although the expenditures for industrial development proposed at first by the Opposition were greatly exceeded when the current Plan finally got under way. And when the Opposition presented its proposals for raising the means by a forced loan from the Kulaks, by a lowering of prices based on cutting overhead and the bureaucratic apparatus, by a skilful utilization of the foreign trade monopoly, etc., the bureaucrats raised a loud hue and cry against the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists".

In the days of the French revolution it will be remembered, the reaction sought to overthrow the rule of the city artisans and revolutionary petty bourgeoisie by inciting the peasants against them, by arousing every one of the backward, reactionary prejudices of the French peasants against the "predatory capitalist". Such a course is a distinguishing feature of anti-revolutionism. And true to themselves, the bureaucracy which had come to the top on the basis of the post-1923 reaction, made use of the same methods. Stalin, Rykov and Kuybyshev signed a manifesto to the whole Russian people announcing to the peasants that the Opposition proposed "to rob the peasantry". The lesser bureaucrats carried on an even more reactionary propaganda

in the villages against the Left wing. And in the cities, in the meantime, the disturbed proletarians were assured by Stalin and Bucharin that there was no danger whatsoever from the Kulaks, that there were some, it is true, but not enough to worry about. The professional statisticians were put to the job of presenting tables to prove the "insignificant percentage" of the Kulaks. The need for collectivization was minimized to the vanishing point, and as late as 1928, the principal agrarian "specialist" of the apparatus, Yakovlev, the commissar for agriculture, declared against the Opposition that collective farming would for years to come "remain little islets in the sea of private peasant farms". As late as the 15th party congress, where the Opposition leaders were all expelled, Rykov lectured the Opposition with the question: If the Kulak is so strong why hasn't he played us some trick or other?

Rykov did not have long to wait. Not two months passed after the expulsion of Trotsky, Zinoviev and the rest of the Left wing, before the Kulak, feeling himself rid of the Bolsheviks in the Russian party launched the notorious "bloodless uprising" of February 1928. The "insignificant Kulak" proved to have grown to tremendous proportions, to have gained in boldness to the point of resisting the Soviet power by withholding grain, that is, by seeking to starve the proletarian cities. Seven years after the introduction of the N. E. P., the Soviets were for the first time compelled to reintroduce armed requisitions of grain in the villages in order to break the resistance of the "economically powerful peasant" friends of Stalin and Bucharin!

Even further, only a few months were required in the application of the original Five Year Plan of Rykov-Stalin in order to demonstrate how thoroughly founded had been the Opposition's criticism of its inadequacy. The apparatus was compelled to revise it virtually from stem to stern, to imbue it with a greater scope, greater boldness, greater speed.

Opposition Plots Advance

It is not within the purview of this article to deal with what has happened to the plan for industrialization and collectivization under the numerous zig-zags to ultra-Leftism and back to opportunism which Stalin has made since the end of 1928. (That falls properly into another period of the development of the struggle. But in this sketchy outline alone, enough has been referred to make it clear that without the persistent efforts of struggle of the Left Opposition, it is entirely doubtful that even those measures of progress which have been made, thus far would have been accomplished, Left to themselves, unhampered by the demands of the Opposition, there is every reason to believe that the Stalin-Bucharin bloc would have continued to go further into that reactionary, nationalistic swamp where the Kulak and the other classes hostile to the October revolution were steadily pulling it.

The essential, positive features of the Five Year Plan, the phenomenal successes which a proletariat in power has been able to show in the realm of industrial progress, these are a debt which is owed exclusively to the unremitting struggle of the Opposition, and that is how the records of history will register it. The present ruling apparatus will be pictured there as the stubborn obstacle in the road, the adversaries of planned economy, the people who for five years delayed adopting an elaborated plan, the people who chopped away at the banner-bearers of Bolshevism with axes borrowed from the ideological armory of the class enemy. They will be recorded as the instruments employed by those alien to the revolution to fight against the Opposition, as the protectors and spokesmen of the counter-revolutionary "economists" and "specialists" who, it was later revealed, drew up all their economic proposals, the proposals which were used as the main arguments against the Opposition and its platform. If history is written objectively that is what it will record. The Opposition has not today and never will have cause to be anything but proud of the verdict the future will pronounce. —SHACHTMAN.

The next article will deal with the breaking up of the Right-Center (Bucharin-Stalin) bloc and the ultra-Left zig-zags of Stalinism.

THE TURN IN THE C. I. IS OUT OF PRINT, BUT IS AVAILABLE IN THE BOUND VOLUMES OF COMRADE TROTSKY'S PAMPHLETS. MANY OF THE PAMPHLETS ADVERTISED ELSEWHERE IN THIS ISSUE CAN BE HAD IN ENGLISH, SPANISH, RUSSIAN AND ITALIAN. FOR INFORMATION WRITE TO PIONEER PUBLISHERS, 84 East 10th Street, New York City

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THE ARESTS IN SPAIN

BARCELONA, SPAIN.—

The arrests of May 30 are one of the most scandalous cases ever registered in the history of arbitrary action under the Spanish "democracy".

The publication of El Soviet is legally authorized and according to the law, our weekly has, like all other papers, an official headquarters for the editorial staff and the administration. Comrades generally come to the editorial office to take up questions related to the work on the paper, to speak with one of the editors, to get copies of the paper, to submit subs, etc. But unexpectedly, the police raids the headquarters and arbitrarily arrests all present there on one matter or another.

The inspector who directs this raid, is somewhat embarrassed to find that the biggest group in the offices does not constitute more than 11 persons, so that he actually has no motive to launch the accusation of a secret meeting. (According to the law, 18 or more people constitute a meeting.) But what difference does the law make in this most democratic of republics! All present—to the number of 21—are arrested. They are brought to the police prefecture and then they are jailed in Modelo Prison in Madrid, indicted for holding a "clandestine gathering".

It is true that secret meetings have been made into a custom and that they do not even observe formalities to give a legal appearance to the arrests. Every day, the press brings notices that secret meetings of 9, 7 and even 3 individuals have been raided, while the "law" considers a secret gathering a meeting of at least 18 individuals.

The "illegality" of these arrests is manifest. In our case, the most evident proof that the indictment lacks absolutely any base whatsoever is seen by the fact that none of the prisoners was interrogated by the judge. They were put at the disposal of Cesare Quiroga (the Police Minister) and will be there in jail as long as he will keep them there.

Naturally, to us the arbitrary actions of the bourgeois republic are not surprising. We predicted and announced it when all the anarchists were misled by democratic illusions. But we demanded to be told clearly why we have the right to maintain our headquarters, to edit our paper and if we are answered in the affirmative, if we are to enjoy the privileges that all papers enjoy—or whether the authorities are determined to stamp out the influence of the Left Opposition.

Here is the list of the arrested comrades: Andres Nin, Paulino Roig, Jose Metges, Enrique Fernandez, Andres Sanchez, Emilio Hehrnan, Francisco Gomez, Ramon Quilfohn, Maximo Carricera, Diego Pastor, Juan Rubio, Narcise Molins, Carlotta Duran.

By our CORRESPONDENT.

Prize Contest!

We offer a full set of the collected works of J. Stalin—vest pocket edition—to any party comrade who will identify the author of the following lines. As a special prize to Lenin School students we offer—the full Stalin interview as given to Emil Ludwig.

"But to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and establish that of the proletariat in a single country is still not to assure the complete victory of socialism. The chief task the organization of socialist production, is still to be accomplished. Can we succeed and secure the definitive victory of socialism in one country without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries? Most certainly not. The efforts of a single country are enough to overthrow the bourgeoisie: this is what the history of our revolution (the October revolution—Ed.) proves. But for the definite triumph of socialism, the organization of socialist production, the efforts of one country alone are not enough, particularly of an essentially rural country like Russia; the efforts of the proletarians of several countries are needed. So the victorious revolution in one country has for its essential task to develop and support the revolution in others".

Watch for the right answer in next week's Militant.

Pamphlets Wanted

If comrades throughout the country will send us their spare copies of The Draft Program, World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan and The Turn in the C. I. and the Situation in Germany we will be able to make up an additional number of Bound Volumes of the pamphlets. To the comrades who send them, we will give credit against their copies of the Bound Volumes. Problems of the Chinese Revolution, What Next? or any of the other works by comrade Trotsky.

PICNIC! PICNIC!

For the Benefit of the Spanish Youth Opposition Paper. The Spanish Opposition Youth, growing daily, have reached the point where they are ready to publish their own youth organ, Joven Espartaco. They depend upon us for financial aid. Let us show our solidarity with them! Let us make this picnic a grand success! Proceeds to be forwarded to Joven Espartaco. Under the auspices of Spartacus Youth Club. Remember the date: SUNDAY, JULY 10th, at 10:00 A. M. Place: TIBBETS BROOK PARK

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of

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For the period of the summer months only we are offering to the subscriber a free paper bound copy of the Problems of the Chinese Revolution with a year's sub to The Militant. As the edition is limited to 1200 copies we may be forced to withdraw this offer before the summer is over. Comrades who want to take advantage of this offer must act quickly.

Enclosed please find check.....money order..... for \$2, for which send me The Militant for one year beginning with the next issue, and a free paper bound copy of the Problems of the Chinese Revolution.

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THE MILITANT

84 EAST 10th STREET NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Slogan of the Defense of the U.S.S.R.

The sharpening world economic crisis has already passed over to a semi-open conflict between the imperialist powers, first in South America and then in Asia, and has now drawn into this orbit the fate of the Soviet Union, through the German situation, the Manchurian developments and the internal economic effects flowing from the contradictions. In such a trying period the defense of the Soviet Union must be of first consideration for every Communist. The Communist party has rightly considered it its duty to lead the struggle for the defense of the Soviet Union. But the leaders have left unanswered the question of how to defend the Soviet Union.

Since Stalinism has gained control of the C. I., and the Soviet Union the slogan of the Defense of the Soviet Union has been thrown around fast and furious. Day in and day out, in America, the slogan, "Defend the Soviet Union" rings in our ears. One would think, as if by magic, this slogan will throw a spell over the world and create an iron ring around the Soviet Union. But one only needs to remember: "We" can build socialism in one country "if" we can prevent intervention, and then we can understand why this slogan is used in such large doses. On the false basis of the theory of socialism in one country sprouted the misuse of the slogan, "Defend the Soviet Union."

Propose of Slogans

Slogans are not abstractions above the ebb and flow of the class struggle. To issue slogans for the establishing of Soviets after the revolution has turned its back or to issue slogans for the Soviet to seize power before the vanguard and the class are prepared, is to make a mockery of revolutionary slogans. Centrist and the Right wing have used this slogan year in and year out—because there is danger of intervention. In this same period the Soviet officials, including Stalin, have informed us that world Capitalism and the Soviet Union can exist peacefully side by side. The contradictory position of the C. I. and the Soviet officials flows logically from the wrong theory of socialism in one country.

Capitalism will never cease its struggle against the Soviet Union. The form of the struggle changes from time to time. In periods of economic war between the two systems, the constant use of the slogan converts it into so many hollow words, transforming sections of the C. I., from fighting units for the overthrow of their own capitalists, to auxiliaries to prevent intervention against the Soviet Union. In times when economic war is being transformed into open military war against the Soviet Union, the slogan, "Defend the Soviet Union" has meaning. Even then it will have to be concretized. Centrist has converted this slogan into a meaningless phrase.

To defend the Soviet Union one must know **HOW** to defend our fatherland. We all agree it cannot be accomplished the "socialist" way. The "socialists" issue the slogan, "Hands off the Soviet Union" and then the Second International's representatives in the capitalist governments render full aid to the imperialists in their struggles against the Soviets.

Right & Centre Misuse Slogan

We must also realize, on the other hand, the Right and Centre wing of Communism in using the slogan, "Defend the Soviet Union", and then turning around and advocating, opportunist or adventurist policies in China, in Spain, in Germany and the rest of the world are in words, but not in action, defending the Soviet Union.

Marxism is not distinguished from opportunism merely by abstract slogans. Slogans must have revolutionary content and be issued to fit the concrete situation. How could the Chinese workers and peasants defend the Soviet Union in 1923-27? How could the E. C. of the C. I. defend the Soviet Union in the Chinese Revolution? How could the world proletariat defend the Soviet Union in the Chinese Revolution? Not by repeating in prayer-like fashion the slogan, "Defend the Soviet Union". The only way the Communists could defend the Soviet Union and all that goes with it was by pounding out and executing a Marxist policy in the Chinese revolution. The Right-Centre bloc failed in this task and persecuted and expelled the Left Opposition for advocating the only policy that could materially defend the Soviet Union and the World Revolution.

Scare Headlines on Manchuria

For over a half year the *Daily Worker* has presented scare headlines on the Manchurian situation with countless columns of news but not one Marxist analysis of its relation to the world situation. In the last two months the Japanese army has been advancing toward the borders of the Soviet Union. The danger from the side of Japanese imperialism has grown in the last two months. But the way the *Daily Worker* has handled this problem, the Communist followers' consciousness has been dulled rather than sharpened.

An analysis of the process of Japanese consolidation in Manchuria, a necessary base for an attack on the Soviet Union: the relations of the East to the European allies and the events in Germany would keep the world proletariat informed at each step, enabling us to take the proper steps to defend the Soviet Union.

The defense of the Soviet Union cannot be satisfied by the slogan of: "Defend the Soviet Union." To defend the Soviet Union one must concretize slogans for each situation. For this purpose, one must approach the problem, not from the position of building socialism in one country, but from the position of the world revolution, from the standpoint of the Permanent Revolution, which also

makes necessary the industrialization of the Soviet Union as rapidly as possible. A Chinese revolution, a Manchurian invasion, a Spanish revolution and a struggle for power with the Fascists in Germany calls for different methods, forms and slogans in order to defend the Soviet Union.

Civil War in Germany

When Civil War threatens Germany, when the C. I. policies in Germany need a complete overhauling when a Fascist victory in Germany will mean a direct threat of death hanging over the Soviet Union—the world-wide use of the slogan, "Defend the Soviet Union", without a word or analysis, without pointing out the road to struggle is the best way how not to defend the Soviet Union, how to make a joke out of the slogan.

The Communist League of America, the Left Opposition stands in the forefront in the struggle for the defense of the Soviet Union by standing in the forefront of the international class battles, analyzing, pointing out and leading the way in the struggle for a correct Marxist line, within the Soviet Union and throughout the world.

—H. O.

Bonus Battle

(Continued from page 1)

passenger train from Cumberland on. Instead, the freight cars were stranded somewhere in one of the damp cold Allegheny valleys. All night long the hungry men shivered with cold. The next morning, the cars were taken through Cumberland where the men protested the double crossing of railroad officials. (Other contingents had similar experiences.) They demanded they be put on a passenger train, as promised. The petty officials passed the buck, one to the others. Finally the men were again put on a freighter for Washington and for the hospital.

Under these conditions, the government officials fear an epidemic will break out, which of course is likely. But the prescription of the government doctors is not that the government should provide sanitary camps, cots and decent food, but that the men should disband.

What these experts really fear is an "epidemic" of protests demands and militant action. These chinovniks, these bureaucratic Cautes are trying to stem the gathering revolutionary tide. They are working day and night to intimidate the soldiers, to break them up and keep them isolated from the twelve million unemployed and the organized working class, with whom, and only with whom they can solve the question of bread, work and freedom. They can solve it only by the overthrow of the capitalist system that threw them into the butchery of the last war, and is now cynically throwing them on the scrapheap, like so much useless machinery.

Vets in Militant Mood

"Did the United States ever have ragged soldiers?—Not until today," reads one slogan. "Millions for war—not a cent for the hungry." "We need cash—not a tombstone"—these are typical slogans across the rusty dilapidated autos about the camp. "What are you going to do, Uncle Sam?", asks another.

During the day I was there, there were several rallies. The men were addressed by some pious congressmen, who promised to work for the passing of the Bonus Bill. They cheered him loud and strong every time he assured them they'd win their demand. The sergeant who was beside the congressman conducted the cheering, as though the men were at a schoolboys' rally. Toward the end of the proceedings, this sergeant was handed a telegram from Father Coughlin promising a \$5,000 contribution—on one condition—that it would not be used for the benefit of the reds and other radicals. (These Christian fathers!)

"Just imagine who it is from," spoke the sergeant who grins with every congressman and secret-serviceman, "just imagine, from Father Coughlin!—Hlp, hlp, boys, now three cheers!"

After the cheering he continues, "If you'll fight clean, if you'll fight upright and stay away from these communists, we'll get more contributions and nobody will go hungry."

While he was speaking, a "regimental commander", a fat pug, flanked by two "bulls", was going through the crowd, stopping to speak to small groups. "Look here boys, if any of the Communists open their mouth, go bit—right in the mouth!" He thrust his fist out to show them how. The sergeant on the speakers' stand was shouting, "Fight clean, fight upright, stay away from these Communist people. All here who are against the Communists say: Aye! Hlp, hlp!"

Now, the first cheer was loud, but only at the outer portions of the crowd. The second was distinctly muffled. The third cheer fell almost dead; the soldiers refused to raise their voices and although you did not hear it, you felt the muttering and rumbling of the men.

The secret-servicemen and the "regimental commanders", as I've said, are doing everything to prevent the issues from being brought before the soldiers. Openly and secretly they are intimidating the men. Of course they can't liquidate the one demand for cash in the palm of their hand—which is their one strength. And it may be this demand, now that the bill is defeated, that will be the piercing point that will cut a path to the other sections of the organized working class. Meanwhile they are isolated—soldiers of fortune. They are like a mass of dangling roots in mid-

Unemployment

(Continued from page 1)

present situation in the following terms: "Never has there been a clearer demonstration of the part that the accumulation of capital... plays in normal business activity. Every promise of sustained improvement in the industries making goods for personal consumption has failed of realization because supporting improvements in the 'capital goods' industries has not occurred."

Yes, the capital goods production—production of means of production—failed to improve. And quite naturally so. Just remember the enormous production capacity now unused. This is the constant part of capital which in the process of accumulation increases much more rapidly than variable capital (labor power). In other words there is already such a huge overproduction of capital—of means of production—to the extent that they serve as capital.

One can get a glance from another angle of the capital investment problem by merely taking a look at the figures of new capital emissions. According to Otto P. Schwarzschild, president of the National Statistical Service Inc., the total new financing in the United States (stocks and bonds, but not including municipal bond issues) for the first five months of this year aggregated \$229,078,000. This compares with a total for the first five months of last year of \$1,600,697,000; and for the same period of 1930, of a total of \$2,869,080,000. From this first crisis year till today there is a drop of 92 percent in capital emissions.

These figures illustrate but once again the fact that during times of crisis the demand for industrial capital seriously diminishes. And yet the "wise" capitalist rulers speak of the expansion of credits to start the wheels of industry turning! For them, however, the question still remains: how are they going to "break the backbone of the crisis?"

The Government's Part

"The government must first bring its house in order," insists the Wall Street bankers. "The budget must be balanced", was their demand. Now it is balanced—at least, it is a sort of a balance. Provisions are made for supporting the policy of credit expansion. But this credit expansion, instead of turning the wheels of industry, goes into loan capital to pay previously contracted obligations. So, in other words, the government becomes a more active guarantor for these loans advanced to pay interests and principals to the marauding brigands of Wall St. The budget balancing has extended taxation to make up for the expense; and, of course, the excursion into the field of indirect taxation met with some success. The sales tax schemes were finally, in the main, put over, leaving the collections for payment of the bills a broader field, embracing all who are still in a position to buy.

Apparently the so-called relief bills pending before Congress are also making progress. The ideas of those senators and representatives, who champion the interests of the petty bourgeoisie, to secure large appropriations for public works, are rather violently frowned upon. That would be too much like a dole. The Wagner bill now before the Senate meets the favor of those representing the higher brackets of present society. It provides for \$300,000,000 in loans to the states—a drop in the bucket even as charity for the millions of unemployed. It provides for \$500,000,000 for public works—to be spread over a long period of time. It provides for \$1,500,000,000 in debenture for loans to what is called self liquidating enterprises, this to be administered by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

The Problems Still Remains

The government is surely putting its house in order and following closely the most hopeful designs of the Wall Street pirates. Further enormous sums in credit expansion are to be made available with the hope that the wished for business expansion will result. But there is still a long way to go and that depends entirely on different factors. To recapitulate some of these factors are: (1) Restoration of confidence, within capitalism, in the continuity of the process of reproduction. This is not a mere abstract problem; it involves such questions as markets, profit rate, etc. (2) Raising of the present level of commodity prices. This in other words will mean, at least, a degree of inflation which is practically on the way. (3) Checking the fall in the rate of profit by further increase of capital and thus increasing the mass of profit. This is the crux of the problem. It spells an increase in the intensity of exploitation and further depression of the wage level.

In this we consider only the home front; there still remains for consideration such questions as prospects in the world market. But these indications alone bear witness to the coming higher composition of capital and with it the greater intensity of competition and of class conflicts. They indicate the enormous contradictions in preparation for the next stage.

—ARNE SWABECK.

(Another article in this series will follow next week, dealing especially with the world markets and some prospects—Ed.)

air, and lest they shrivel and die, it is extremely necessary to carry them over to the soil of the revolutionary proletariat.

The soldiers are ready to listen to us. We must win them over. Concentrate your work on Washington.

—EX-SOLDIER.

A Political Biography of Stalin . . .

by LEON TROTSKY

Editor's Note

The *Daily Worker* last week published Stalin's interview with Emil Ludwig, in which the infallible, the best disciple of Lenin spouts freely the wisdom of latter-day Bolshevism. Among other things, he hurls another of his notorious stink-bombs against comrade Trotsky. It suffices to characterize the Best Disciple by reprinting the following lines from "Materials for a Political Biography of Stalin", written some time ago by our comrade—Ed.

Eight years of struggle since Lenin; eight years of struggle against Trotsky; eight years of the regime of the epigones, first the "three", then the "seven", and finally the "one"—this entire significant period of the decline of the revolution, of its ebbing on an international scale, of the lowering of its theoretical level; brought us to a, in the highest degree, critical point. In the bureaucratic triumph of Stalin a great historical period is culminated and, at the same time the inevitability of its defeat in the near future is indicated. The culmination of bureaucracy foretells its crisis. It may be very much swifter than its growth and rise. The regime of national socialism and its hero come under the blows not only of inner contradictions, but also of the international revolutionary movement. The world crisis will give the latter a series of new impulses. The vanguard of the proletariat will not be able and willing to enfold in the clutches of a Molotovist leadership. The personal responsibility of Stalin is fully involved. Doubts and anxiety have entered the souls of even the most trained ones. And Stalin cannot give more than he has. He is threatened with a descent which may prove to be swifter in proportion to the artificial character of his ascent.

In any case Stalin is the central figure in the present unstable period. The characteristics of Stalin have a great political interest in connection with the course of the sixteenth congress. The present issue of the Bulletin is devoted to a considerable extent to a characterization of the chief of the apparatus, as a political worker and as a theoretician.

In the following lines we want to contribute some material to the political biography of Stalin. Our material is extremely incomplete. We choose the most essential from what we have in our archives. But in our archives, as yet, many essential, maybe the most important material and documents are temporarily missing. From the archives of the police department which intercepted and copied in the course of decades the letters of revolutionaries, documents, etc., Stalin in the course of the last years has meticulously collected material with the help of which he was able on the one hand to maintain a hold on insufficiently reliable friends, throw a shadow on opponents, and, primarily, protect himself and his adherents against the publication of these or other excerpts or episodes which would damage the false monolithism artificially created by their

Back Numbers of Militant Wanted

Some time ago we issued an appeal for missing back numbers of *The Militant*. As a result of this appeal comrades in different parts of the country sent in what they had and we made up a number of files which are now on sale. We are sure that comrades still have in their possession extra copies of the numbers we need. If they will send them in at once we will be able to make up an additional number of files. We need not emphasize the financial importance of the sale of these files to us. It is obvious.

The numbers we need are: Vol. 1, No. 1, November 15, 1928; Vol. 2, No. 4, February 18, 1929; Vol. 3, No. 31, October 1, 1930; Vol. 4, No. 2, January 15, 1931; Vol. 4, No. 10, May 15, 1931.

We need all of these numbers, but at the moment we need the last one a little more than the others. A little more than a year ago we made up a number of files of *The Militant* from Vol. 1, No. 1 to the last issue of 1930. Comrades who bought these files have been waiting for bound files of the subsequent issues.

We need about thirty of the missing issues for 1931. Comrades, don't wait. Send in all of these issues that you have at once.

What Next?

On August 1 *What Next?* will be off the press. Work is going forward on it steadily and rapidly. We would like to get it off sooner because of the swift pace of the developments in the German situation. Whether we can do it depends to a large extent on the response to the China book and to the number of paid advance orders that our comrades can get NOW. Every advance paid order moves the date up a little.

The book will be approximately 150 pages. It will be put up in paper covers at 50 cents each, and in cloth at \$1. The usual reduced rates for bundle orders will apply.

Now comrades it is up to you! If you want to see *WHAT NEXT?* out sooner than August 1 help us by pushing the China book and by getting paid advance orders for *WHAT NEXT?*—NOW.

biographies. These documents we do not have. The extreme inadequacy of our information must be kept in view, in appraising the following material.

1. On December 23, 1925 the following police information was published in the party organ, *Zaria Vostoka*, by Stalin's closest friends: "From the information received by me again from the agency, Djugavshvili was known in the organization by the nicknames, Soso and Koba; worked from 1902 in the social democratic party organization first as a menshevik and then as a bolshevik, as a propagandist and leader of the first district (railroad)." In reference to this police information about Stalin published by his adherents no refutation has appeared anywhere, as far as we know. From this information it transpires that Stalin began his work as a menshevik.

2. In 1905 Stalin belonged to the bolsheviks and was taking an active part in the struggle. What were his views on the character and perspectives of the revolution? As far as we know there are no documents in circulation on this account. No articles, speeches, or resolutions by Stalin have been reprinted. Why? Obviously because the republication of Stalin's articles or letters for that period could only damage his political biography. There is no other explanation of the stubborn forgetfulness of the "chiefs" past.

3. In 1907 Stalin took part in the expropriation of the bank of Tiflis. The mensheviks following the bourgeois philistines expressed indignation against the "conspiratorial" methods of bolshevism and its "anarcho-Blanquism". We can have only one attitude toward this indignation: contempt. The fact of taking part in a resolute, the only partial blow at the enemy can add only honor to the revolutionary resoluteness of Stalin. It is astonishing, however, that this fact has been removed in cowardly manner from all the official biographies of Stalin? Is it in the name of bureaucratic respectability? After all we think not. It is more likely for political reasons. For, if participation in expropriation in itself cannot compromise a revolutionist in the eyes of revolutionists, the false political appraisal of that situation compromises Stalin as a politician. Separate blows at the institutions of the enemy, including "treasures", are compatible only with the revolutionary offensive of the masses; i. e., with the ascent of the revolution. When the masses are retreating, partial, separate, partisan blows unavoidably degenerate into adventures and lead to demoralization of the party. In 1907 the revolution was receding and the expropriations degenerated into adventures. Stalin, at any rate, showed in that period that he was unable to distinguish between high and low tides. He will disclose in the future more than once (Esthonia, Bulgaria, Canton, the third period) incapability of political orientation on a broad scale.

4. Stalin, from the time of the first revolution leads the life of a professional revolutionist. Prisons, exiles, escapes. But during the entire period of the reaction (1907-11) we do not find a single document—article, letter, resolution—in which Stalin formulated his own appraisal of the situation and its perspectives. It is impossible that such documents do not exist. It is impossible that they are not preserved, if only in the archives of the police department. Why don't they appear in the press? It is perfectly obvious why: they are unable to strengthen the absurd characterization of the theoretical and political infallibility that the apparatus, which means Stalin himself—creates for itself.

5. Only one letter of that period, due to oversight, got into the press and it entirely confirms our hypothesis. On the 24 of January, 1911 Stalin wrote to his friends from exile. This letter was intercepted by the police department, was reprinted on December 23, 1925 still by the same more servile than wise editorship of the *Zaria Vostoka* (*Dawn of the East*). This is what Stalin wrote: "You have certainly heard about the 'tempest in a teapot' abroad; blocs—Lenin and Plechanov on one side, and Trotsky-Martov-Bogdanov on the other. The relation of the workers to the first bloc, as far as I know, is favorable. But in general the workers are beginning to look with contempt on the work abroad; let them climb on the wall to their hearts' content; in our estimation those should work to whom the interests of the movement are dear, and the rest will happen." This, in my estimation, is for the best.

This is not the place to consider how correctly Stalin defines the composition of the blocs. The question is not in this. Lenin led a fierce struggle against legalizers, liquidators, and opportunists, for the perspectives of the second revolution. This struggle determined fundamentally all the groupings abroad. But how does the Bolshevist Stalin appraise these battles? As the most helpless empiricist and unprincipled practicalist: "a tempest in a teapot; let them, so to say, climb on the wall; work, and all will be well." Stalin welcomes the frame of mind of theoretical indifference and the imaginary superiority of the near-sighted practicalists over the revolutionary theoreticians. "In my estimation, this is for the best," he writes, addressing those moods that were characteristic of the period of reaction and downfall. We have in this manner in the person of the Bolshevist Stalin not even a political

conciliationism, for conciliationism was an ideological current which strove to create a principled platform,—we have a blind empiricism which entirely disdains the principle problems of the revolution.

It isn't difficult to imagine what a castigation the editorship of the *Zaria Vostoka* got for publishing this letter, and what measures were taken on a general governmental scale to prevent such letters from appearing in the future.

6. In his report at the seventh plenum of the E. C. C. I. (1926) Stalin characterized the party's past in the following manner: "... the history of our party if taken from the moment of its birth in the form of a Bolshevist group in 1903, and traced through its subsequent stages up to our time; can be said without exaggeration, to be a history of the struggle of contradictions inside the party—there is not and cannot be a 'middle' line in questions of a principle character—". These imposing words are aimed against ideological "conciliationism"; in relation to those against whom Stalin led a struggle. But these absolute formulas of ideological irreconcilability are entirely contradictory to the political physiognomy and political past of Stalin himself. He was, as an empiricist, an organic conciliator, but particularly as an empiricist he did not give his conciliationism a principled expression.

7. In 1912 Stalin contributed to the legal paper of the Bolshevists, *Zvezda* (*The Star*). The Petersburg editorial board in direct struggle with Lenin, issued this paper at first as a conciliationist organ. Here is what Stalin wrote in the programmatic editorial: "... we will be satisfied if the paper, not falling into the political infatuations of the different fractions, will successfully defend the spiritual treasures of the democracy, on which at present obvious enemies and false friends are boldly encroaching." (*Revolution and C. P. S. U.* (B) in "Materials and Documents", Vol. 5, page 161-162).

The phrase about political infatuations of different (!) fractions is aimed wholly at Lenin, at his "tempests in teapots", at his eternal readiness to "climb on the wall", out of some "political infatuations."

Stalin's article, in this manner, entirely coincides with the vulgar-conciliationist tendency of the above quoted letter of 1911, and wholly contradicts his later announcement of the impermissibility of a middle line in questions of a principle character.

8. One of the official biographies of Stalin proclaims: "In 1913 he was again exiled to Turuchansk, where he remained until 1917." The Stalin jubilee number of *Pravda* expresses itself in the same way: "The years of 1913-14-15-16 Stalin spent in exile in Turuchansk" (*Pravda*, December 21, 1929). And not a word more. These were the years of the world war, the collapse of the Second International, of Zimmerwald, Kienthal, of the deepest ideological struggle in socialism. What part did Stalin take in this struggle? Four years of exile should have been years of intensive mental work. The exiles in such circumstances keep diaries, write tracts, work out theses, platforms, exchange polemical letters, etc. It is impossible that Stalin in four years of exile did not write anything on the fundamental problems of the war, the International, and revolution. But it would be futile for us to look for some traces of Stalin's mental work during these astounding four years. In what manner could this occur? It is perfectly obvious that if only one single line could be found where Stalin formulated the idea of defeatism or announced the necessity of a new International, this line would have been published long ago photographed and translated into all languages, and enriched with learned commentaries by all the academies and institutions. No such line was found. Does this mean that Stalin did not write at all? No, it does not mean this. This would be entirely incredible. But this means that among all the material written during these four years there was nothing, absolutely nothing, which can be used to-day for the strengthening of his reputation. In this manner the years of war, when the ideas and slogans of the Russian revolution and Third International were forged, proved an empty space in the ideological biography of Stalin. It is very probable that at that time he spoke and wrote: "Let them climb on the wall there and arrange storms in a glass of water."

9. Stalin arrives in Petrograd with Kameney about the middle of March, 1917. *Pravda*, directed by Molotov and Shlapnikov, had a vague, primitive, but nevertheless "left" character directed against the provisional government. Stalin and Kameney put aside the old editorship as too left and took up a thoroughly opportunist position in the spirit of the left mensheviks: (a) support of the provisional government as far as; (b) military defense of the revolution (i. e., the bourgeois republic); (c) a union with the mensheviks of the Tseretelli type. The position of *Pravda* in those days presents indeed a scandalous page in the history of the party and in the biography of Stalin. His March articles which were the revolutionary result of his meditations in exile explain perfectly why not a line from Stalin's works from the war epoch have appeared up till now.

(To Be Continued)

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

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ON THE SPOT

CRIME IS GAINING ALL THE TIME

A Mr. McGeoghegan of Chicago, prominent beer baron, was charged with the robbery of a bank to the tune of \$60,000. He beat the bank officials to it. Infuriated over their loss, the bankers identified him, and the eminent Democrat was placed on trial. The identifiers learned that McGeoghegan was cleaning and gilding a machine gun for their benefit so they implored the state's attorney to dismiss the charges. Their request was complied with. Why not send McGeoghegan to restore law and order in Nicaragua?

REPS. AND DEMS. SEND RIPALS TO NUT WARD

Former Kiegle Clarke of the Ku Klux Klan, recently emerged from his cavern and announced that he was going to restore prosperity through the medium of a new organization of morons, membership in which was contingent on the ability of the sucker to come across with a sum ranging from \$25 to \$500. "From each according to his ability; to me according to my needs" was Clarke's slogan. Plans for bedsheet and night cap factories were drawn up and a corps of confidence salesmen organized. But the bourgeoisie would not have it. These are hard times and the Republican and Democratic parties will have a tough job on their hands trying to hold the masses in their corral with promises of prosperity and full dinner pails after next November. So they grabbed Clarke and lashed him to a cot in the psychopathic ward of the County Hospital in Chicago. The head of the nut claiming house declared that any man who claims he can liquidate the depression is as mad as a bed bug. If that is so, and we are inclined to agree, why not isolate the leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties?

IS WILLIAM GREEN SEEING RED?

William Green, the pink-checked Baptist, president of the American Federation of Labor, who has waged a consistent fight against unemployment by holding the estimated number of jobless down to six millions recently took a wild leap to the left and startled the country by stating that the workless army is now over ten millions. Following this announcement from his headquarters came another, charging the Hoover administration with non-feasance on the unemployment question. Bill believes that the money handed to the banks by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation should be loaned by the banks to the business men who in turn would use it to exploit the unemployed, and to paraphrase the Pullman smoking room yarn "that's the fellow Green wants to help." Look out brother Green! Brother Doak may get you and deport you to where you came from unless you stop criticizing the government. Only the Reds do that kind of thing.

ONEAL AND THOMAS IN TIT FOR TAT GAME

The assistant editor of the New Leader, official organ of the Socialist Party, was removed from his post because of his support of the so-called militants in the S. P. The board of directors of the New Leader declared that he was dismissed because of his inability to work in harmony with Hillquit's editor, James Oneal. Norman Thomas, the liberal leader of the S. P. who took the 'left' militants into his maw and is digesting them at his leisure, protested against the assistant editor's dismissal. Oneal came back with the dirty crack that Thomas fired him (Oneal) from the editorial staff of the New York Call after Thomas took it over, baptized it the Leader and abolished the class struggle. This is tit for tat if you get what I mean.

DAILY WORKER BARES DIABOLICAL PLOT

The Daily Worker viewed with alarm the proposal of the Human Betterment Foundation that 13,000,000 mental defectives be sterilized by a harmless process which is so popular with the expert-mentees that they write testimonials recommending the operation to others. It may be a modernization of the fable about the fox who lost his tail, but be that as it may, the Daily Worker suspects that it is a plan to sterilize the unemployed. The capitalists it is true, are dirty enough for anything but we fall to see what they could gain by enacting the unemployed unless they intend to legalize the harem industry. It is well to know however that the Daily Worker is on guard and if the capitalists think they can pull off anything like that without the diabolical motive behind it being exposed, they are due for disillusionment.

—RIDE.

Ryan Walker, well known labor cartoonist, died a short time ago in Moscow. His cartoons appeared in many papers. He first became known thru the N. Y. Call, and since that time his drawings have appeared in the Illinois Miner (Ameringer's paper), the N. Y. Graphic, and the Daily Worker. No one can say that he did not have a colorful career.

Lausanne Conference Near Collapse

German Reaction Aggressive

The entire Lausanne Conference, looked upon with the greatest anxiety by a European bourgeoisie caught in the throes of impending convulsions, has so far stood under the sign of the Hoover proposals on disarmament. The power of the American colossus is more in evidence than ever. The Germans see in it the hand of a magnanimous benefactor against the adamant French enemy. The French in so far as they are inclined to view with favorably, hold it up as a prop for the maintenance of their cherished Versailles Treaty. As is known, the Hoover plan proposes the reduction of armaments by one third pressing for a reduction in the arms output of the Gallic rival for European domination and at the same time restricting German war preparations to the present limit.

As was to be expected, the Conference has yielded no results. The only positive thing it has achieved, is the indefinite prolongation of the Hoover moratorium which was to end on June 30. The French are holding out, using the old lever of "security necessities" and holding fast to their refusal to consider cancellation of German reparations. In the struggle between the Americans and the delegation from the Quai d'Orsay, the Von Papen delegation grasps a good opportunity to jockey for position, with an eye on the requirements of foreign aid from all quarters in the event of a Fascist seizure of power in Germany and the prospect of bitter and protracted civil war that this envisages.

While the German reactionaries are negotiating for the best possible conditions for future domestic and foreign imperialist aims—they talk of revision of the Eastern frontiers—steering a course that heads for a generally approved aggression against the country of the So-

Closer to the Proletarians of the 'Colored' Races!

To the International Secretariat:
Copy to the National Committee of the American League:

I have received a copy of the letter of an organization of Negro comrades from Johannesburg, dated April 26th. This letter, it seems to me, has a tremendous symptomatic significance. The Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) can and should become the banner for the most oppressed sections of the world proletariat, consequently, in the first place for the Negro workers. Upon what do I base such an assumption?

The Left Opposition represents at present the most consistent and most revolutionary current in the world. Its sharply critical relations to all and every form of bureaucratic conceit in the labor movement makes it possible for it to pay particular attention to the voice of the most oppressed sections of the working class and toilers in general.

The Left Opposition has to suffer the blows not only of all the bourgeois governments of the world, but also of the Stalinist apparatus. This fact, which, in spite of all the slanders, enters gradually into the consciousness of the masses, the government at home proceeds with drastic force against all opposition forces at home.

The protests of the local governments—Bavaria, Baden—against the lifting of the ban on the Nazi Storm Troops have been of no avail. The Von Papen cabinet is sticking to its guns. In the meantime, the Fascist forces are forging ahead with full speed and with the best wishes of the present rulers. Attacks upon workers, organizations continue unabated. The toll of proletarian victims of Hitlerite attacks is mounting skyward. The Brown Shirts pressure upon affairs—domestic as well as foreign—goes on in all openness and with remarkable success.

(Continued on page 2)

es, will have to attract towards the Left Opposition the sympathies of the most oppressed sections of the international working class more and more. From this point of view, the letter to us from the South African comrades appears to be not at all accidental, but deeply symptomatic. In their letter, bearing 24 signatures (it further follows: "and others") the South African comrades expressed particular interest in the questions of the Chinese Revolution. This interest should be recognized as fully grounded. Precisely the working masses of the oppressed peoples who have to carry on the struggle for the elementary national rights and for human dignity, stand the greatest risk to suffer from the confused teachings of the Stalinist bureaucracy on the subject of the "democratic dictatorship". Under this false banner, the policy in the style of the Kuo Min Tang, that is, the complete deception and the unpunished crushing of the toiling masses by their own "national" bourgeoisie, may still do the greatest harm to the cause of liberating the toilers. The program of the permanent revolution based on the incontestable historic experience of a number of countries may and should assume the leading significance for the liberation movement of the Negro proletariat.

If the Johannesburg comrades did not as yet have the possibility to acquaint themselves closer with the views of the

Alexander Rosanoff

The sad news of a new victim is communicated in the latest correspondence received from Moscow. Comrade Alexander Rosanoff is dead in exile. Comrade Rosanoff, a party member since 1917, a heroic fighter in the famous Fifth Army (which crushed Kolchak), a militant Oppositionist since 1923, was arrested in 1928. Although seriously ill with tuberculosis, running a fever of 105, he was thrown into Butirki prison together with common law criminals, and submitted to all kinds of tortures. Then deported to Siberia, he was on the threshold of death. The Stalinist apparatus was obliged to transfer him to better climatic conditions. There condemned to death, he remained an intrepid Bolshevik revolutionary, combating Stalinism with all his power. After four years of exile comrade Rosanoff has perished, a victim of the Stalinist repression.

The same communication tells of the uninterrupted growth of the Left Opposition in the U. S. S. R.: Young Workers come to the Opposition from all new sections. The year 1931 unfolded under the sign of hundreds of new arrests and deportations of Bolshevik-Leninists. This year the same thing. We cite, among other things, the arrest and deportation, during March and April, of 80 oppositionists in Sverdlovsk (center of the Ural industrial region) 3 of whom were transferred to solitary. This continual arrival of new elements has a decisive importance. It gives courage to the old militants. And above all, it gives assurance to the future of the Left Opposition, which has great historic tasks before it. And it is just this growth that explains the blind hatred Stalin shows to the Left Opposition. The ideas of the Left Opposition, in spite of everything, are penetrating into all the sections of the working class and the Party, and in the entire Soviet Union.

Demand the release of the Bolshevik-Leninists in prison and exile, from the Stalinist bureaucrats.

Demand their readmission into the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Worker Communists must not allow the physical destruction of these stalwart revolutionists. Their place is in the front ranks of the world proletariat.

Persecution of our Spanish Comrades

BARCELONA, SPAIN.—

Our comrade Luis Curiel has been arrested in Valladolid. His arrest is just another arbitrary act of the "democratic" regime. No reason was given to explain this arrest, outside of the fact that Curiel is an outstanding Communist militant, the former regional secretary of the official party in Castille and the national secretary of International Labor Defense (Red Aid).

It appears that it is the aim of the police to systematically jail all the members of the Left Opposition in Spain. At Perales de Tajuna, on May 30, comrade Henri Lacroix was arrested while engaged in a conversation with friends on a street corner. The Civil Guards who perpetrated the arrest threatened our comrade at the point of a gun. They marched him through the streets with his hands up and warned that they had orders to act drastically upon any move on his part. Since there is no jail in that town they took him to a small rest-

aurant. Like a real bandit, never once withdrawing their gun points from the body of our comrade.

After passing the night there, they brought him to Madrid where he was later released.

—CORRESPONDAL.

As we go to press we receive the joyous news of the release of comrade Andres Nin and the other 20 comrades arrested with him on May 30. The last two issues of El Soviet, of which Nin is the editor and in the publication of which many of the arrested comrades had been engaged, were practically edited from the prison cells. Most of the articles bear the address of the Carcel Central, the prison in which the editorial board of El Soviet was detained.

Comrade Luis Rastrollo, after five months of prison in Badajoz, has also been released. He is a member of the National Committee of the Spanish Opposition and had been arrested for leading the peasant revolts in Llerena.

Arrest W. Z. Foster in Los Angeles

Released Although Charged with Criminal Syndicalism

William Z. Foster, Communist candidate for president of the U. S. who was arrested on July 28th. in Los Angeles, while attempting to speak in a protest demonstration, was released the next day on the grounds of lack of evidence to charge him with criminal syndicalism. The meeting at which Foster was arrested was called to protest the prohibition of a meeting where he was billed to speak and which was to protest the shooting of an unemployed worker by Captain Hynes police thugs. John R. Hynes, the notorious red baiter and persecutor of the Los Angeles workers, arrayed a little army of Legionnaires and bluecoats, armed with sub-machine guns, sawed off shotguns, blackjacks, etc., to see to it, that the meeting did not take place. When the workers demanded to hear Foster, the police and the thugs proceeded to show them what California democracy feels like—over their skulls. When Foster began to speak, he was thrown into jail "on suspicion of criminal syndicalism."

But this move was too brazen, too crude. Hynes, who arrests, imprisons and holds Communists on far less evidence, had to let Foster go for the reason that he wanted to "keep peace in the city." The real reason is of course, that it is not so easy to arrest presidential candidates even though they may happen to be Communists. The wave of resentment that would follow, would certainly make it too hot for Capt. Hynes' liking.

The first move to block the Communist election campaign has been successfully crushed.

On with the campaign! Vote for Foster and Ford!
Vote Communist!

Demagogues and Bankers Clash in Chicago What Is Behind the Clique Fight at the Democrats' Meet

If the Republican party confab gave the appearance of a graveyard with a couple of hired noise makers, the democratic convention looks like a veritable madhouse with the inmates acting their natural selves. A casual reading of the proceedings of the convention now in session in Chicago, gives one the impression of a field day of a lunatic asylum. First fights, a jig by the sedate William McAdoo, wild and idiotic cheering at the least mention of prohibition repeal, chorus girls applauding Jimmy Walker, and professional entertainers to fill in the dull moments, marked the highlights of the political convention of the "democracy."

The Republican convention insulted the intelligence of the people of these United States by putting up Herbert Hoover as the only nominee and candidate to squeeze some more profits out of the hides of the working class. But the Democrats are no pikers, they give us eight possibilities, all of whom have as much or less in common with the needs of the workers as the "great engineer."

Smith has the support of the Wall Street magnate, John J. Raskob. Newton D. Baker let go a couple of loose phrases about capitalist "internationalism", but his able service in sending American workers to the European slaughterhouse, to coin profits for the Morgan's Du Ponts, etc., makes him wholly acceptable to the big money bags. Ritchie is wholly innocuous since his only qualification and platform is his dampness. Even Garner would be objectionable to the industrialists—he showed his caliber in trimming the petty-bourgeois by a huge levy of taxes foisted upon them. And Roosevelt the most likely nominee, can be counted upon in a pinch to do his bit for his master—in spite of his dishwasher liberalism.

But Franklin D. Roosevelt, while he has a majority of delegates behind him, has no path of roses to trod on to reach the nomination. The biggest obstacle that stands in his way is the displeasure that the Wall Street bankers have shown over his liberal demagoguery. The Morgans, Fords and Rockefeller are well satisfied with the service rendered by Herbert Hoover. But if it is necessary to have another candidate in the field, for the purpose of deception, they want the most harmless one they can lay hands on. This is not the time to play around. Roosevelt pretends to be the representative of the petty bourgeoisie. Behind him stands the powerful chain of the Hearst papers, that make it a policy to play on the heart strings of the small business man and the small manufacturer. [But Tammany Hall stands in his way, because as presidential nominee he will of necessity, have to take drastic measures in his post of Governor of N. Y. against the Tammany crooks, to keep the South and West in line.

The Democratic party in its platform blames the unprecedented economic and

social distress on their blood brothers, the Republicans. It recommends, as a remedy "a drastic change in economic and governmental policies."

The most ignorant person should be able to observe that the tremendous overproduction of wealth and the glut of commodities, on the one hand, and the starvation and unemployment on the other, can be due to nothing else than the system that produces these things. The Democrats are heart and soul for the maintenance of the capitalist system. Their economic existence depends upon it. How then, can anyone hope for a change or a remedy to existent conditions by the election of the "democracy."

A sop is thrown to the unemployed. Federal relief to the states is a plank, provided "the diminishing resources of the states make it impossible for them to provide for the needy." Just how much money for relief is not stated. And just when the resources of the states are "diminishing", makes the whole business smell like another campaign promise that will be violated as soon as the Democrats assume office.

The Republicans have completely ignored unemployment insurance. Therefore, the Democrats, seeing a good vote-catching issue, declare for "unemployment and old-age insurance under state laws." But the very wording of this plank gives the lie to their "solemn promises". There are Democratic governors in several states, some of whom are now aspirants for the nomination. Has unemployment insurance been introduced in those states? No! Will there be such laws (unless it is given to mean, insurance at the expense of the workers themselves), in the future? Most decidedly, no! Unless, again mass pressure is brought to bear by the working class.

As was to be expected, the main issue for the Democrats is the repeal of the 18th Amendment. Raskob says that it is the "only economic issue of any importance in this election campaign". To a starving populace crying for bread these "representatives of the people" offer beer and alcohol. Where the money will come from to purchase these beverages, with industry prostrate, seems to be a grand mystery. Prohibition is, in reality, nothing more than a soap bubble issue. It will be exploded just as soon as the workers get wise to this smoke-screen used, to cover up the burning problems.

This noisy, rambunctious convention can teach the American worker only one thing and one line of action. The capitalist system and all its representatives are rotten and bankrupt. The abolition and destruction of capitalism is their only hope. The piling up of a huge vote for the Communist candidates is their only course in this election.

—CLARKE.

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

The Pocketbook Makers
Fight the Racketeers

NEW YORK, N. Y.

One year ago, the S. P. Fakery and the Musteltes forced an agreement upon the Pocket Book Workers in N. Y. and conceded all the conditions of the employers without a fight. The employers did not live up to this rotten agreement, which they signed. They reduced wages constantly, sped up the workers, and violated the agreement every day during the year.

How is it possible that the employers could get away with not living up to the agreement when there is an impartial arbitration board. First the reorganization clause we've had since the last agreement was forced upon the workers by the betrayers. Under this reorganization clause, the employers have the right to discharge ten percent of the workers during the year, meaning five percent every six months. The bosses used this clause as a blackjack over the heads of the workers. It was possible for the manufacturers to speed up the workers, because each worker feared that he would be the one to be discharged when the reorganization came around at the end of the season.

Second, the present "Fraternal Club" administration gave the employers a free hand, collaborated with them to bring down wages and undermine the already poor conditions of the workers. Otherwise they would never permit the employers to violate the agreement.

Furthermore the officials not only helped to reduce wages but with the aid of the employers and some of their henchmen (the so-called shop chairman), they instituted a reign of terror in the union. At meetings workers were forced to vote according to the wishes of the administration. If a worker voted against the administration he had to face the threat of losing his job. This is called S. P. democracy in the union.

Why did the administration resort to such methods? The writer pointed out in *The Militant* of March 26 and May 28 that the "Fraternal Club" administration will force a new agreement on the Pocket Book Workers by hook or crook, with more wage cuts, reorganizations, readjustments, etc.

About two weeks ago, our manager, Lubliner, announced in the press that he had reached an agreement with the bosses' industrial council. The manager did not state the terms of the agreement. Let me enumerate the concessions the employers gained this time from our "practical" officials. (1) A twenty percent reduction in wages for week workers. (2) Ten percent for all piece workers. What have the workers won by the new agreement? The administration claims that the reorganization clause was modified from ten per cent twice a year to five per cent once a year. Unofficially, the employers will have the chance to readjust their business—which is just as rotten as reorganization, if not worse.

The "Fraternal Club" administration did not reckon with the wishes of the members and especially with those who are unemployed. They did not make any attempt to gain the forty hour week to relieve the unemployment situation. How they will be able to maintain conditions at a time when there are over two thousand workers unemployed, in an industry which employs only four thousand is a mystery to me. There are 175 non-union shops in New York. Nothing was done to organize these shops where some of the unemployed workers could be placed. The administration claims there is no money to do organization work. But what about the money for strong arm gangs?

Now let us analyze and see how the betrayers put over the agreement. When the manager reported the settlement to the joint council, the 14 "Rank and File" delegates voted against it. The 16 members of the "Fraternal Club" voted for it.

On June 20, a membership meeting was called at Stuyvesant High School to ratify the agreement. On the same day, the Rank and File Committee distributed leaflets in the union office, in which they urged the workers to come to the meeting and vote down the treacherous agreement. When one of the organizers, Wise, who has been charged with graft and corruption more than a dozen times, saw the girls handing out the leaflets, he became as wild as a bull. He ordered his gang to start a fight in the union office. This fight was not enough for the "Fraternal Club". So they sent their slugs out to start a fight on the street. Of course, the workers paid them in their own coin and they are hardly likely to forget it. As a result of the fight on 21st Street and Fifth Avenue, five Left wingers were held in jail for a few days. The gang was released immediately.

When the meeting took place at night, the "Fraternal" gang prepared themselves for it with the aid of the Gara or Curly gangs, numbering over fifty. Is it any wonder that the "Fraternal Club" administration put over the agreement? I would like to ask our misleaders how many they paid their gang? Is the gang working for "socialist" principles too? Who pays the gang that comes to our office to terrorize workers—your money or that of the workers?

In conclusion, I want to say that the "Rank and File" must close their ranks more firmly and rout the gangsters and slugs from our union. One corrupt administration was forced out of office a few years ago due to the fact that they could not give an accounting of more than \$250,000. We must make them understand that the time of dynasties is over. We will not pay bills for gunmen.

For every member that is beaten up, we will repay them eye for eye and tooth for tooth. This must be the answer to our "Fraternal Club" administration. Let our slogan be: a union for the workers, not for grafters and gangsters.

Abe Fine, one of the leading "Fraternal Club" slugs, who participated in the beating up of the Left wingers and who made the motion to accept the agreement, is scubbing in the Bienen shop, which has been on strike for the last few weeks!

—N. DAVIS.

The "Labor" Governor
of MinnesotaMINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—
June 25, 1932

True to the role of capitalist and reformist politicians, Floyd B. Olson, the Minnesota "Farmer-Labor" Governor is very busy nowadays in the usual campaign before election time to make himself popular, especially with the ruling class. His time is mostly taken up now in filling speaking engagements with various organizations and fraternal societies and in each case he naturally, from a politician's standpoint, wants to say something which is in harmony with the ideas of his listeners.

Speaking at a banquet of the Northern Pacific Ry. veterans at the Nicolet Hotel on June 23rd, Olson joined in with the railroad officials and such notorious open shoppers as A. A. D. Bahn, pleading for a square deal for the railroads. Quoting from the Minneapolis Journal of June 24th Charles Donnelly, president of the N. P., told those assembled at the banquet that, "The railroads of the United States ask only for equality of treatment from the taxing and regulating authorities in the transportation field."

Our "Farmer-Labor" Governor, instead of telling Donnelly and the rest of the outfit present, that the railroads together with all the other industries should be taken from the parasite owners without pay and be made public property and operated for use instead of for private profit, according to the same Journal stated as follows:

"We must have railroad transportation, especially for long haul and carload business. Much of the competition now forced upon the railways is unfair competition. It is necessary for the government to so regulate the transportation business as to provide fair and equitable business for all forms."

Neither Donnelly the Railroad President nor Andy Bahn, who spoke for the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association, could plead more eloquently for the cause of big business than did our "labor" Governor. The half million railroad "veterans" who have been robbed of their right to make a living by losing their jobs as victims of private ownership of industry, were entirely forgotten by the "labor" Governor and the capitalist agents alike.

By the purely fictitious role which Farmer-Labor and all reformist politicians are playing, not only in Minnesota but everywhere else, it will be easier for the Communists to gain members and supporters for our party and program.

—O. M.

Among the Greek Workers in N. Y.

In the *Militant* of June 4th and in the *Communist* No. 5 we demanded from the Greek Stalinist bureaucrats to announce in heavy type the victory of the *Empres* over the Athens Trust Co., of New York City. The *Empres* kept an icy silence, concerning this question, for obvious reasons. Both parties agreed to reject the trial at the Special Sessions Court and accepted the motion of the District Attorney. What we are interested to know is what the terms were under which this mutual agreement took place.

The bureaucrats up to this day refused to print this agreement because it is certain that it contains terms that are very favorable for the bank and very compromising for the *Empres*. By shouting and boasting of exposures against banks and newspapers and then compromising behind the backs of the workers we achieve nothing more than a tremendous loss of prestige.

Three whole weeks before the motion of withdrawal took place, the *Empres* carried a two column campaign against the rival of the Athens Bank, the National Bank of N. Y., and not a word about the Athens Trust Co. This speaks for itself.

Trial of the National Herald

Taking into consideration the dealings of the Greek Stalinists with the Athens Trust Company we venture to state that the same kind of dealings will take place with the National Herald next November when the workers will have forgotten all their fuss and unsincere eagerness to present themselves before the capitalist courts. Our prediction is substantiated by the fact that a certain member of the Board of Directors of the Athens Trust Co. happens to be also a member of the School Collection Fund that the National Herald carries.

Our Healthy Criticism

That our criticism of the *Empres* is healthy and constructive is proven by the quick response it received among the honest elements in the ranks of Stalinism. The workers' indignation at the criminal attitude of their bureaucrats brought about a considerable pressure and it resulted in a certain change—at least temporarily. Comrade Tsironis, a party member serving a long term in the capitalist dungeons, protested from within the prison walls and demanded that the *Empres* occupy itself with the vital questions of the class struggle. His letters to other party members forced the bureaucrats to print in the *Empres* of June 4th a fragment of a letter which we translate below:

Dear Comrades of the Editorial Board:

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—O. M.

Organization Notes

ORGANIZATION NOTES

During the days of June 10-13, both inclusive, our National Committee held a plenary meeting at the New York headquarters. Members and alternates were in attendance, coming from Chicago, Minneapolis, Philadelphia and Canada. The meeting became a fruitful one in many respects. The main issues discussed and acted upon were concerning differences of views in regard to developments within the sections of the International Left Opposition and our own internal developments. It is but natural that such issues should assume the importance of serious discussion particularly when we bear in mind that our main problem is still the one of selection and of consolidation of a nucleus of the future Communist movement.

These questions did not involve our principle position in the class struggle nor our attitude toward the Communist party as those are settled questions with us; nevertheless they did involve the problems of organizational growth here and abroad. The plenum ironed out in the main the differences of views that existed and arrived at unanimous conclusions in regard to the problems of our own development and in regard to our views of the European sections. These conclusions were embodied in resolutions which are now being submitted to our branches. This fact alone showed that the sessions were fruitful. It means that the decks are cleared for action, that a step has been taken forward to greater consolidation to better face the tasks of the future. Indications everywhere of developments in the revolution—any movement point to these tasks of the Left Opposition assuming greater proportion and particularly making possible that our organization will count more as a factor in direct intervention in the class struggle. One of the practical steps issuing out of the conclusions arrived at is the proposal to further broaden the National Committee, by adding to its members, and, with that, the strengthening of the center and of its functioning staff. This action together with the general conclusions of the committee meeting is being submitted to the membership for their discussion and their vote.

Lausanne and Germany

(Continued from page 1)

The Communist press is already half-suppressed. The Nazis are demanding the suppression of the Communist party. But the onslaught of the black hundreds is wedging in on even the more moderate opposition. A late dispatch reports that the Federal authorities have demanded of the Prussian government the proscription of the Berlin *Vorwaerts*, the central organ of the German social democracy and—of the Rhineland organ of the Catholic Centre party, the *Koelnische Volkszeitung*.

These further indications of the dark intentions of the Von Papen regime make evident the need of haste in countering the action of the Fascist scouts. Once more, it must be emphasized that a successful repulsion of the reaction—which is spreading its fangs towards the borders of the Russian Workers' State—depends only upon correct and timely united front action on the part of the German Communist Party and the Communist International.

The Communist International is maintaining an ominous silence. At a time, when black dangers face the European working class and the whole proletarian revolutionary movement of the world, the Communist International, the general staff of the revolutionary forces, finds it possible to do without a word of advice, without a word of direction to the international ranks that are behind it. Workers, Communists, demand in your organizations that the Stalinist leadership speak up. Demand that they tell you what they intend to do in this all too fateful situation!

—SAM GORDON.

THE TURN IN THE C. I. IS OUT
OF PRINT, BUT IS AVAILABLE IN
THE BOUND VOLUMES OF COMRADE
TROTSKY'S PAMPHLETS.

MANY OF THE PAMPHLETS AD-
VERTISED ELSEWHERE IN THIS
ISSUE CAN BE HAD IN JEWISH,
SPANISH, RUSSIAN AND ITALIAN.
FOR INFORMATION WRITE TO
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84 East 10th Street,
New York City

MINNEAPOLIS WORKERS
ATTENTION!

A PICNIC

Sunday, July 10th, 1932
at Glenwood Park Grounds, Plot 3

Speeches—Refreshments—Entertainment

A Trotsky bust by Claire Sheridan will
be raffled off for the benefit
of the Left Opposition Press.
Come and bring your friends.

Auspices: Minneapolis Branch, C. L. A.
(Opposition).

Oppositionists should be supported. They refused to supply our deceased comrade, Puhacopoulos even with the necessary medicines.

Our comrade Alexopoulos led the struggles of the Greek war invalids and succeeded in forcing the Government to pay a million Drachmas as a bonus. The capitalist government, to get rid of his militant activities, arrested him and sentenced him to serve a long term in prison. The Stalinists hope to exterminate him by forming him out of the prison collective.

Comrade Alexandronakis two weeks ago placed his entire savings at the disposal of the I. L. D. to bail out a comrade detained at Ellis Island.

—EDITORIAL BOARD OF
COMMUNISTES

YOUTH ACTIVITIES

NEW YORK

The activities of the Spartacus Youth Club have been picking up. Successful open air meetings were held a week ago Saturday at 7th Street and Ave. C. and last Saturday at Second Avenue, and 4th Street. Young Spartacus, Militants, and Germany pamphlets were sold. Several youth contacts were established.

At its regular Friday meeting, last week (June 24th) a good discussion on the War Danger and its Aspects, led by J. Carter was conducted, in which a number of comrades participated.

The Club has arranged for a picnic to be held July 10th at Tibbets Brook Park for the benefit of the Spanish Opposition Youth.

Watch the Militant for further announcements on the activities of the Club.

YOUNG SPARTACUS

The July issue of the *Young Spartacus* will be off the press in a few days. It will contain articles on the current questions of the day, on the developments in the Chicago Y. C. L., the Left Opposition youth in the European countries. Comrades should prepare for wide distributions of the issue.

CHICAGO, ILL.—

The youth of the Chicago branch debated the representatives of the Young Peoples Socialist League on June 12th. For full report see the coming July issue of the *Young Spartacus*.

The statement printed below was written by an active young Communist of Chicago. A number of other Communist youth in the Y. C. L. have supported a similar view. Six comrades have already suffered the consequences: Expulsion or exclusion. The July issue of the *Young Spartacus* carries an article by comrade N. Gould explaining the latest developments in the Chicago Young Communist League.

Y. C. L.'ERS DECLARE FOR
LEFT OPPOSITION

To all members of the Young
Communist League:

To the District Bureau, District 8:
In answer to the demand of the district secretariat for a statement of my views on the questions of (1) Fraternalization with expelled League members now adhering to the Left Opposition, (2) Characterization of "Trotskyism" I wish to submit the following statement.

The latest resolution of the Young Communist International, properly interpreted, agrees with the position held by comrades Satir, Gould, Andres, Sold, myself and others, on such important points as:

- (1) Rooting ourselves in the factories.
- (2) On the raising of the ideological level of the League.
- (3) Against bureaucracy.
- (4) Insufficient work among the children and sports movements, and numerous other points which are formulated in the Y. C. L. resolution and in joint statements of the expelled comrades.

(Continued from page 4)

The Bonus Marchers and the Press

The ex-servicemen's invasion of Washington was great news to the bourgeois press for the first several days. They heeded them on their front pages, and circulation was increasing. This spontaneous march of ex-soldiers aroused the intense interest of the whole country.

In fact, the capitalist editors were just a little alarmed at the too great interest shown in these men thrown up by the class struggle. The repeated detailed descriptions of the filthy conditions under which the soldiers live, faced with starvation and disease might lead the workers of these states to a little thinking of their own. They might begin to ask questions that would make these editors just a little more uncomfortable than they already are.

The country might learn that this march of the soldiers, like the idleness and starvation of the millions of unemployed, is no accident; that, in fact, they are part of the proletariat who in addition to being put to the industrial machine and exploited like the rest of the workers, were put to the machinery of war and after being crippled and butchered for the profit of the ruling class, were cynically cast aside.

So the bourgeois editors acted in concert out of their class instinct and issued orders to their lackeys, "Retreat to the inside covers!"

And they all went under cover. The *Times*, the *Tribune*, the *Post* gave and are still giving miserable half-columns tucked away somewhere on the inside of the papers; or if it is more than that, it is about this financiers' scheme for the soldiers to go gold-digging in the Rockies, or something written by the president of a hobo society about the need of reviving the men's patriotism; or providing a rate of one cent for the men to go home, etc., etc.

This was to be expected. Our open enemies are not going to help the exploited workers, except by their greed, their blindness, their stupidity, which will lead to the revolutionary awakening of the masses.

But what of the journals that are not so open in their opposition to the workers? Take for example the N. Y. *Telegram* of which Heywood Brown, the political baboon, is a high light. The paper suddenly closed curtains on the scene of the B. E. F. Several issues (June 22 to the 25) hardly had a single line about the soldiers. Which goes to show that when any movement of the class struggle actually begins, the liberals become panicky and flee under cover.

Now the Socialist press. I have before me a copy of the June 17 issue of the *American Guardian* of Oklahoma City, and as it is a typical socialist party

paper, neither better nor worse than any of the others, let us examine it a little more closely. It is all the more necessary as the S. P. still camouflages itself as the workers' party.

Mr. Charles W. Erwin, eastern editor, has a long article on "The Army of Occupation". He describes the horrible conditions under which the soldiers live, the pest hole of a dump the soldiers occupy, the rottenness of the food, the filth, the stench, (and let us add to spice his description the homo-sexuality rampant in the camp).

We have no quarrel with his description. It is all damnable true.

But when we come to his reflections and conclusions—listen:

"Had the workers shown less patience they would not have been compelled to come to Washington," he writes.

What would they have done if they had had less patience? Organize with the other workers and proceed by a series of demands and actions to the overthrow of the power that threw them into that last war and is now throwing them into filthy disease-infested lots—No! heaven forbid!

"They would have used their ballots." Here we have our old ballot salesman offering solution for every evil or what ails you.

"They would have used their ballots to throw out of office and therefore (sic) out of power, those who have basely betrayed the interests of the toiling masses of this country."

By the way, what happened to the six socialist Assemblymen duly elected by the citizens of New York in 1918? The assemblymen were not seated.

The bourgeoisie put the socialists in their place even when they did happen to get elected. We need go no further in this place to show the impotence of the ballot.

But as the soldiers didn't use the ballot and consequently were thrown into butchery and now into filth, Mr. Charles Erwin now turns to—to whom?—no less a personage than that of Herbert Clark Hoover!

"Had the president had the courage," writes courageous Charlie, "the courage that one has a right to demand of one holding his high office (Sign—Demand Courage of President), he would have come out to the White House gate and pledged the men to see that they were decently taken care of while here, and that the pitance which they were asking for would be given them in the near future."

What a victory it would have been to have had the president come to the White House gate! And what a triumph it would have been to have had him pledge himself!

—EX-SOLDIER

France Under the Regime of Herriot

The legislative elections of May 1 and 8 have resulted in the formation of a new government, composed almost exclusively of Radicals and secure in its overwhelming majority in parliament.

In the place of Tardieu, the open and avowed representative of the Comité des Forges and the Comité des Houillères (the two strongest business combines of French imperialism), we now have an outfit that represents above all, the export industries and several big commercial banks. The old radicalism has broken up in the face of this situation. On the one hand, the Marin group (the extreme Republican reactionaries) and part of the Tardieu group have declared themselves hostile to the group in power from the inception, chiefly because it includes within its majority the votes of the socialists. On the other hand, the rest of the Tardieu group, under Flandin—the former Minister of Finances expressing the interests of certain banking groups, are abstaining from independent action and leaving the field free for the Herriot government.

What is the latter going to do? What indication has it given in this respect, in the course of the first days of its existence? And what can it do?

The Lausanne Conference

In foreign policy, it is faced with great problems. It will have to deal with reparations and debts at the Lausanne Conference, with armaments at Geneva. Behind all sorts of vague formulations, it is becoming apparent that the orientation of the new government will not be much different, basically, from that of the former one. No matter which faction of the bourgeoisie controls the levers of the government, it will have to hold on to the maintenance of the Versailles Treaty in order to assure the general interests of the French bourgeoisie, and to its present military strength in Europe to preserve its political place in France in its struggle for hegemony.

In this struggle it will clash with the United States, whose interests in the matter are no secret. But what the Herriot government is driving at, is a modification of the form of the foreign policy which will make up for the lost time and pull France out of her isolation so that she will be able to present a more solid front against American imperialism. The Lausanne Conference ought to permit us to gauge correctly the present orientation of forces. In any event, the difficult position of French imperialism cannot be concealed.

Herriot's Internal Policy

In domestic policy, the declaration of the cabinet mentions with sufficient emphasis several measures in favor of the workers—amnesty for political prisoners, which has not yet been voted on; the prolongation of the period of unemployment aid to 180 days—but it keeps under the cover of equivocal phrases, its well defined intentions of attacking the wages of the employees, so as to bring about an "equitable distribution of sacrifices", that is to say, to give the signal for a new, big offensive of the capitalists against wages in general and against the standards of living of the workers. The employees understand the threat involved and their trade union organizations—autonomous and reformed, both—have immediately reacted with vigor. The government has beaten a retreat, but in such a fashion as makes it of an entirely provisional character.

No one doubts for a moment that it will reiterate its proposals at the first favorable opportunity.

Not even the slightest illusion can exist within the ranks of the Communists with regard to the Herriot government. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note two facts which from the day of its formation, show that it remains within the tradition of the Radical governments, towards in the face of the police, violent when it is a matter of fighting the workers. First, there is the retention of Chiappe in the prefecture of police at Paris. Herriot or Chautemps will not have to fear any more disagreeable demonstrations from the youth of the Royalists and the Patriotic Youth. Secondly, there is the intervention of the Garde Mobile (militia) in the dockers' strike at Port-de-Bouc. The bourgeoisie can rest assured that the rebels will not be allowed much leeway. And then, Jouhaux still represents France at Geneva.

We repeat: we must not be deceived about the significance of the retreat before the employees: it is and can only be—provisional. There has already been some talk of difference on whether or not the moment is opportune for an attack. The present tendency is not to handle all the difficulties at the same time: to attempt, first, to obtain something at Geneva and Lausanne and then, to have a free hand to go over to the offensive against the working class by keeping an eye on the developments in the German situation.

The Struggle Within the Working Class

Under these circumstances, the question is posed with particular acuteness: Who will prevail in the working class—reformism or Communism? Which, the C. P. or the socialist party, will be able to gain its confidence?

It must be admitted that the activity

of the C. P., its influence are at the present time altogether insignificant with regards to that of the socialist party.

The socialist party intends to exploit thoroughly its electoral successes. It is rallying forces about itself from the Right as well as from the Left through the whole gamut of its tendencies. In front of its petty bourgeois, peasant and radical voters, it shows itself as a partisan of participation in the government. It has proposed a daring governmental program, knowing full well that the bourgeoisie does not as yet need its participation. It has even given its votes to the Herriot government to prove its good "republicanism". In front of its Communist voters, the Left wing is allowed to push forward for workers' unity, for the struggle against capitalism.

In the face of this increased activity of the socialist party, the feeble political role played by the C. P. in the country is really deplorable. The accounts rendered in the *L'Humanité* cannot conceal the insignificance of the Communist speeches in parliament because they are merely the expressions of a sick movement and not the expression of the desires and the actions of the broad working masses. The party is conducting a struggle

against war, the I. L. D. one for amnesty; the C. G. T. U. (Red Trade Union Center) one against wage cuts. But all this is very limited, it touches the self-same sections of sympathizers and does not unfold any substantial mass movement.

Change in Policy of C. P. is Needed

A complete and energetic change in the policy of the party is imposed by the events. After the democratic illusions, a certain repercussion is bound to be produced in the masses. To continue its policy would mean to continue to isolate itself, to exhaust itself. It must penetrate into the masses, to develop within them a clear program and issue concrete slogans. That is the prerequisite for an acquisition of new forces, for leading the masses into struggle. In order to take root in the masses, it is necessary first of all to abandon the entire policy which flows from the theory of "social Fascism".

In view of the threat that is hanging over the head of the employees and of the exploited, the party ought to propose to the reformist organizations the united front against the offensive of the government and the bosses. It must prove itself the most zealous champion of trade union unity. Only on this condition can we overcome the election defeat, a sacrifice made for an entirely false political course.

—LA VERITE.

Growth of Spanish Left

In a recent issue of the *Workers*, Lovestone prints a correspondence from Spain, hailing most probably from his National-Communist friends in the Maurin group (Workers and Peasants' Bloc). Among other things, the Spanish Left Opposition comes in for a share of slander and lies on the part of the correspondent. For one thing, he credits our Spanish section with 300 members, when its actual membership is much closer to 1500 and where its connections and influence stretch over a national scope that neither the official party nor the Bloquistas can hope to reach. To call the Spanish petty bourgeoisie sheet and its bluff of the Lovestone allies, we reprint the following account of the growth of the S. L. O. from its central organ, *El Soviet*:

Bullejos—the leader of the Stalinists—and his camp followers, the "Bloquistas" and their clique are attempting to prove that we are a small sect. The Stalinists are employing the expression, which they consider especially droll: the Trotskyites can all be taken care of by one taxi. But realities show the contrary and the most eloquent proof for this is the fact that the "Bloquistas" as well as the Stalinists do not let a moment pass without preoccupying themselves with this fantastic taxi.

Therefore we will deal from time to time with our advances. We will only bring a few cases for the present. They are good examples.

In Badajoz—Our group in Maguilla—In Maguilla, neither the party nor the Bloc have sufficient members to fill a taxi—they haven't even a single member. In the month of April, our group had twenty comrades. Progress achieved in one month is very satisfactory. Our group has now more than fifty members with a big influence in the trade unions.

In Corniza—The organization of a group in Manizos—In Manizos the taxi of the official party and that of Maurin are positively vacant. Ours is almost bursting. A group of twelve comrades has been established, very enthusiastic, very active, with a big following and considerable influence in the trade unions.

Another group organized in Hombres—The official party and the Maurinists do not even know that there is a town by the name of Hombres in Spain. Therefore they haven't a single member there. The Communist Left Opposition, on the other hand, has recently organized a group of comrades who are carrying on an excellent struggle in defense of our viewpoint. This group already enjoys a considerable influence among the trade union organizations in the locality.

In Puentevedra—A month ago we had in this town only two comrades. The work which they have carried on since, has netted the fruitful results of a dozen comrades at this writing. The party and the Maurinists are conspicuous by their complete absence here.

In Tejares (Salamanca)—In Salamanca, the official party has tried its utmost to divide our comrades. But since they could not alienate our class conscious comrades they aligned themselves with really corrupt elements. In their ranks is one who during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera was regally appointed to act for the dictatorship in an advisory capacity, and who was a member of the reactionary "Union Patriótica". It is no surprise for us when we know that the party has admitted into its ranks the traitor and renegade, Pumeranga (Editor of the Central party organ—a sort of Spanish *Il. M. Wicks*—Ed.). It is well to us to notice with which elements the Stalinists are aligning themselves in their fight against the Opposition. It is natural that with these people the party cannot make any progress, since the workers do not care to have anything to do with such elements. Not only have they not won over any of our comrades: but when in Tejares (Salamanca) the party organized a group of forty workers, these same workers a short time later declared their unanimous adherence to the Left Opposition.

Prize Contest

We are sorry to say that not a single party member was able to win the prize. We are therefore forced to disclose the full truth about the quotation we brought last week. The author was none other than the Best Disciple himself, Joseph (Sosso) Stalin. It will be found in his monumental work, *The Theory and Practice of Leninism* (Published in 1924 by the Daily Worker Publishing Company, Chicago, Ill.), page 25.

Of course since then much water has flowed under the bridge and Stalin has after that—in 1926—disinherited this correct revolutionary position on "socialism in one country" in the well known Djugashvili manner.

Nevertheless, the fact that none of the party comrades responded in the contest is very alarming. The ideological level is being threatened. The comrades must fight for a course in the complete works of Stalin at the Workers' School to meet this grave situation.

We, for our part, are still ready to do our bit in support of the project of the vest pocket edition.

Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition

The Break in the Right-Center Bloc and the Left Zig-zag of Stalinism

The events which followed the Fifteenth Congress of the Russian party in December 1927, at which the whole Opposition was finally expelled, marked a decided turning point in the historical struggle we are reviewing. Up to that time, the Opposition had been assailed under the banner of Stalin's classic slogan: "Fire against the Left!" applauded by the international bourgeoisie and social democracy. Arrayed against the Left wing of the party was a solid bloc embracing not merely the present Stalin faction but also the group of Bukharin-Trotsky-Rykov who took distinct shape as a faction at its Right flank.

On all questions of international and domestic policy, on all question of principle and tactics, these two sections of the ruling bloc had presented a common front for five years. They went hand in hand against "Trotskyism". Together they decapitated the Chinese revolution and ruined the immediate prospects of the British revolutionary movement. The theory of "socialism in one country",

Zurich Conference

(Continued from page 1)

millions of workers that it will strain every nerve, in the development of events, to keep them prisoners of bourgeois rule. But what does the C. I., the vanguard of the proletariat, say? What is it doing? The contradictory needs of the proletariat force the S. L. I. to speak. It remains for the C. I. to utilize this deceptive maneuver, made by the S. L. I. in the service of the bourgeoisie, for the interests of the proletariat. The merciless struggle against the Hitlerite advance, the struggle against the Japanese imperialism, war, the struggle for the resolute defense of the conditions of the workers and the unemployed constitute three planks of a bold policy and a fertile field for a united front in action. Neither the "red days" of yesterday, nor the Romain Rolland-Henri Barbusse congress of tomorrow can substitute for a realistic policy which will fortify the class positions of the proletariat and prepare its victory in the development of the crisis.

* An article on the Rolland-Barbusse anti-war congress will appear in the next issue.

the "two-class party" revision of Marxism and the denigration of the middle peasant were born of their political cohabitation. Their unity was symbolized when the fundamental program of the Comintern was presented to the Sixth Congress in the name of Stalin and Bukharin.

But the unity of this granite "monolith" embracing the "incorruptible old Leninist guard" was less real than apparent. Those molecular processes of the class struggle which had fused it together and put it in the seats of power did not take long to create a crisis and disrupt the Right-Center bloc.

The End of the Ebb-Tide

At the end of 1927 the protracted ebb of the revolutionary wave was drawing to a close. The horizon was dotted with the first signs of a turning to the Left in the international working class, still vague, but unmistakable. In the Soviet Union itself, the proletariat lulled by the long "reconstruction period" was beginning to arise and perceive the growing menace of the capitalist elements in the country. The expulsion of the Left wing from the party could have only one result: the reactionary forces in the country felt emboldened. When Chamberlain in England advocated that Trotsky and Zinoviev be shot and MacDonald insisted upon stronger measures against the "apostles of world revolution", they were merely saying bluntly what the Russian Kulak, Nepman and hard-shell bureaucrat were thinking and feeling. These elements the vanguard of the capitalist restoration in Russia, looked upon the decapitation of the Left wing only as the first step in their program. The success they attained with their first demand encouraged them to an unprecedented audacity.

As against Trotsky, these counter-revolutionists were ardent adherents of Stalin and Co. With Trotsky out of the way they shifted towards the party which they shifted towards the party with greater ardor than was manifested by the blind, empirical, oscillating group of Stalin. They found these champions where the Opposition, in its platform, had said they were to be found: at Rykov's, Tomsky, and the poets occupied by Stalin, Tomsky, and Bukharin.

The latter in turn, now that inner-party resistance to their program was diminished by the Opposition's expulsion, began to unfold their standpoint

greater persistence and candor, to press upon Stalin to carry it out. But in their zealous optimism they overlooked a point of prime import:

The strength of the Right wing lay in the classes outside the party, whose influence on the inside was not at all commensurate with what they enjoyed in the country as a whole; whereas the strength of the Stalin faction lay in the tremendous party apparatus and in the fact that, with the outlawry of the Leninist Opposition, the proletarian mass would support even the unsatisfactory platform of the Right wing. This alone can explain the easy victory attained over the Bukharin faction by Stalin, in spite of the cowardice, half-heartedness, incompetence and bureaucratic intrigue which, as usual, distinguished the campaign conducted by the latter.

The Campaign against the Right

The famous Stalinist campaign against the Right began formally towards the end of 1928 and beginning of 1929. Actually it dates farther back. In sketching it briefly, let it always be borne in mind that both sides of this battle had for years past protested to all who would listen that there was no rift in the lute. No conference went by without Stalin and Bukharin engaging in mutual eulogies and in view of their fundamental accord on principle, that was as it should be. But behind this melodious harmony could already be detected the discordant creaking of the Stalinist machine, grinding away at the foundation on which the Right wing stood. While their agreement on every point was being loudly protested, Stalin was engaged in completing the process, begun against the Left wing, of cutting down the party leadership until it embraced but one individual: Stalin himself.

At the very congress (December 1927) where the Left Opposition was so brutally and disloyally driven from the party by both Stalin and Bukharin, could already be seen the first signs of Stalin's onslaught upon the coming spokesman of the Right faction. Not by Stalin himself; no, he preferred to send out his scouts, Lominade and Schatzkin, who launched a furious polemic against Bukharin. And while the congress (Stalin included) formally endorsed Bukharin, the former was whetting the axe for the day when it could be swung openly. Even at the Sixth Congress, both Stalin and

Rykov solemnly reported to the foreign delegates, without, mind you, blinking an eye-lash, that the reports concerning differences within the Russian Political Bureau were sheer nonsense and simply Trotskyist, counter-revolutionary calumny. This was just as solemnly and unsmilingly repeated throughout the Comintern, at the very moment when the most furious battles were taking place within the monolithic leadership! Finally, as late as October 1929, when Stalin made his sensational Moscow speech against the "Right danger in the party", which he described as nothing short of the tendency towards a capitalist restoration in Russia, i. e., a counter-revolution, he took care to insist that there was no "Right danger" in the leadership, that it was not embodied in Bukharin or Rykov—but in the somewhat obscure official, Frumkin! And Bukharin? He was the man who wrote the official resolution of the Political Bureau against the Right danger!

However that may be, it was nevertheless by this contemptible game of hide-and-seek that Stalin succeeded in snatching away all the foreign parties from under Bukharin's nose in the "corridor congress" of the Sixth Congress in 1928, and all the organizational posts in the Russian party in 1929. Tomsky lamented bewilderedly to his friends: "We thought that after finishing with Trotsky we would be able to work in peace; now it turns out that they want to apply the same methods of struggle to us." Bukharin cried impotently (but in private) about Stalin: "Who is he? An intrigant absolutely devoid of principles. He is concerned only with maintaining power and he subordinates everything to it. He changes his theory abruptly, according to who it is that he has to choke off at a given moment."

But while the heroes of the Right wing wept and wrung their hands, Stalin cut down, first, Frumkin, then the Right wing head of the Moscow organization, Uglanov, then every other second rank leader of the Right wing until he had torn the footing from under Bukharin and Co. Only when these typically Stalinist preliminaries had been accomplished did Stalin open up publicly against the "trio" who were by that time defeated in advance; only their signature to the prepared statement of capitulation was missing, and that was not long in coming.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

(To be continued)

Organizational Progress of the German Left Opposition

GELSENKIRCHEN (Ruhr): We can say that in Gelsenkirchen the Left Opposition has the sympathy of 50 percent of the best elements in the Party, and besides that, it is attracting many comrades who up till now were indifferent. In the course of the last election struggle, we issued Left Opposition placards, with the inscription "Trotsky says: Strengthen the Party". However, even the comrades who agree with our viewpoint still fear the enormous power of the apparatus, its threats, slanders, isolation, etc.

After having carefully isolated the Oppositionists, and following all kinds of tricks and stratagems, the bureaucracy succeeded in expelling them "on the a. t.". Thereupon the expelled members sent a letter of protest to the District Leadership which they remitted at the same time to the party members in the form of an open letter. Several comrades declared themselves ready to sign this letter and to support our demands, especially to open the discussion. It is precisely this fact the sub-district leadership fears most. Before its intimidation, its threats to "immediately" expel all those suspected of "Trotskyism", the comrades in the ranks withdrew, incapable of offering any effective resistance.

All this is, of course, temporary. The Left Opposition does not consider itself beaten. On the contrary the work of the Left Opposition is being organized

and is taking very deep roots among the numerous sympathetic comrades.

BERLIN: Excerpts from a letter by a young Communist of Berlin—"The various sub-sections called upon the Youth to form open air camps, during the Pentecost, to hold educational classes. The subject was the 'united front' and 'Fascism, social democracy, Communism'. In my group we discussed the difference between Fascism and the social democracy, but due to the false and well known point of view that the party develops in this question, the answers to our questions were always embarrassed and pitiful. We posed the following questions concretely: How do you describe the united front of the working class? (1) Do you consider the socialist party a prop of Fascism and is it because of that, you split the trade unions (R. T. U. O.)? (2) Do you consider the leaders of the socialist party as well as the rank and file, social fascists?"

"In reply to the first question they said that it was first necessary to destroy the influence of the social democracy among the workers, and then to establish the real united front from below. There can be no question of splitting the trade unions, they told us. They declared for work in the Free Trade Unions, disavowing the R. T. U. O. (Red Trade Union Opposition)."

"In reply to the second question they said that it was necessary to retain the

theory of social Fascism, but that it was useless to employ the word "social Fascism" in discussions with the workers. In the course of the discussion with the political leaders of the sub-section on the subject of the so-called turn in the party, the former came to us and said, if we thought that the party was making a turn we were correct, but we would have to keep our silence and not argue these questions with them. "It is interesting to note that an old unit organization with whom we had frequent discussions, participated in the discussion of another sub-section and defended the position of the Left Opposition."

SPANDAU AND STALINISM

SPANDAU.

At the meeting called by the C. P. G. O. (Brandier Opposition) our comrade Bauer took the floor. Brandler replied with some nonsense about Trotsky, made uneasy by his latest pamphlet (*What Next?*) in which the Brandlerites are shown to be enriching the arsenal of Stalinist falsification.

For Brandler, the German party, by the elimination of its old cadres, is destroyed. But if Trotsky and the Left Opposition make the same statement about Russia they are counter-revolutionists and Trotsky is to the "right of Otto Bauer". Brandler approved not only of the deportation of thousands of Oppositionists, but also of the assassination of Blumkin. In 1928 the Brand-

ierites protested against the deportations, and at the time of the assassination of Blumkin, their daily paper condemned this act. One could ascertain even then the development of the Brandlerites towards Stalinism. Here is Brandler's position towards "socialism in one country": "Textually he says that this theory is 'evidently a stupidity that is usual when Stalin concerns himself with theoretical questions'. But for Russia this 'stupidity' is correct, because of the incontestable successes of socialist construction." But Brandler is always speaking of possibilities of beginning construction, possibilities that no one even thinks of denying. But what we demand to know is this: if this construction can be victoriously achieved completely and without the aid of the European revolution.

On the question of the appropriation of the ideas of the Russian Opposition by Stalin, Brandler cynically replied that to "gyp" ("Klaue") was not a sin in politics. Now it is true that revolutionaries should not be moralistic pedants, but still less—bureaucratic cynics. "Gyping" certainly does no harm to those from whom one "gypps", for it is only the involuntary admission of the correctness of their policy. But it does harm the revolutionary party which exists by "gypping".

True to his lack of principle, erected into a theory, Brandler adopts the slogan issued by comrade Trotsky in the beginning of 1930, which consists of the struggle against unemployment by systematic collaboration with the U. S. S. R. in connection with the control of production. But we fear that this slogan can

only be an alien substance in the system of his naturally limited ideas. Besides . . . so much anti-Bolshevism Trotskyism could spoil things for them with Stalin.

UNITED FRONT ACHIEVED

IN BRESLAU

BRESLAU:—As in all German cities, the Fascist terror has grown in Breslau since the fall of Brüning. The Nazi attack against the Reichsbanner local, called forth a united front in 24 hours of all the workers in this city, ready to defend themselves against Fascism. The C. P. comrades united with members of the Socialist Labor Party (S. A. P.) and the Reichsbanner; and in two days the streets of the city presented a completely changed picture. It was no longer the Nazis that dominated them, but the proletariat.

Monday evening, there was a meeting of 5000 workers in one of the largest halls of Breslau.

A member of the S. A. P. spoke in the name of the provisional committee. Eckstein spoke in the name of the Socialist Labor Party and Sandner for the C. P. All the speakers were almost unanimously on the analysis of the situation, but a discussion on the role of the parties took place. The representative of the C. P. approved the creation of common committees of struggle, without at the same time confusing the respective programs of each party, which should retain its complete independence for the future development of the struggle. That is correct! The meeting really expressed the desire of the masses to form a genuine united front of all the workers, 1500 workers, non-party, Communist, socialist youth, and members of the Reichsbanner

have enrolled to organize groups of self-defense in Breslau.

What does the C. P. leadership think of this tactic? Does it not immediately bear fruit?

WILL THEY LIQUIDATE THE SPLITTING TRADE UNION TACTIC

Thaelmann has spoken on the "turn" in the National Committee of the R. T. U. O. The *Sozialistische Arbeiter-Zeitung* of the June 7th wrote on this subject:

"In full agreement with the report of Thaelmann, the session of the National Committee emphasized the need of creating a broad and amplified opposition movement, besides the R. T. U. O., which by new methods and by a rapid strategic orientation toward the factories will no longer block the road toward the revolutionary class front with the socialist workers, the unorganized and the Christian workers, but which will facilitate on the contrary, its development; we will consecrate all the forces at our disposal for this task."

And in another paragraph: "It is necessary as rapidly as possible to do away with the policy of the so-called 'plans of attack' and 'programs of struggle'. However they do not wish completely to liquidate the R. T. U. O. That is why they state that 'The general line of the R. T. U. O. was and remains correct, but it is necessary to achieve an accelerated course, an audacious turn for its application; we must elaborate new methods after realizing in practice the correct general line'."

Always the same thing. They recognize that the tactic was false but they do not wish to draw all the consequences that are incumbent on them.

The Economic Crisis, the Unemployment Situation and the American Working Class

III. The enormous accumulation of capital in the United States, the gigantic growth of industry and of the process of concentration of production and of intensification of production, has pushed it ever more onto the world market. The credit system, so highly developed here, vastly accelerated the material development of the forces of production. In the early stages of the capitalist mode of production the expansion of foreign trade became a great aid to its development. Now, however, it has become an integral part of this mode of production through its need for an ever expanding market. This is particularly aptly illustrated by the position of American capitalism in the world market.

The crisis broke first here, and its acuteness was undoubtedly to an extent due to the fact that this country gives the most credit to the world market and takes the least of it. The balance of payments, which had to be squared, was against it, even though the general balance of trade favored it.

It is estimated that the United States—today holds approximately \$28,000,000,000 worth of foreign paper—that cannot now be paid. These vast credits granted and the mass of capital loaned to and invested in foreign countries, of course, demand their continuous returns. But the returns, generally speaking, as far as American capitalism is concerned, are not desirable in the form of commodities: that much the adopted tariff regulation alone shows sufficiently. So the problem of the returns still remains a rather vexing one. We mention this only as a reminder of the fact that the very question of American capitalism issuing out of the crisis is quite closely bound up with the world market problems.

At this point, however, there enter such questions as: reparations, inter-allied debts, retaliating tariffs, etc. But above all there are the questions of the political stability of the various capitalist nations, the increased antagonisms—national antagonisms and class antagonisms—and the growing danger of war. Politics and economics are here quite inseparably interwoven. Their texture forms the basis of the crafty diplomatic maneuvering at the numerous world conferences which are being held right along. Each imperialist power struggles to increase or at least to maintain its share in world economy. The sum and substance of these conflicts presents a problem not at all easy to solve, not even for American capitalism.

A considerable portion, an estimated seven to eight billion dollars, of the American capital sent abroad represents direct investments in enterprises of production. It was exported in order to be employed in other countries at a higher rate of profit. In that sense it was the surplus capital although it may appear paradoxical to speak of surplus capital in the face of industries operating at a low percentage of production capacity and millions of workers unemployed—an excess population. But it will soon be found that surplus capital and such surplus population, exist side by side, and that the existence of one is the condition for the other.

Exportation of surplus capital becomes a means of promotion of the exportation of goods and of the acquisition of super profits. The effort is made, of course, to thereby monopolize both the sale of goods in foreign trade and the supply of raw materials. The foreign trade, by virtue of the fact that it makes possible an expansion in the scale of production, in general, thereby tends to cheapen the elements of constant capital. By simultaneously raising the rate of surplus value it then also tends to raise the rate of profit. This is, of course, at the bottom of the very intense struggle among the imperialist powers for control of the world market. But the expansion of production, due to foreign trade, at the same time hastens the process of accumulation and hastens the growing disproportion of constant capital, (means of production) increasing more rapidly than variable capital (labor power and therefore again promotes its own contradiction, the fall in the rate of profit.

American foreign trade, however, has today hit the lowest record in twenty years. But just about so, or worse, is the condition of world trade in general. At present 41 percent of the 1929 level constitutes that record of the combined 25 leading capitalist countries doing a total of 80 percent of the world's trade. There is powerful testimony in this to the ravages of the world economic crisis. This, of course, is the picture of the capitalist countries only, and not at all of the Soviet Union.

According to the Department of Commerce the unit value of American ex-

ports for the first quarter of 1932 fell 37 percent when compared to the same months of 1928. The decline in imports was 56 percent. The comparative figures for exports and imports taking only the first quarter of each year were as follows (in millions of dollars):

Year (Jan.-March)	Exports	Imports
1932	459	398
1931	710	398
1930	1,129	893
1929	1,420	1,122
1928	1,203	1,069

The favorable balance of trade for this quarter (excess of exports over imports) was \$61,000,000, compared with \$111,000,000 in the preceding quarter and \$142,000,000 in the same period of 1931. We can easily comprehend the immense obstacles in seriously contracted home market which meets the American government's "reconstruction" program to "break the backbone of the crisis"; but these obstacles become so much more strongly accentuated on the world market. While the sources of power of American imperialism are spread all over the world its contradictions accumulate ever more rapidly. Yet as far as the present situation is concerned it has been able not only to maintain the gold standard but even to strengthen the position of the dollar.

Since 1929 about \$2,250,000,000 in short term funds lodged in this country by foreign central banks have been repaid by gold withdrawals from this country. At the early period of these withdrawals the gold holdings here, due to the favorable trade balance, nevertheless continued to increase to a record high, on September 18, 1931 of \$5,015,000. But these foreign banks continued to convert their dollar holdings into gold, and since then up to the present time, the gold holdings here have decreased to about \$3,900,000,000. The Wall Street bankers call these withdrawals which they estimate as about having come to a close a disturbing element now removed from the financial situation. In their view the lack of confidence is being removed, the dollar is emerging stronger. It has been correctly asserted in these columns before that a new ascendancy for the capitalist system as a whole is not possible. We have already entered the epoch of capitalist decline and proletarian revolutions. The existence of the Soviet Union, growing constantly stronger despite its difficulties, testifies eloquently to this fact. It is being further reinforced by the growing revolutionary movements within the capitalist countries. But it is just as important to also remember that in the imperialist stage of the unequal development of capitalism has become more pronounced. And the question of the ability of American capitalism to issue out of the crisis on the backs of its own working class and at the cost of the status of other capitalist powers in world economy still remains. It is being confirmed by the powerful role it plays in the constantly recurring conflicts on questions of the war reparations, international debts and moratorium. Each of the international conferences held on these questions increases the importance of participation by the United States—whether or not the participation takes the form of presence or absence of official delegates. These conferences, however, also increasingly show the ominous signs of sharpening imperialist conflicts and of imperialist maneuvers against the Soviet Union. This reflects the fact that the world economic crisis is becoming ever more bound up with the question of war. In that perspective we cannot fail to notice the increasingly aggressive role of American imperialism.

While we take due notice of the enormous contradictions developing and of the future furious conflicts implied in the efforts being made to "break the backbone of the crisis", it would not be correct to consider this crisis as a bottomless one. It would be wrong for us to assume that American capitalism, as a distinct national imperialist power, cannot issue out of it, or even that the present contracted mass of surplus value realized by it, by its exploitation of workers at home and abroad, will be the basis for "normalcy" in the future. It would still be too early to point to any such definite limitations to its future process of accumulation. What can be said definitely, however, is that in the next stage the conflict of the development of the forces of production with the existing property relations and the conditions of wage labor will sharpen manifold.

For the American working class, on the other hand, one part of the question of its perspective is already settled. That is the part which has relation to its future standard of living. The capitalist efforts to issue out of the crisis are entirely conditioned upon the saddling of its burden entirely onto the working class. In other words it will be at the price of a lower level for the working class. In the final analysis, therefore, the very question of American capitalism overcoming its crisis depends decisively upon the proletariat. And, on a world scale this is so much more the case.

Everywhere, within the capitalist nations, the crisis has unleashed tremendous forces. There is an army of permanently unemployed workers comprising many millions. The struggle to further reduce the working class standard of living will go on. The growth of the revolutionary movement is unmistakable. The future direction depends decisively upon the Communist forces.

—ARNE SWABECK.

An Open Letter to the Party District Committee

June 29th, 1932

District Executive Committee

New York District
50 East 13th Street
New York City, N. Y.

Comrades:

Last Saturday evening, June 25th, the open air meeting of our organization, the Communist League of America (Opposition), on the corner of Wilkins and Intervale, the Bronx, was broken up by a group of party members and sympathizers. As a workers' organization, as a Communist group we wish to strongly protest against such action.

The Communist in the United States who are in the forefront of the struggle for the interests of the working class, are the first to struggle for the elementary rights of free speech, press and assembly for the workers and their organizations. The master class and its state power, particularly during the present crisis is continually interfering and denying these rights of the workers. The Communist Party, our vanguard organization in this country, has correctly put forth as one of its demands in the coming elections the right of free speech, assembly, etc. for the workers.

The tactic of interfering with workers' meetings by members of the Communist party, not only weakens this fight, but plays directly into the hands of the Socialist reformists and the reactionary parties. It leads to confusion of the workers who witness it, makes them lose faith in the sincerity of the Communist struggle, and means a loss of prestige of Communism, and in the first instance, of the Communist party. Further, it brings the police and the capitalist government to "settle" the disputes which exist within the working class and Communist movement.

But even more than this. Since our organization, the Communist League, was founded we have supported the Communist Party in its daily activity, demonstrations and elections campaigns. Several weeks ago we sent you a letter in which we reiterated our support of the party in the coming elections and offered our services (platform, speakers, literature, etc.) in the work. We stated that we intend to actively participate in the campaign this year as before and bring the message of Communism to the working masses.

We received no reply to this letter. However, we have been carrying on our work in this direction. The meeting on Wilkins and Intervale, which was broken up last Saturday by party members and sympathizers, was called to discuss the problems of the workers and urge them to support the party in the coming elections as well as in the day to day struggle.

We repeat, comrades, the tactic of breaking up workers' meetings can only lead to the disintegration of the Communist movement and party.

We intend continuing our open-air work despite all obstacles. We ask you the responsible district body of the party to publicly either denounce such tactics or assume responsibility for them. We sincerely suggest that you take the former course, issue a statement in the *Daily Worker* denouncing such tactics and informing the Party members and the Left wing sympathizers of the disastrous consequences that may result from them.

We await an early reply to this letter.

Fraternally yours,

H. CAPELIS,

Secretary

New York Branch

Communist League of America

(Opposition)

CORRECTION

A Mistake Crept Into Our Previous Issue

We advertised a free copy of the "Problems of the Chinese Revolution" with a one year subscription to the *MILITANT*. This should be:

One copy of "Problems of the Chinese Revolution", paper cover \$1.00

One year subscription to *The Militant* \$2.00

Obtainable During the Summer

Months for the Sum of \$2.50

A Political Biography of Stalin . . .

by LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from last issue)

10. We give here a story by Shliapnikov ("The Seventeenth Year", 1925, V. 2) about the change wrought by Stalin and Kameney joined together at that time by the unity of their positions.

"The day of the appearance of the first issue of the 'changed' *Pravda*—the Fifteenth of March—was a day of rejoicing for the defenders. The whole Tauride Palace, from the men of affairs in the committees of the Duma to the very heart of the revolutionary democracy—the Executive Committee—was filled with the news: the victory of the moderate common-sense Bolsheviks over the extremists. In the very Executive Committee we were met with poisonous smiles. This was the first and only time that *Pravda* won the approval even of the stout defenders of liberal sense. When this issue of *Pravda* was received at the factories it caused complete perplexity among the members of our party and our sympathizers and malicious pleasure among our opponents.

"To the Petersburg committee, to the bureau of the C. C. and to the editorial board of *Pravda* came inquiries: what is the matter, why did our paper renounce the Bolshevik line of Lenin and go over to the line of the defenders? And the Petersburg committee like the whole organization was caught unawares by this turn and therefore was deeply indignant and blamed the bureau of the C. C. The indignation in the sections was colossal, and when the proletarians found out that *Pravda* had been seized by the three former editors of *Pravda* who had arrived from Siberia, they demanded their expulsion from the party." (The third was the former deputy Muranov).

To this must be added the following: (a) Shliapnikov's exposition was worked over and extremely softened under the pressure of Stalin and Kameney in 1925 (at that time the "three" still dominated); (b) no denials of Shliapnikov's story have appeared in the official press. And how can it be denied? Those issues of *Pravda* still exist.

11. The relation of Stalin to the problem of revolutionary power is expressed in a speech at a party conference (session of March 29, 1917): "The provisional government, in fact, took the role of strengthening the conquest of the revolutionary people. The Soviet power and the social democracy mobilize forces, control, but the provisional government—persisting blundering takes the role of strengthening those conquests of the people, which in fact are already accomplished by them. Such a situation has negative, but also positive sides: it is not to our advantage now to force events, to quicken the process of the split-off of the bourgeois strata which later must unavoidably go away from us."

Stalin is afraid "to push away the bourgeoisie"—the fundamental argument of the Mensheviks beginning with the year 1904.

"In so far as the provisional government supports the steps of the revolution, so far as it is to be supported; and in so far as it is counter-revolutionary, support to the provisional government is unacceptable."

Just so Dan spoke. In other words, it is possible to defend the bourgeois government before the revolutionary masses? The record further proclaims: "Comrade Stalin publishes the resolution about the bureau of the C. C., but says that he does not fully agree with it, and rather concurs with the resolution of the Krasnoyarsk Soviet."

We cite the most important points of the Krasnoyarsk resolution: "To make clear in full that the only source of power and authority of the provisional government is the will of the people who accomplished this overturn and whom the provisional government is obliged to obey completely."

"To support the provisional government in its activity in so far as it marches along the road of satisfying the demands of the working class and the revolutionary peasantry in the developing revolution."

Such is the position of Stalin on the question of power.

12. The date, March 29, must be specially underlined. In this manner, more than a month after the beginning

of the revolution, Stalin still talks of Millukov as an ally: the Soviet conquers, the provisional government strengthens. It is difficult to believe that these words could be uttered by a reporter to the Bolshevik conference at the end of March 1917! Even Martov would not have put the question this way. This is the theory of Dan in its most vulgar expression: the democratic revolution as an abstraction within the confines of which participate the more "moderate" and the more "determined" forces; who divide the work among themselves: one conquers, one divides the work among themselves: one conquers, the other strengthens. And nevertheless, Stalin's speech is not accidental. We have in it the schema of the whole Stalinist policy in China in the years 1924-28.

With what passionate indignation, notwithstanding all his reserve, Lenin, who succeeded in coming to the last session of that same conference lashed Stalin's position: "Even our Bolsheviks," he said, "manifest trust in the government. This can be explained only by the fumes of the revolution. This spells the wreck of socialism. You comrades trust the government. If so, our ways part. I will rather remain in the minority. One Liebknecht is dearer than a hundred and ten defenders of the Steklov and Cheidze type. If you sympathize with Liebknecht and stretch even one finger to the 'defenders' this will be a betrayal of international socialism." (March party conference, 1917. Session of April 4. "Report of comrade Lenin", page 44).

It must not be forgotten that Lenin's speech and the reports in their entirety have been concealed from the party up till now.

13. How did Stalin pose the question of war? Exactly like Kameney. It is necessary to awaken the European workers and meanwhile to fulfill one's duty in relation to the "revolution". But how are the European workers to be awakened? Stalin gives the answer in an article on March 17: "... we have shown already one of the most serious methods of doing it. It consists in compelling our own government to express itself not only against any plans of conquest, but to formulate openly the will of the Russian people to begin immediately negotiations for a general peace on conditions of renunciation by both sides of any conquests, and the right of nations to self determination."

In this manner the pacifism of Millukov-Guchkov was to serve as a means of awakening the European proletariat.

On April 4, on the second day of his arrival, Lenin declared with indignation at the party conference: "*Pravda* demands from the government that it should renounce annexation. To demand from capitalist governments that they renounce annexations—is nonsense, a crying mockery." (The March conference of the party in 1917. Session of April 4. "Report of comrade Lenin." Page 44.)

These words were aimed entirely at Stalin.

14. March 14, the Menshevik-Social Revolutionist Soviet issued a manifesto about the war to the toilers of all countries. The manifesto was a hypocritical pseudo-pacifist document in the political spirit of the Mensheviks and S. R.'s who were persuading the workers of other countries to rise against their own bourgeoisie and themselves were going along in the same harness with the imperialists of Russia and the whole entente.

How did Stalin appraise this manifesto? "First of all, undoubtedly the bare slogan 'down with war' is unsuitable as a practical road—One can't help welcoming yesterday's appeal of the Soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies in Petrograd to the nations of the whole world to compel their own governments to stop the slaughter. This appeal, if it reaches the broad masses, will undoubtedly return hundreds and thousands of workers to the forgotten slogan 'Proletarians of all countries, unite!'"

How did Lenin appraise the appeal of the defenders? In the already cited speech of April 4th he said: "The appeal of the Soviet of workers' deputies—there is not a word permeated with class consciousness. There is nothing in it but lifeless phrases." (The party conference of 1917. Session of April 4th. "Report of comrade Lenin." Page 43.) These words of Lenin are aimed entirely at Stalin.

Stalin. Therefore the reports of the March conference are concealed from the party.

15. Conducting, in relation to the provisional government and the war, the policy of the Left Mensheviks, Stalin had no ground on which to refuse to unite with the Mensheviks. Here is how he expressed himself on this question at the same March conference of 1917. We cite the report literally.

"On the order of the day—Tseretelli's proposal for unity."

"Stalin: We have to go. It is absolutely necessary to define our proposal on the line of unity. Unity is possible on the line of Zimmerwald-Kienthal."

Even Molotov, it is true, expressed doubts, though not very articulately. Stalin retorts: "To run ahead and to anticipate disagreements is not necessary. Without disagreements there is no party life. Inside the party we'll get rid of insignificant disagreements." (March party conference. Session of April 1st. Page 32).

These few words say more than whole volumes. They show those thoughts on which Stalin was feeding in the years of the war and bear witness with judicial exactness that the Zimmerwaldism of Stalin was of the same stamp as the Zimmerwaldism of Tseretelli. Here again there is not a hint of the ideological irreconcilability, the false mask of which Stalin, in the interests of the apparatus struggle, put on a few days later. On the contrary, Menshevism and Bolshevism represent themselves to Stalin at the end of March 1917 as shades of thought that can live in harmony in one party. Disagreements with Tseretelli, Stalin calls "insignificant disagreements" which can be got rid of inside one party. We see here how it becomes Stalin to expose the conciliational relations of Trotsky with the Left Mensheviks—in 1913.

16. In such a position Stalin naturally couldn't seriously oppose anything to the S. R.'s and Mensheviks in the Executive Committee where he entered as a representative of the party after his arrival. There is not to be found in the records or in the press one proposition, one statement, one protest in which Stalin in some measure clearly counterposed the Bolshevik point of view to the lackeyism of the "revolutionary democracy" before the bourgeoisie. One of the recorders of events of that period, a non-partisan half-defender, Sukhanov, the author of the above mentioned manifesto to the toilers of the whole world, says in *Notes of the Revolution*: "For the Bolsheviks at this time, beside Kameney, there appeared in the Executive Committee. Stalin—during his modest activity in the Executive Committee (he) produced—not only on me—the impression of a gray spot, that sometimes glimmered dully and traceless. More about him there is nothing to say (*Notes of the Revolution*, Book, pages 205-206).

(To be Continued)

Youth Notes

(Continued from page 2)

Time has wholly proven the correctness of the stand of the other comrades and myself.

The present politically impotent leadership has failed miserably in all its plans. In fear of being removed from their positions because of this they terrorized by expulsion or threats of expulsion all those who raised their voices in protest and criticism. Singled out were those who insisted on fraternizing with the expelled comrades.

Unable to meet the criticism of these expelled comrades, and failing to convince myself and others of the correctness of the line of the leadership in spite of lies, flinging dirt and slander, such as these comrades being counter-revolutionary enemies of the working class who have sneaked into the Y. C. L. the bureaucrats resorted to threats of expulsion to all who fraternized. Accusations without facts prove nothing. I am fully aware that these comrades are revolutionaries of high rank. I have continued to fraternize.

I agree with the Left Opposition on the following questions, which I have studied.

- (1) Germany; the necessity of a workers anti-Fascist united front.
- (2) The incorrectness of the idea of completing Socialism in one country, this theory is the basis of many errors.
- (3) Against bureaucracy.
- (4) The Leninist united front tactic.

I will continue to further study the question. I believe the Left Opposition is a revolutionary group and therefore should be re-admitted into the Communist party. The only political revolutionary organization of the proletariat.

I protest violently against the head-chopping of all comrades who dare think for themselves on a Marxist line.

I urge all comrades to study the position of the Left Opposition!

Protest against any expulsions of comrades for fraternization or Communist criticism!

—IRVING BERN.

N. Y. PICNIC

For the benefit of the Spanish Opposition Youth Press

SUNDAY, JULY 10th, 1932
TIBBETTS BROOK PARK—PLOT 8
Take Woodlawn-erome Train to Woodlawn Station. Then trolley to Tibbetts Brook Park.
Admission—Spartacus Youth Club

NOW READY!

Problems of the Chinese Revolution

by LEON TROTSKY

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WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 9, 1932

PRICE 5 CENTS

ON THE SPOT

TROTSKY WRITES ON PROBLEMS OF CHINESE REVOLUTION

"The Problems of the Chinese Revolution" by Leon Trotsky is now for sale. It is published by the Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th Street, New York City. The price is one dollar. Not only is the book of tremendous importance as a contribution to the study of the Chinese situation written by the greatest living Marxist but Trotsky's superb literary style makes the reading of it first class entertainment. No student of the revolutionary movement, no serious class-conscious worker should be without a copy of this book. The Chinese question will loom larger on the political horizon in the future than even during the past several convulsive years. Two interesting reviews of this work have already appeared. The New York Times announced its publication and seized the opportunity to review Stalin, while the Daily Worker confined its observations to a brief mud-slinging review of Trotsky. Neither paper thought it worth while to comment on the contents.

THE FAT MAN'S DAY IS COMING

If the working class allow this degeneration to continue much longer our dog-eat-dog society may give way to a man-eat-man society. That's when the old adage, "Nobody loves a fat man" will be reversed, though some may prefer the lean, acting on the theory that "the nearer the bone, the sweeter the flesh". This is a good time to see your dentist and get your fangs sharpened. You should also read the autobiography of some recognized cannibal. You must overcome your prejudice against man-flesh. This prejudice was fostered by man himself as a method of self-preservation. Contrary to a general belief, savages do not eat man-flesh. He is better eating than a proletarian. His flesh is more tender. This is merely a suggestion, to be taken seriously only in case of emergency.

BRYAN'S SON IS CHIEF OF OLD BLOOD

The Bryans, like the poor are always with us. Old William, the temperance advocate who used to eat a pound of steak for an appetizer and went out of circulation after he made a monkey out of himself in Dayton, Tennessee, fighting evolution, left us a son worthy of his sire. William Junior is ringing the changes on silver, and claims that bimetalism is the way out of the depression. Here is some of old Bill's blarney as quoted by his son: "No tomb was ever made so strong that it could imprison a righteous cause. Silver will lay aside its grave clothes and its shroud. It will yet rise, and in its rising, will bless mankind." As long as capitalism exists, mankind's lot would not be improved if cuff links or vest buttons became a medium of exchange.

ZAGARIA IS OUT BUT WICKS REMAINS

A person answering to the tag of Arthur Zagaria was recently removed from the district bureau of the Communist Party in Boston and expelled from the Party on the ground that he was a stool-pigeon. In a lengthy article in the Daily Worker of June 24, the Boston District Bureau flagellates itself in the best self-critical manner for harboring a stoolpigeon in their midst for four years. They admit they were guilty of "rotten liberalism" and "non-Bolshevik tolerance". Surely self-criticism could not go further than that! However our Bolshevik intolerance is somewhat weakened by the presence in the Party of Harry Wicks, author of the famous speech before the Chamber of Commerce of Gary, Indiana in 1920, in which he exposed the activities of the Communists among the steel workers and threatened to go on a lecture tour and write two hefty tomes exposing the Reds. The treachery of this man Wicks was brought to the attention of the Party in 1923 but he was let off with a reprimand, thanks to the defense of John Pepper. Wicks is today one of the leading figures in the Communist Party of the U. S. A., though sad to relate his defender Pepper now occupies a cage in the head offices of the Salt (Heb. Heh!) Trust in Moscow.

THERE IS STILL SOME MONEY AT LARGE

It seems that some of the natives still have a little money to worry about. Just when we were definitely coming to the conclusion that the paper dollar and its silver and nickel offspring were strictly confined to the museums, up rises Melvin Traylor, given an excuse for being late at a Democratic meeting that there was a run on Chicago banks which necessitated his being at his post. Financial genius saved the situation and only ten banks closed their doors, among the number being the institution that carried the account of the local branch of the I. W. W. When the workers expatriate the bankers they will only be getting their money back.

Vote for Foster-Ford

Support the Communist Candidates Against Bourgeois Parties!

With the nomination of Roosevelt and Garner as the Democratic party standard bearers in the elections, the presidential campaign is now fully under way. The machine-controlled Republican convention, dominated by the reactionary White House clique and its pork barrel appointees, had its replica at the Democratic convention, with its exhibition of corridor horse-trading and the nomination of the most prominent political trimmer in the country for president and a hard-shelled reactionary demagogue from the south for vice-president.

Booze for Bread

While the million-headed army of the unemployed continues to increase its ranks, the outstanding issue at the Democratic convention was booze. The solution of the booze question in the approved Al Smith style is advanced now by the Democratic bosses as the salvation of the country from its ills. As for the unemployed themselves who are suffering so acutely—not to speak of the working class as a whole—the Democrats distinguish themselves from the Republican platform simply by the clever verbal sop thrown to the hungry and homeless. Their platform pledges state insurance, not federal, but nobody has yet detected a Democratic party-controlled state coming forward with any visible speed to provide even state insurance of the most meager sort. Wherever, in short, either the Democratic or Republican platforms grudgingly pledge themselves to carry out some "progressive measure", it can be confidently put into the category of that cynical hypocrisy in which American capitalist politicians, in particular, have been accustomed to feeding the masses in exchange for the votes which enable them to sink their snouts into the trough.

Socialist Reformism

The patent bankruptcy of the two bourgeois parties—so clear that even the liberal press is compelled to acknowledge it—is making possible a spurt of energy in the present campaign. This party of petty bourgeois reform, symbolically represented by the notorious Right winger, Norman Thomas, appears now as the true "friend of the people". But despite the fact that the American socialists have enjoyed too little governmental power in this country to enable the workers to test them in practice, the whole trend of social progress—more properly, decay—throughout the world is sufficient indication to the conscious worker that a pennyworth of support to the S. P. candidates and platform is tantamount to tightening a noose around the neck of the working class.

The Russian social democrats paved the way for the counter-revolution in the early years of successful Bolshevism. The Italian social democrats paralyzed the arms and brains of the working class until Mussolini had marched to Rome and power. The German social democracy, after 14 years of consistent treachery, has finally opened the doors wide to Fascism by restraining the proletariat and canalizing its protest into the reactionary channels of Hindenburg, chair-warmer for Hitler. In England, the

Labourists brought forth from their loins the present National government of reaction. There is not the slightest reason to believe that the American confederates of MacDonald, Turati, Dan, Wels and Scheidemann will turn out to be an improved edition of socialist politicians. In fact what has been seen of Hillquit and Co. in action up to now—in all fields of working class endeavor in this country—is more than enough grounds to conclude that we have in the S. P. not a proletarian but a petty bourgeois reform party inimical to the interests of the working class.

Vote Communist!

One party alone represents the interests of the proletariat in this election: the Communist party. The Left Opposition, as is known, does not agree with the present party leadership or its policies, which have only resulted in weakening the Communist movement. But the fact remains that it is the only proletarian party in the election field. The worker who casts his vote for the Communist ticket will know that he is not throwing it away, for he is indicating the growing temper of struggle among the masses. The Left Opposition in the coming period, and until November, will devote all its energies in a concentration on the election campaign on the side of Communism.

All workers: vote for Foster and Ford! Vote Communist!

One Dead in Fascist Riot

Along with a hundred or more people killed on Independence Day by explosives, accidents, etc., a Fascist, Salvatore Arena, left this world with a bullet through his head. Both the Fascists and the Anti-Fascists arranged meetings on July 4th in Rosebank to commemorate the anniversary of Garibaldi at his shrine. The inevitable clash occurred. The police sided with the Fascists, slugged and drove off anti-Fascist organizations.

In the train after the meeting a gang of 40 or more black shirts attacked a half dozen anti-Fascists. In the scuffle that ensued the Mussolini supporter was shot dead. A worker is being held on homicide charges. The chances are that the bullet came from a Fascist gun.

Stalinism in Straits; Opposition on Upsurge

By Leon Trotsky

In the development of the Comintern and, consequently, of the Left Opposition likewise, we are approaching a turn on a major scale. Great events reveal, once again, that false policies which are foisted by force upon the proletariat are bound to bring in their train cruel retaliation. There is not a single problem—literally not a single one!—wherein the insufficiency of the "general line" has not now exposed itself, in its stark, fatal clarity. Whenever a large sides swarm, and act all the more mercilessly the longer the settlement has been protracted.

The war danger in the East is the direct and immediate consequence of Stalin's ruinous policy in relation to the Chinese revolution. The militarists of Japan threaten the Soviet Union because Stalin helped his ally Chiang Kai-Shek to strangle the revolution.

Thereafter the Stalinists propounded that Soviet China could be built on the foundation of the partisan warfare of the peasantry without immediate revolutionary insurrections in the cities. Years of adventurism weakened still further the Chinese proletariat. The responsibility for the present weakness of revolutionary China lies on the shoulders of the politicians of the "Third Period".

For the last two or three years the Opposition never wearied of warning that the U. S. S. R. carried with them the threat of a break with the village; that the technically and culturally unprepared, "all-embracing" collectivization carried with it the threat of a crisis in staples. At the present moment the warning has become a fact. The Stalinist bureaucracy, along this line also, has jammed itself into inextricable difficulties. Under the yoke of pressing necessity, it is now performing an economic about-turn of exceptional historical importance. But partly because it does not itself understand what it is doing, and partly because it is consciously fooling the party. In the name of prestige, it is disorienting and disarming the working class of the Soviet Union.

What further conditions are required in order to assure the revolutionary hegemony of the German proletariat within the nation; and of the Communist party within the proletariat? Herein too the Stalinist bureaucracy has contrived to doom the Communist party to a fraudulent passivity and a degrading impotence. From 1919 on, the German Social Democracy has worked unceasingly for Fascism. From 1923, the German Communist Party has worked unceasingly in the interests of the social democracy. Ignoring the lessons of the tragic experiences as well as our warnings, the Stalinist bureaucracy is at present driving the German proletariat in a bee line towards an abyss.

The unprecedented economic crisis has turned into the collapse of capitalism so

Smash Hitler Now!

The Fascist Danger: A Striking Parallel

CAPITULATION

Messrs. Fascists do not frighten us, they will go to smash much faster than any other government.—(Remmele, Reichstag speech on October 14, 1931.)

THE MAIN ENEMY

The fact, for example, that in our revolutionary trade union activity proposals could be made from above to the reformist trade unions (Rubin district), also shows that our theoretical struggle against the social democracy is not pursued with sufficient vigor to make such errors impossible. (Thaelmann, in Die Internationale, Nov.-Dec. 1931, page 483.)

THE SHAME-FACED TURN

The party must establish the united front of the proletariat on the basis of the burning questions of the worker's life. In leading the struggle against wage reductions, against the diminution of allowances, of social insurance, against the persecutions of workers' organizations, the party calls the broad working masses to participate in the struggle and is ready to march with every organization willing to go along with this fighting front of the party. (Smolyansky, in the Communist International, June 1, 1932, page 468.)

The offer of a united front made by our organization in the Berlin district to all the workers and organizations, is finding an increasingly powerful echo. (Remmele, in l'Humanité, June 20, 1932, 8, 1931.)

THE UNITED FRONT

If the Fascists try an insurrection, we Communists will fight against them to the last drop of blood—not in order to defend the Braun-Bruening government, but to preserve from strangulation and destruction the cream of the proletariat, the workers' organizations, not only the workers' press of the Communist organizations, but also yours, the social democratic. We are ready to defend with you any workers' home, any printshop of a workers' paper, against the attacks of the Fascists. And we ask of you to agree to come to our aid in case our organizations are threatened. We propose to you the united front of the working class against the Fascists. (L. Trotsky, August 25, 1931.)

AGAINST FASCISM

It is necessary without any delay, finally to elaborate a practical system of measures—not with the aim of merely "exposing" the social democracy (before the Communists) but with the aim of actual struggle against Fascism. (L. Trotsky, December 8, 1931.)

STRIKE UNITEDLY

No common platform with the social democracy or with the leaders of the German trade unions, no common publications, banners, placards! March separately, but strike unitedly! Agree only on how to strike, whom to strike and when to strike! (L. Trotsky, December 8, 1931.)

Franco-German Anti-Soviet Alliance Being Formed at Lausanne

The latest news from Germany shows that the tenacious struggle of the international Left Opposition to force a revolutionary front against the impending menace of Fascism has neither been ignored nor in vain. After having first denigrated and mocked at it, after having defied it with theatrically empty gestures, after having lulling the workers of Germany with the assurance that Bruening was equivalent to Fascism—the German Communist Party is now being compelled to steer the course in a different direction. The imminence of the black danger, the relentless progress it has made in the face of Stalinist passivity, the hammer-blows of our criticism, have penetrated now so deeply into the consciousness of the vanguard that a

turn is taking place in official Communist ranks which we can only welcome as a good beginning inadequate as yet, but a turn in the right direction.

A Turn is Being Made

The stubborn, fatuous antagonism manifested by the Stalinist leaders to our proposal that a united front of Communists and social democrats be established to smash the Fascist advance, is slowly giving way to an acknowledgment of the correctness of our views. The Remmeles, Piecks and Thaelmanns are being compelled to sing a new song. When comrade Trotsky first drew his analogy between the present situation in Germany and the Bolshevik tactics in 1917 with regard to the danger of the Kornilov counter-revolutionary march—it was met with that vile abuse which has been the stereotyped reply of the bureaucrats to the ideas of Bolshevism that the Opposition has been advancing for nine years. Now, however, Remmele has admitted (Rote Fahne, June 17, 1932):

"The Russian working class fought through a similar situation in history. When the Kornilov uprising threatened, the Bolsheviks had themselves armed by the Kerensky government and Kornilov was smashed. Out of the victory over Kornilov grew the triumphant Red October and the Soviet power."

This elementary truth, the Opposition has tried for two years now to beat into the skulls of the bureaucrats who sought to ward off our blows with stupid chatter about "social fascism". Even now, the steps recommended by us for the

(Continued on page 4)

Geneva 'Peace' Swindles

Chain Formed by Hoover, Socialists, Litvinov, Barbusse & Co.

The next issue of the Militant will publish an extensive analysis by comrade Leon Trotsky on the so-called "international conference against war" which has been called for August 1, 1932 at Geneva by Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, H. G. Wells, Upton Sinclair, Sen Katayama and others. Some remarks on the subject will be found in the article below.

A monstrous swindle is being practiced at Geneva. With all the solemnity of consummate hypocrisy the capitalist statesmen of all the big powers have been gathered there for months to discuss "disarmament". Not one of them is opposed—Heaven forbid!—to disarmament and peace, providing only that it is the other countries that do the disarming. The Geneva conference is not the first one at which this gross fraud has been perpetrated—laying down a thick screen of oratory in favor of peace while the world's armaments are multiplied.

Since the signing of the Versailles treaty, it has been estimated that more than fifty international conferences have been held by the leading imperialist powers to "solve" one or another aspect of the "problem of peace and security". While the war to end all wars and the post-war conferences went their dreary course, the bandit powers have been systematically increasing their expenditures for armaments and war materials. If a comparison is made between "defense

expenditures" in the year directly preceding the war, 1913, and those of 1930, it will be found that England has increased hers 42 percent, France 30 percent, Italy 44 percent, Japan 142 percent and the United States almost 200 percent. While the statesmen have been dithering with assurances at every conference that their anxiety for peace is firmer than the Gibraltar, the world's expenditures for "defense purposes" have increased from \$3,497,000,000 in 1925 to \$4,128,000,000 in 1930, without a let down in the progression for any single year.

AMERICA'S SHREWD PACIFISM

While the war expenditures of the powers mount to unsealed heights, their external debts do not decline. On the contrary, the external debts of Britain, Germany, France, Belgium and Italy now total some 28 billions of dollars, to most of which the United States, as the world's great creditor, lays claim. When the American bourgeoisie, therefore, presents its proposals for "reductions in armaments", it gains doubly: first, it makes possible a larger repayment of the debts due to it from Europe, and secondly, it is able to buttress the myth of American pacifism which it has so sedulously cultivated in the minds of the masses. Moreover, the United States can easily afford to reduce its armaments to the lowest scale, proportionally with any other country, for, as the world's largest factory and bank combined in one, it can outstrip any other country in speedy

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Successful League Meet

400 Hear Opposition Speakers in Bronx Despite Stalin Gangs

On Saturday, June 25, a squad of party members and sympathizers disrupted a meeting of the New York Branch of the Communist League, on Wilkins and Intervale Ave., Bronx. Thereupon we wrote a letter to the District Committee of the C. P. requesting them to take a stand on these anti-working class tactics, and urging them to condemn the misguided actions of their followers. We received no reply to this letter. But in spite of the silence of the party leaders we proceeded to the same corner to insist upon the right of the Left Opposition to hold meetings on this or any other, without brooking the interference of any group or organization.

On Wednesday, July 6th, the Opposition came to the corner and staged a meeting. Over 400 were present at the meeting and attentively listened to the speeches of comrades Grotzer, Oehler and Shachtman for more than three hours. Predominant in the crowd were party members and sympathizers. The N. Y. Branch of the Communist League was there in full force with a well-organized workers guard to maintain order at the meeting. A large quantity of militants and pamphlets were sold at the meeting.

The meeting was opened by comrade Grotzer who acted as chairman. He was followed by comrade Oehler, who gave a clear and comprehensive exposition of the election campaign from the Communist viewpoint. He urged support for the Communist Party and its candidates, Foster and Ford, in the coming presiden-

tial election. The last speaker of the evening was comrade Shachtman. He stressed the importance of internationalism. In this connection, he understood a detailed analysis of the present situation in Germany, the role of the present government, the social democratic and the Communist parties, and the possible consequences of a Fascist victory for the world's working class and for the Soviet Union. He concluded with an able presentation of the position of the Left Opposition and an ardent appeal to all Communist workers to bring pressure on their organizations to force a change of policy.

The most interesting part of the meeting was the question period. The old slanders, accusations and epithets were hurled at Shachtman. That in all these years of education no real arguments have been produced, is indisputable proof of the bankruptcy of Stalinism. The two gems of the question period are noteworthy of mention. "Why don't you talk about Wilkins Ave., instead of the international situation?" And "Why don't you talk about rent instead of talking about the situation in Germany?"

The meeting ended in an orderly fashion after almost an hour of questioning. Whether this was due to the imposing workers guard at the meeting or to instructions from the party we cannot say. We are inclined to think that it is for the former reason. However it was a tremendous success for the Left Opposition and we intend to repeat it on the same corner in the near future.

Two «Peace» Swindles at Geneva

The Social Democrats Support Hoover; Hoover is Endorsed by Litvinov; Litvinov is Backed by Barbusse; Barbusse is Supported by the New Republic; the New Republic is Attacked by the Daily Worker; and the Daily Worker Flounders in the Swamp.

(Continued from page 1)
arms production on the eve of any actual war hostilities.

It is precisely this combination of Yankee shrewdness and imperialist hypocrisy that characterizes the latest Hoover proposal made to the Geneva conference. Were it accepted, it would not merely reduce the standing armies of England and France to the German scale, but it would increase the American army from 140,000 to 200,000. With touching generosity, it proposes the abolition of French and British tanks—which are a formidable factor with them—as well as the abolition of the American army's . . . 25 tanks! It would put a crimp in the naval strength of its rivals, but would permit America to construct new cruisers and aircraft carriers "up to the treaty tonnage of navies."

The Nation ruefully reveals that "the proposals placed before the Geneva Disarmament Conference on June 22 by President Hoover amount to little more than a political trick. To the headline reader, Mr. Hoover has generously advocated a reduction in armies by one-third and a similar scaling down of navies. Studied in detail, however, the Hoover proposals amount to the brazen suggestion that the United States actually increase its armies and navy, leaving reduction to other nations . . . The Hoover disarmament plan would increase the military strength of the United States at the expense of other nations; it is a scheme for securing naval parity at a cheaper figure than that made necessary by the London treaty, and for nearly doubling the size of our army."

SOCIALISTS RALLY TO HOOVER

When even the liberal Nation, which usually makes a habit of being taken in by the most superficial shams, is able to see through the Hoover hoax, it may be concluded that it is pretty transparent. But however cruel a capitalist deception may be, the social democracy is sure to hasten to its support and render it more palatable to the masses. In England, the executive committee of the Labour Party welcomed Hoover's proposals. In Holland, the Federation of Trade Unions appealed to the American plan. The French socialist leader, Leon Blum, called it "simple and direct in its outline and plainly worded and fearless in its conclusions." In the United States, the Jewish Daily Forward enlarded the Great Engineer with the observation that "Hoover's plan for a significant reduction not only of the land army but also of the navy, shows that the president is wholly sincere in the question of disarmament, although he does not go far enough." As we shall see in a moment, this despicable, "statesman's" servility before what even an intelligent liberal is not fooled by, is not confined entirely to the social democracy.

The official Communist organ, the Daily Worker does not appear to have any illusions about the significance of Hoover's proposals. On June 25, it polemizes violently against the Forward: "The slightest acquaintance with the proposal is a move in the imperialist struggle for world domination and is intended to weaken Wall Street's rivals, while maneuvering against the Soviet Union. But these Forward socialists pretend to know nothing of such things. Are these socialists merely mistaken fools in halting all of this quackery of the president? Or are they simply ignorant prophets that do not understand the ways of the capitalist world? No! The socialist party policy is consciously directed toward supporting the covering up of the war moves of the imperialists. It is their role to bind the toiling masses to the war chariots of the imperialist warmongers, and to represent all the pacifist swindles of the 'disarmament' conferences as genuine . . . The people who are misled the workers to expect peace from the reactionary governments and their conferences are not simply fools. They are treacherous knaves seeking to betray the toiling masses into a new world slaughter." (Our emphasis).

Not bad, what? Stoutly spoken! Only, virtually every word of condemnation uttered against the Forward applies to the statement made by Litvinov, the Soviet spokesman at Geneva, and printed in the Daily Worker exactly 24 hours it published the quoted philippic against the Forward! Carefully compare what the Forward said about the Hoover proposals with the following quotation from a special officially cabled report in the Daily Worker of June 24:

LITVINOV WELCOMES THE U. S. PLAN

"Referring to the American proposals he (Litvinov) declared he welcomed the essentials of the proposals made by the American delegation because in part they tend in the same direction as the Soviet proposals which were previously presented here without securing support. He welcomed the proposals, he said, because they contained several important principles put forward by the Soviet delegation in the preparatory disarmament commission and at the conference. These include the method of proportional reduction of armaments, while maintaining relative strength. The American proposals, however, contain points deviating from the Soviet proposals (even the Forward says Hoover does not go far enough! S.) and must be made the object of public discussion. He said he would deal with these points later in detail when the

discussion is opened. He added: 'For my part I would welcome a speedy beginning of discussion with a view of adopting attitude towards American proposals and thus getting the conference to begin work at last.' (Our emphasis.)

In this manner, we have the edifying spectacle of the Daily Worker, through the mouth of so authoritative a "Communist" spokesman as Litvinov, welcoming the essentials of the proposals on Friday which it denounces violently on Saturday, as a "move in the imperialist struggle for world domination." One day, it prints an enthusiastically approbatory eight-column headline over Litvinov's announcement that Hoover's proposals "contained several important principles put forward by the Soviet delegation"; the next day it brands the same proposals as "intended to weaken Wall Street's rivals, while maneuvering against the Soviet Union." On Friday, the responsible voice of the Soviet Union, with all the prestige among the listening workers that goes with that prerogative, hopes that the adoption of the American proposals will get the "conference to begin work at last"; on Saturday, the Daily Worker warns its readers that those who misled them to expect anything from such conferences are "not simply fools" but "treacherous knaves seeking to betray the toiling masses." And there is no doubt that the Daily Worker's characterization is correct; only, as both the Forward and Litvinov say about Hoover's proposals, it doesn't go far enough. . .

But those who think that the Worker's vehemence of Saturday wipes out the disgraceful conduct of Litvinov on Friday, show a greater faith than the situation warrants. For the Stalinists have barely dragged the second leg out of one swamp before the first leg is thrust into another.

If there is anything on the scene today more pernicious—in face of the growing danger of war—than Litvinov's diplomatic antics at Geneva, it is the new plan which supplements these poisonous illusions, rounds them out: the plan for holding an "International Conference Against War", initiated by two petty bourgeois pacifists, Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland. Here is the appeal sent out by the Barbusse-Roland "International Committee Against War" for the conference, printed in the Daily Worker of June 7, without a word of comment; the emphasis throughout is ours:

"We appeal to all men and women, irrespective of their political parties, trade unions, cultural, political or social organizations, to unite with us in a great international congress against war . . .

We appeal to all men and women of good will to participate in our congress which

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will take place on August 1, 1932, in Geneva, in order to make the congress a powerful international demonstration against the war criminals: Let us not run the risk of failing to understand, or of understanding too late! Let us awaken the conscience of the world in order to steel its will against war! Let us organize an iron resistance to war! Let us form a mighty wave of all those men and women who are unwilling to be the victims of the second world war!"

Who has concocted this melange of pacifist confusion? We have no hesitation in saying that its real initiators live in the Comintern building and the Kremlin in Moscow! The central organs of the French Communist Party and of the Red trade unions in France have already given the conference a blanket endorsement, an inconceivable action unless it is taken for granted that official Stalinist sanction has been given to Barbusse and Co. On June 20, the Daily Worker announced that "the International Committee of the Friends of Soviet Russia has informed the Preparatory Committee organizing this congress that it welcomes this step most warmly and intends participating in the congress." And on the same day that it prints Litvinov's scandalous remarks on page one, the Daily Worker observes in its editorial condemnation of the Hoover proposals that "Against this international conference of disarmament swindlers, the working class must set up their own international united front and participate in the International Conference Against Imperialist War called at Geneva on August 1."

Isn't there something sinister about this whole business? The threat of imperialist war does hover darkly over the world now. In Manchuria, a state of war actually exists. A Fascist victory in Germany brings with it, almost automatically, a black crusade against the Soviets. But the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions have not uttered a single word on the matter, not a single manifesto, not a single appeal in their own names. In this crucial hour, the working class listens in vain for a word of guidance from the center of the organized world revolutionary movement. But behind the scenes, the Comintern does organize a masquerade under the names of confused and consequently dangerous pacifists and proclaims through its national sections as the working class united front against imperialism!

A MASQUERADE OF STALINISM

The Communist International does not take the initiative in mobilizing the workers against the war danger. No, it leaves that to Barbusse, the advocate of socialist-Communist fusion; to Rolland, as great a writer as he is a poor politician, or none at all; to Heinrich Mann, about whom the same may be said; to Albert Einstein, who is undoubtedly a great scientist; to H. G. Wells, the social chauvinist of 1914; and more of the same type. Is there any reason to doubt that such a conference will attract to itself all the politicians, adventurers, petty bourgeois socialists and semi-socialists who figured in the various congresses of the "Anti-Imperialist League" and the "Anglo-Russian Committee, who thereby refreshed their reputations at the springs of Stalinism, gained a new hold on the masses slipping out of their hands, and this mounted to the top again?

Is it any wonder that the organ of bewildered petty bourgeois liberalism, the New Republic, should hail such a conference? "It is heartening to learn that a peace movement is being started along new lines. An international committee headed by Henri Barbusse . . . will try to initiate nothing less than a general war against war, a campaign to be waged on all fronts by every appeal to public opinion. This is a time, moreover, when such an appeal might be decisive." (June 29, 1932.)

The Daily Worker attacks the New Republic as "pacifist muddleheads . . . dangerous enemies of the struggle against imperialist war", but it takes care not to mention by a word the liberal endorsement of the Barbusse conference! Why should the New Republic be attacked? It belongs with Barbusse, properly speaking. But what business have the Communists in Geneva, unless they go there to blow up the Barbusse conference, as Lenin advised the Comintern to do with the Hague pacifist congress in 1922?

With the launching and endorsement of the Barbusse swindle, the Comintern is floundering in a treacherous swamp of its own creation. It is inserting itself as a link in a strangulating pacifist chain which includes the liberal phrase-mongers, the social patriots and Hoover. It is forcing the Communist movement to pass once more through the disastrous experience of the Kuo Min Tang policy, of the Anglo-Russian Committee debacle, of an enlarged, and all the more pernicious, edition of the Anti-Imperialist League of Muenzenberg, Chiang Kai-Shek, Calles, Ledebour, Maxton and Co. For yesterday's August of putschist adventurism, it is turning to an August 1 at Geneva, a masquerade of opportunism and—to use the exact term of the Daily Worker—betrayal.

This "new turn" to the Right in Stalinist policy, half-concealed though it is, reveals that the world crisis is bringing with it a new crisis in Centrism, far-reaching in its consequences. The Communist workers must prepare to deal with it in the Leninist way.—M. S.

Questions on China

The Stalinist press continues to report that a Soviet republic has been established in the southern part of China. It prints maps showing the extensive areas under the control of the Soviets. It gives figures varying from 70,000,000 to 90,000,000 for the people living under Soviet control. It has reported the first Congress of the Chinese Soviets at which a constitution was adopted and a government and officials elected.

If this is so, may we be permitted some questions which would seem to be to the point?

Why hasn't the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics granted diplomatic recognition to the Chinese Soviets?

If not diplomatic recognition, then why have no other official relations been established between the two Soviet republics?

The Nanking government of Chiang Kai-Shek and Co., which claims jurisdiction over the territory that the Stalinists called the Chinese Soviets, is talking about opening negotiations with the U. S. S. R. for the resumption of diplomatic relations. Will the U. S. S. R. recognize Nanking as the Chinese government without granting any recognition to "Soviet China"?

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We're back after a week's absence, hot foot after subs. That's the way to keep the paper going as a weekly and to build it up. Right now Militant Builders have a great offer to make to prospective subscribers: copy of Problems of the Chinese Revolution with a year's sub for only fifty cents, that is only half price.

And for Militant Builders themselves the incentive we offered some time ago still stands, of course: a free Bound Volume of comrade Trotsky's pamphlets with four dollars in subs other than their own. A number of comrades have already won these premiums and a number of comrades are on the way to winning them. Our supply is small and dwindling. Comrades who expect to win a copy had better step on it.

Can we get subs? You bet we can. A little effort and the trick is done. We have an inexhaustible reservoir from which to draw—the entire working class. To be sure we do not expect to get the working class as subscribers, all at one blow, nor in one week. But slowly at first and at an ever accelerated tempo we expect to get a large percentage of it in our subscription list. That is our perspective. That must be the perspective of every Militant Builder. How well we will accomplish our task the weekly record of the staff will show.

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Pioneer Publishers Notes

WHAT NEXT?

What next in our campaign to publish the works of the outstanding revolutionary leaders of the international revolutionary movement will be WHAT NEXT? by Leon Trotsky. As our readers know, this latest work by comrade Trotsky deals with the present situation in Germany.

Because of its timeliness, its importance for an understanding of the situation there, and its great propaganda value as an instrument to change the incorrect line of the C. P. G. and the C. I. in Germany we are rushing it as fast as you can. We can say now definitely that it will be OFF THE PRESS AUGUST 1.

It will sell for fifty cents in paper cover and a dollar in cloth. All our readers, comrades and sympathizers should order their copies now.

All eyes are on Germany now. The decisive moment is approaching. Events are moving swiftly to their climax. Interest in the situation is intense. The entire edition should go in no time. We should be busy now working up interest in this book.

BOUND VOLUMES

We still have a number of the bound volumes of comrade Trotsky's pamphlets containing those that are out of print and unobtainable otherwise. In a few short weeks we will have to announce that these are all gone, for there were only a few dozen bound in the first place. So we meant when we advise that comrades who want these bound volumes should order them at once.

A New Turn in the T.U.U.L.

The resolution of the eighth session of the Central Council of the R. I. L. U. dealing with the T. U. U. L. (June, Labor Unity), informs us that we "have not yet learned to work among the masses". We have "isolated ourselves." And it adds: "However, the lagging behind in organization and leadership of mass unemployment is still too great."

The reason the American Centrists "have not yet learned to work among the masses", "are isolated", are "lagging behind", is because they have attempted to carry out the "third period" policy. The resolution dismisses its own mistakes with the above and then reaffirms the tactic of the united front "from below" and the theory of "social Fascism."

Another New Turn

The resolution presents a "new turn" on working in the A. F. of L., and in the reorganization of the T. U. U. L. on the factory basis. It is essential for us to investigate this new turn to see if it is a step forward or a mere side stepping and an attempt to veil the third period wreckage without drawing any consequences.

At the beginning of the crisis, Centrism informed us that reformism was declining and that the A. F. of L. was on its last lap. This new situation called for the building of a new trade union center, using as a basis the Left wing of the A. F. of L., and what other outside contacts we had. At that time, the party said, "A revolutionary upsurge in America is evident by the growing unemployment demonstrations, etc." "A revolutionary upsurge grips the working masses, opens the road to the Communist party for their organization and for leading these masses to struggle." (Theses of the 7th Convention of the C. P., page 9.)

After three years of a deepening crisis, the party discards its formula of "revolutionary upsurge" and moves to the Right in the election campaign and trade union activity. The resolution says, "Recent experience has already shown the need for carrying on work not only in those industries where there are no parallel revolutionary unions but also in those A. F. of L. unions which are parallel to the T. U. U. L. unions."

According to the Centrist, "Recent experience has already shown the need for carrying on work" in reactionary unions. Only recent experience? Lenin's theses and all the experience that went with it and followed it are of no value. Only recent experiences. The formulation should be: "The mistakes flowing from the 'third period' tactics as recent experiences already have proved, point to the need of carrying on work in reactionary unions."

Centrism now speaks of working in reactionary unions but its organizational tactics continue to block the door to that. Sooner or later they will again ask why they don't have any success with this Leninist tactic of working in reactionary unions? And again they will inform us: the line was correct but it was not carried out. If Centrism had carried out the Leninist concept of work in reactionary unions and the United Front three years ago we would now be carrying on the class struggle at a much higher level.

The Factory Basis

The new turn calls for the "reorganization of the T. U. U. L. unions on the factory basis." Let us consider the "factory basis" in the light of the trade union program. The Communist League of America says the organization of the unorganized into new industrial unions is the central industrial task of the Communists in America. In order to carry out this task we must coordinate it with the supplementary activity of

working in reactionary unions regardless of any momentary domination of one or the other phase of the work. Such is our line of march. Does the resolution of the Sixth Session dealing with America point out this line of march? No. Instead, we have as the main task the reorganization on the factory basis. Presented as it is, at this stage of "isolation", of "lagging behind", etc., a reorganization which is not properly linked with the agitation for the building of new industrial unions, results in scattering our forces rather than in uniting them.

The tactics of Centrism since the "third period" have played into the hands of the reformists and syndicalists and now instead of facing the issue of new industrial unions as Communists, the Stalinists try to sidestep it.

The organization of the unorganized into industrial unions can be accomplished only by Communist leadership in this stage of capitalism. American imperialism cannot be defeated unless the Communist party and the class have suitable organizations as weapons to destroy capitalism. The American Soviets will be the determining organs for the Communists. The building of industrial unions will pave the way for the American dictatorship of the proletariat through the Soviets.

In organizing industrial unions, the mine, mill or factory makes up the basic unit and the chain throughout the industry constitutes the industrial union. The logical development of the industrial union has this structure. The Stalinists now emphasize the factory unit exclusively without regarding the problem of the industrial union as a whole. If we do not organize the decisive section of the industrial union as a whole, we will not defeat the bosses.

In Preparation for the Offensive

In the present downward curve of the standard of living and wages, separate, heroic factory or mill fights, here and there are able to prevent wage cuts and even increase wages, but this kind of isolated activity will not be able to transform the downward curve into a workers' offensive. Only powerful industrial unions under Communist leadership will be able to smash into the capitalist ranks.

The agitation and activity for the organization of the unorganized into industrial unions includes the agitation for the mine, mill or factory unit. To talk of reorganizing on the factory basis and forget the elementary agitation for industrial unions is to put the cart before the horse. The organization of the industrial unions will be realized by building upward with the factory as a basis.

Regardless of what blunders Centrism has committed, its hope to find a way out by the mechanical desire of reorganizing on the factory basis will not solve the problem if it leaves untouched the colossal errors of the past. The Communists can only win by organizing the unorganized on the basis of industrial unions (which includes the "factory basis") Not the organization of industrial unions by syndicalists or socialists but by Communists.

The Communist must agitate primarily for the organization of the unorganized into industrial unions. The Communists must explain the difference between the craft unions, and the industrial unions. The socialists and the syndicalists are not capable of explaining industrial unionism from a Marxian standpoint. Only the Communists can give a Marxian explanation for industrial unions and their role in reaction, in revolution and under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. This is the task of the Communists today.

—H. O.

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The Spanish Opposition Conference

MADRID, SPAIN.—

A new stage in the life of the Spanish Communist Left Opposition (which has since adopted the name Spanish Communist Left) has begun with the Third National Conference. The decisions adopted envisage the going over of the organization from the stage of organic formation and propaganda, which obtained up to the date of the Conference, to a position of activity and direct intervention in the social and political struggles of the Spanish proletariat. For this purpose it was necessary to establish an organ of struggle in the form of *El Soviet* which has reappeared with redoubled combativity.

The intervention of the Communist Left Opposition in the workers' struggles of course drew in its wake, as was to be expected, an accentuation of the governmental reprisals against our best militants. The reprisals were not late in coming and have showed that the bourgeoisie has a clear idea as to what our organization is and represents and as to how dangerous the working class can become under the leadership of the authentic Bolsheviks.

The Police and the Conference

The conference in itself had the great pleasure of mobilizing the police of the republic against itself. It was only natural that although our organization did not participate very actively and persistently as an organization in the various political movements (although its militants have always been in the front ranks of the revolutionary struggle) our Conference very seriously disturbed the police of the republic. They were afraid, no doubt that there would be a representative of Trotsky and they mobilized the whole guard to snoop him out and to arrest him. Fortunately, our comrades delegates from the International Secretariat are not Stalinists to preoccupy themselves more with the uproar that their arrests may produce than with the execution of the mission that the organization had entrusted to them. Our comrades came to our National Conference as representatives of the French Opposition and the International Secretariat and were interested in fulfilling their duties. And they accomplished their task, notwithstanding the strict vigilance of the Direction General de Seguridad (police). They participated in the sessions of the Conference whenever they considered it necessary. The vigilance of the police was a clear indication of the beginning of a chapter of reprisals against us. The police held watch, trying to find out the attitude of our organization. Up till a short time ago, we had in Spain a small nucleus of comrades who defended the ideas of Bolshevism with great vigor, criticizing the mistakes of the party, a matter which was of little consequence to the police. But since then we have started to transform ourselves into a serious force—and the Conference was proof of that. We have begun to take on the character of a formidable organization, we have laid the basis of the organization, which con-

stituted at the time of the Conference, about 1,000 militants, prepared and disciplined in the struggle. Our conference decided to mobilize this force, to set it in motion.

Governmental Repression
The present governmental reprisals do not, therefore, take us by surprise. On the contrary, it was to be expected and it is logical that this should happen. The Stalinist bureaucrats can now, if they wish, bandy about accusations and calumnies of "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism." Neither the working class, nor the members of the party will believe them. The Communist Left Opposition is in the vanguard of the revolution, it functions as such and suffers the heaviest blows of the repression. Arrests follow one after the other. Our comrades pass incessantly through the mill of prisons and police stations in Spain. Our press is continually being censored and suppressed by the police. The case of our weekly *El Soviet* is symptomatic of this fact.

After the Conference, we succeeded in publishing four issues of our weekly and all four issues were censored and suppressed by the police. Thanks to the ability of our comrades and their preparation for illegal work, we have been able to save part of the copies, but we can see their determined intention in all this to destroy our organization by every possible means. Since our economic resources are very limited (something that the Spanish police is well aware of) they are trying to crush us with this method and adding to this the imprisonment of the responsible comrades of our organizations. The police knows very well what is going on. It is not for nothing that a Spanish policeman has recently written a book about Communism in Spain, a book that is recommended for all the Spanish police to read, to guide them in carrying out their functions, in which it says literally that the most capable and most dangerous militants (keep in mind what the word "dangerous" means for the police) belong to the Communist Left Opposition of Spain.

El Soviet is suppressed, arrests are made for merely selling it in the streets. Our comrades of Seville almost live in the fortress of Puerto de Santa Maria, to which they were sent only for selling our weekly. It is a case without precedent in Spain. Not even during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera were prisoners transferred from prison to fortress, when arrested only on government orders, without a trial and without any justification by the police for the arrests. More than 60 comrades of our organization have gone through the jails of the republic since our National Conference alone, some of them had the "good fortune" to be arrested twice or three times.

The Opposition's Growth

But our organization has been inured to hardships in the fight. It grows and develops in quality as well as in quantity. It is a hard test and purifies our ranks of accidental and cowardly elements, but brings to our side other elements, more combative, real fighters who formerly were somewhat misled by the calumnies of the Stalinist bureaucracy and had believed that we were really counter-revolutionists and insignificant. But in this respect, the congress of the official Communist party, held shortly before our National Conference could not be excelled by any better advertisement for us. Without "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism" the congress of the Stalinized Spanish party would not have had anything to discuss, or nothing was discussed there except calumnies against us. The honest Communist militants who did not know anything about "Trotskyism," who had heard only some fantastic and slanderous remarks about the "Trotskyists" began to think more seriously about us. Since then, they have been able to see in practice what we are

and how we work. They have understood us and have come to us. Elements who had attacked the Communist Left Opposition at the party congress without knowing what it stood for, now come to us. Police repression grows parallel with the adherence of new elements to our banner. And so, the reprisals, instead of destroying our organization, fortify it organically. There are examples to prove this. In Estremadura, at the time of the Conference, we had about a hundred comrades. Now we have more than three hundred. In Salamanca we had about fifty. Now we have more than a hundred in several groups. The same thing holds true for Galicia and other places.

Our organization has learned to stand the test, because it is composed of real Bolsheviks, many of them old militants, tested in the active struggle. Our organization now is a genuine Communist party, destined to play a highly impor-

Spanish Opposition Youth Makes Appeal

The National Youth Committee has considered the letter of our Spanish youth comrades and decided to appeal for funds to aid them in the publication of the contemplated magazine, *Joven Espartaco*. We pledge ourselves to raise twenty-five dollars for the drive and are therefore appealing to our comrades and sympathizers to aid the Spanish comrades in their valiant efforts to establish a Left Communist youth paper in Spain. Now is the time to display a bit of real internationalism. Make your donations as soon as possible. Every little bit will help. Send all contributions to:

Albert Grotzer, Secretary,
The National Youth Committee,
84 East 10th Street,
New York, N. Y.

♦ ♦ ♦

To the National Youth Committee,
Communist League of America (C.):

Dear Comrades:

We have started to organize the youth sections of the Left Opposition. At the present time we have numerous groups in Madrid, Barcelona, Cadiz, Sevilla, Salónica, Asilero, Sama de Lango, Lugo, Gijón, Oviedo, Magullá (Bodajoz) etc. In the organ of the Left Opposition starting with the next issue, we will begin to publish our page, *The Young Soviet*. But the big progress achieved in the organization of youth sections of the Left Opposition obliges us to break with the small and narrow frame of a monthly page and to widen our sphere of activities with the publication of a 16-page magazine. The publication of the magazine which will be a monthly, will permit us to come in more close contact with the working youth in general and the young communists in particular. But this imposes big economic sacrifices upon us. The situation of the young workers, due to the deep crisis that Spain is going through, is desperate. For the publication of our magazine we need 300 pesetas. We are counting upon your help and for this we are sending a subscription list. In assuring the first issue, for which we need to collect 300 pesetas, the magazine will be able to live on its own account and its publication for the future will also be assured.

We await material that you will send for publication in the magazine which will be called *Joven Espartaco* (Young Spartacus), not only informative articles about the life of the working youth in America and of the young communists, but also articles of collaboration. We will do likewise; for which purpose the National Committee of the youth, delegate comrade Eugenio F. Granell. We await also the names of three or four comrades to be included in our list of collaborators.

tant role in the Spanish labor movement. While the other working class organizations are becoming demoralized and begin to disintegrate, while the depression in the labor movement is becoming accentuated and the C. N. T. is going through a sharp crisis and the Communist party witnesses defections from its ranks in great numbers—our organization continues to grow and to increase its activities. But we also are going through a crisis, an economic crisis which obstructs our action. The great majority of our comrades are unemployed. Our groups, in increasing their membership, also increase their local needs, and therefore their support of the Executive Committee from the economic point of view, is more feeble than before.

The Spanish Communist Left has before it a great revolutionary future of which it must not fail to take advantage. But it also has enormous responsibilities, a perspective of titanic struggle with all its consequences. As the proletarian vanguard, it will know how to fulfill its duty.
—HENRI LACROIX.

With the Food Workers

In a recent issue of *The Militant* we pointed out that the maneuver of the Trade Union Unity Council to take the co-op camps out of the hands of the union was a scheme to force a wage cut. Events have fully confirmed our forecast.

About two months ago a proposal was made to the leading food workers fraction of the Communist party by the T. U. U. C. that the work at the Co-op camps this year would be on a voluntary basis. The leading fraction, however, emphatically rejected the proposal and appointed a committee to interview Browder, the secretary of the party and explain to him the disastrous consequences that would result to the Food Workers Industrial Union from the decision.

A Bureaucratic Reply
Bureaucrat Browder replied to the committee's arguments with an attack on the food workers. He charged the union with ruining the camps by insisting on a union wage scale; that the food workers were as bad as the printers who were sucking the life-blood out of the *Daily Worker*. Browder was merely repeating the arguments of the camp managers who for years have agitated for the open shop, while the managers were drawing over \$50 a week in salaries along with board and room for their families.

After the tussle with Browder, the Central Committee of the party handed down another decree to the union in the form of a wage cut. And what a slash!

Chefs and cooks whose wages were from \$50 to \$75 a week were reduced to \$12 a week and unskilled help from \$22 to \$10.

The Party Workers Hit Back
The general fraction unanimously rejected this decision and elected another committee to take up the question with the Central Committee. The fraction condemned Browder's attitude, pointing out that he and the Central Committee were subordinating the interests of the union and the industrial line of the Party to the making of profits.

Joseph Zack, Lenin School graduate, who is in charge of the Co-op activities of the T. U. U. C., was not present at the general fraction meeting, due, it is believed, to an unpleasant experience he had some time ago with the Co-op employees in the Bronx when he locked out the union workers because of their refusal to accept a wage cut. Zack made a "united front from above" with the managers and was bitterly denounced by the workers. So he assigned Sam Weissman, former secretary of the Food Workers Union to the task of braving the wrath of the general fraction meeting of the food workers. Weissman was unable to control the members so the meeting was adjourned until the following evening when the committee was scheduled to report on how it fared with the Central Committee.

The committee reported that the Central Committee refused to grant an interview, so they decided to call on Israel Anter, New York district organizer. Anter greeted the committee with threats of reprisal for daring to disagree with the decree handed down to them from the C. E. C. He also expressed his indignation over their impudence in criticizing Browder, evidently acting on the theory that whatever quarrels bureaucrats may have with one another they must present a united front against the worker-Communists.

Pointing an index finger at the door, Anter told the committee to scram. "If you don't like the decision," he roared, "get out. There is the door."

When the committee made its report, the members of the General Fraction were vigorous in protesting against the bureaucrats' treatment accorded them by the party functionaries and renewed their criticisms of Browder. Then George Siskind appeared on the scene as the party representative and took the members for a trimming. He denounced them as enemies of the party and trotted out the well-known formula that sooner or later they would find themselves in the camp of the enemy.

The Managers Sit Pretty

Here we might as well insert the fact that while the C. E. C. was engaged in the "revolutionary" task of reducing the wages of the Co-op employees to the starvation point, there were two managers in Camp Nitgedagat alone drawing forty dollars a week each with room and board for their families thrown in, while the number of guests in the camp did not total more than twenty-five, it being early in the season.

On June 23, a special membership meeting of the cafeteria department of the Food Workers Union was called to vote on the wage cut decision. The party fraction was mobilized and forced under threats of discipline to put over a decision that is a disgrace to the Communist movement and a heavy blow at the task of organizing the workers into industrial unions under the leadership of the party. As pointed out in a previous article in *The Militant* this decision and others of the same kidney strengthens the anarchist and syndicalist elements who hold that the Communists are not interested in organizing unions to help the workers better their living conditions but use them as milch cows for the party. Fourteen Party members voted against the wage cut in defiance of the bureaucracy and a considerable number abstained from voting. Now for an interesting postscript to this wage cutting decision. After the wage cut went through, the C. E. C. notified the union that its members would be employed at the camps for one week only, that is the week of July 4, at \$18 a week. After which date bungalows would be rented to the guests and they could prepare their own meals. This sounds fishy to the members of the union. They wonder if this is a subtle maneuver to get rid of the union and return the camps to the open shop conditions that existed prior to the organization of the industrial union. We urge the comrades to insist on maintaining union conditions in the camps whether they remain in the hands of the party or are turned over to private enterprise.

The whole time of the union leadership and a good part of the party's time is occupied with the co-operatives despite the optimistic statement made by John Steuben at the close of 1931 when he told the delegates to the convention that the union had made such an advance that it was now necessary for the convention to devote only a small part of its time to a discussion of the union problems in the co-operative institutions of the party.

The serious situation that exists in the Food Workers Union demands the attention of all militants. The policy of organizing workers into unions so that they may be exploited to maintain their bureaucracy, must be thrown in the garbage can.
—FOODWORKER.

Young Spartacus, official organ of the young comrades of the Communist League of America (Opposition) is out and ready for distribution. All those interested in the paper should communicate with the YOUNG SPARTACUS, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y..

PICNIC

to be held at
TIBBETS BROOK PARK
NEW YORK — PLOT 2
JULY 10th, 1932 from 10:00 A.M. till dusk
for the benefit of
Spanish Left Communist Youth
Auspices: Spartacus Youth Club of New York
Directions: Take Lexington Avenue I. R. T. Subway Woodlawn-Jerome to last stop, Woodlawn. Take trolley, bus or walk to park, Plot 2.

Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition

The Break in the Right-Center Bloc and the Left Zig-zag of Stalinism

(Continued from last issue)

With that Marxian penetration and foresight that marks out the whole course of the Left Opposition, it had forecast this very struggle long before it broke out. A good three years before, in September 1926, Trotsky had written with prophetic exactitude in the Opposition document "On the Unity of the Party":

"The aim of all these discussions and conclusions leading to displacements in the organization, is the annihilation of the nucleus which, up to very recently, was called the old Leninist guard, and the substitution for it of the personal leadership of Stalin, leaning on a group of comrades who always agree with him. Only a blockhead or a hopelessly hardened bureaucrat can believe that the Stalinist struggle for 'the unity of the party' can guarantee this unity, even if it were only at the price of the annihilation of the former leading group and, in general, of the whole present Opposition. The closer Stalin appears to be to this aim the farther away, in reality, he will be from it. A party leadership reduced to a single individual, which is what Stalin and his group of intimates call 'the unity of the party,' requires for its establishment not only the destruction, the elimination and the decapitation of the present united Opposition, but also the gradual removal from the leadership of the most authoritative and influential representatives of the faction now in power. It is quite clear that neither Tomsky, Bukharin nor Rykov, by

reason of their past, their moral authority, etc., are capable of playing the role under Stalin's rule which devolves upon Uglanov, Kaganovich, Petrovsky and consorts. To cut off the present Opposition would mean, in fact the inevitable transformation into an opposition of the remnants of the old group in the Central Committee. A new discussion would rise upon the agenda, during which Kaganovich would expose Rykov, Uglanov would do as much with Tomsky, while the Slepovs, Stalin and Co. would lash out at Bukharin. Only a blockhead can fail to see how inevitable this forecast is. In the meantime, the more openly opportunistic elements in the party would begin to fight Stalin as too contaminated by the 'Leftist' prejudices and for preventing too rapid and public a downfalling."

With the transposition of one or two names, this "Trotskyist calumny" was borne out some three years later with almost mathematical precision. The three leaders of the Right wing were presented by Stalin to the Russian party and the whole world as the banner-bearers of the capitalist restoration. The president of the Communist International, the head of the Soviet government, and the leader of the Soviet trade unions, were depicted by Stalin as the agents of the Thermidorian counter-revolution! But it is precisely this "trio" with whom Stalin had for five-six years been in the most intimate "indissoluble" alliance against the Left wing of the party. If Stalin's indictment of the Right wing had

any meaning at all—and it did—it was at the same time a murderous arraignment of the Centrist faction itself. For what pretense could it make to Bolshevism when it had admittedly been in distinguishable solidarity for half a decade with restorationists? Where in all history could an instance be found of the genuine revolutionary tendency having been in an inseparable bloc with another tendency which, within virtually twenty-four hours, proved to be the champion of black reaction?

Given the fact that both sections of the leadership had a common principle basis, given the fact that to cut off the Right wing Stalin had to borrow openly from the ideological arsenal of the Left Opposition (the Right wing did not hesitate to accuse him of "Trotskyism" just as Trotsky foretold in 1926!) Stalin's campaign against the Right wing served at the same time as a deadly self-revelation of Centristism, and an involuntary tribute to the justice of the whole Opposition struggle.

The Kulak Uprising

Let us return to the Fifteenth Congress. All its proceedings were conducted under the flag of denouncing the Opposition as panic-mongers for warning against the growing Kulak danger. Just as Rykov before him had taunted the Opposition with the question: If the Kulak is so dangerous why hasn't he played us some bad tricks?—So Molotov cried impatiently in December 1927 that the Kulak was nothing new, that there was no need of alarm or of special measures beyond those already in force. Everybody "agrees" argued Molotov, who, together with the other Stalinists, insistently minimized the magnitude of the exploiting farmers. "It exists, and there is no need to speak about it."

This bureaucratic self-contentment, turned to fury when the Opposition which did find a "need to speak about

it," had to be expelled, waited only a few brief weeks before the whole Soviet Union was shaken to its base by a demonstration of the tremendous power which the Kulak had amassed all the while that Bukharin-Stalin-Molotov-Rykov had been covering him up from Trotsky's criticisms. In January 1928, right after the congress and emboldened, as we have said, by their success in having the Left wing cut off from the party, the Kulaks rose in what came to be known as their "bloodless uprising." Powerful and confident, they refused to turn over their hoarded stocks of grain and, in effect, declared: Unless the Soviet power yields to our demands for prices above those fixed by the proletarian state we shall keep our stores and starve the cities the working class centers, into submission!

So effective and alarming was their resistance that for the first time in many long years, the Soviets were compelled to requisition the villages' grain by armed force. All the official philosophy of "Enrich yourselves!" the vicious self-consolation about the insignificance of the Kulak, the rabid howling of the Opposition for its timely warnings, were now whipped to tatters by the sharpness of the visible realities.

On February 15, 1928, the leading editorial of *Pravda* was compelled to hang its head and acknowledge: "The village proved to be perverted in a whole, has grown and become rich. The kulak, above all, has grown and become rich. . . . The line of our party in the village series of districts . . . In our organizations, certain elements alien to the party have grown up in recent times, which see no classes in the village, which do not understand the foundations of our class policy, which strive to carry out the work in such a manner that nobody in the village is alienated, so that they live in peace with the Kulak, so that,

in general, popularity is preserved amongst 'all the strata'."

What *Pravda* was compelled to admit after having violently denied the truths contained therein when the Opposition advanced them, was only a mild expression for what the most advanced sections of the working class, despite having been lulled with Stalinist drugs for years, were now thinking. The revolutionary, class spirit which had by no means been entirely eliminated by the campaign against the Opposition, forced its way into the open in spite of the obstacles put in its path by the bureaucratic regime. It is this pressure from below which gave the real impulsion to the break-up of the hitherto solid Right-Center bloc. This still unclear revolt against the previous line of yielding to the capitalist elements inside and outside the country, jerked the helm out of the hands of the Right, forced a change in the course and marked the inauguration of the subsequent zig-zag to ultra-Leftism undertaken by Stalin.

At the same time it revealed the still unexhausted revolutionary forces in the party and the country as a whole, forces still at the disposal of the Marxian wing of the party in its fight for a radical reform of the party and its course. An unprecedented combination of factors, which made possible the organizational crushing of the Opposition, also prevented it from guiding these forces towards firm and stable ground. But on the basis of this Leftward current in the masses, the Stalinist faction opened up a new phase of its development, the "third period" of its blunders on a Soviet and an international scale, which only dragged the revolutionary movement from one rut into another. It is to this stage of the struggle that the next article will be devoted.
—SHACHTMAN.

An Admission of Bankruptcy

Several weeks ago, when we carried an article in *The Militant* entitled "The Right Wing International on the Verge of Collapse", the Lovestone sheet waded indignant, confounded us together with the genuine liars from the Stalinist camp and in a feigned gesture of contemptuous pride, stuck out its chest—upon which, alas, blows are soon to pound in loud repentance.

A Damaging Admission

Three weeks later—we can hardly believe our eyes—the columns of the *Workers' Age* itself carry statements to this effect: "The International Communist Opposition (read: the International Right wing—Ed.), considered as a political unity, as a cohesive, smoothly functioning international faction in the C. I. has failed to measure up to the tasks which the situation in the world labor movement and in the Comintern has placed before it. The International Communist Opposition (read: the Right wing—Ed.) today is in a serious crisis, political as well as organizational" (*Workers' Age*, June 25.)

But even more damning than these admissions, which the Right wing leaders are forced to make before their alarmed and awakening rank and file, is their confession that there never actually was anything like an organized international Right wing. The "Resolution on the International Conference", from which the above passage was quoted, tells us that "except for the transmission of correspondence between the various groups, the International Center has hardly functioned." (!) That this was the case all along we have never doubted and that the Right wing were merely drawing thereby the logical practical conclusions flowing from the theory of socialism in one country.

The "Resolution on the International Conference" is Lovestone's Declaration of Bankruptcy. Seen in the light of recent developments, it represents an attempt of Lovestone to square himself with his taskmasters of tomorrow by cutting himself away from his allies of today.

The chief manifestations of this crisis . . . the resolution says, "is the fact that the substantial unanimity in principles (?) upon which it (the Right wing international—Ed.) was built up has now to a considerable extent been reduced to merely agreement on tactical questions".

Here we have, then, on black and white, an avowal from the lips of Lovestone himself that his international alliance has no principle basis. But—there remains the basis of agreements on tactical questions. What tactical questions? Is it the tactical question of reform of the Communist International or the establishment of a new International? His resolution itself tells us that "There are some (Swedish Opposition) who regard the present crisis in the world Communist movement as essentially incurable on the basis of the rehabilitation of the existing Communist International."

Is it the tactical question on how to negotiate for readmission into the Communist International? Let us see. While Lovestone carries on negotiations with Comintern representatives in America, his erstwhile allies in Germany, the Brandlerites, write in their resolution:

Brandler's View

"The International Communist Opposition (Right wing—Ed.) and the organizations belonging to it reject the maneuvers of the officials of the C. I. and their sections in approaching individual national organizations, local groups or individual members for the purpose of rejoining, so far as to play them off against one another." (Gegen den Strom, June 18, 1932). This declaration on the part of the Brandlerites gives the lie, by the way, to the Lovestones contention, in their "answer" to us referred to above, that "the unity moves . . . which the C. P. Majority Group (Lovestoneites) have made, have been made with the full knowledge and approval of the German Opposition (Brandlerites) . . ."

Workers' Age, May 21). But this is just another typical trick of the Lovestone fakers and does not surprise anyone who knows them. Lovestone pulled his followers into the Brandlerist camp in the dark of night. There is no reason why he should be expected to pull them out of it by any different methods.

Is it perhaps, we ask ourselves in exhaustion, the tactical question of the attitude towards the Left Opposition that the Right wingers agree on. Even there, no agreement exists. The Lovestone resolution tells us:

"In general, only a few of the Opposition groups have worked out a definite viewpoint on the question of Trotskyism". But it does admit that "in the now expelled minority of the German Opposition and in the group around Neurath in the Czech Opposition, definite and avowed Trotskyist tendencies have become manifest". He merely forgets to mention that the reason why "only a few of the Opposition groups have worked out a definite viewpoint on the question of Trotskyism" is that they are not quite safe with their rank and file on this point.

Finally, the resolution informs us: "There is not sufficient agreement, on the question of Centrism (the Left wing reformists) and the relations of the Opposition towards it . . . in the discussion which arose in the International Communist Opposition (Right wing), the existence of certain uncertainty on and even toleration of centrism in a number of Opposition groups become visible."

The fact that Centrism has been tolerated in a number of groups with which he has been associated for nearly two years does not, however, restrain Lovestone from giving the following, altogether baseless, estimate of the relationship between the Left Opposition and Centrism.

A Right Wing Lie

" . . . Trotsky himself has initiated a deliberate policy of political rapprochement (sic) with the Centrist organizations, a move generally welcomed by the latter. It is not an altogether unfamiliar role for Trotsky to play as the crystallizing force for various Centrist tendencies as a grouping. The political platform of this new Trotskyist alliance can be clearly seen from recent developments (which developments?) : Trotsky lends the Centrists the much needed mantle of revolutionary integrity, while they agree to operate as the West European supporters of the Trotsky faction in the C. P. S. U."

Truly conceived according to the traditional Lovestoneite horse-trade criterion. But comrade Trotsky and the Russian Opposition will thank Lovestone very kindly for this very Lovestoneish "political platform" and remind him that we—the Left Opposition have got an International Center and that it does function and not only "for the transmission of correspondence between the various groups."

The only thing that stands out clearly in this confused, equivocal, characteristically opportunist "Resolution on the International Conference" is the resumption by Lovestone of the fight with all the necessary flourishes, against—"counter-revolutionary Trotskyism", in this document, still—the "counter-revolutionary phase of Trotskyism". The hazy charges of "Thermidorian accusations of Trotskyism against the Soviet State and the C. P. S. U.", with which the Right wing fishermen hope to hook their rank and file bait. The talk about our "acceptance of the possibilities of socialist construction (!) in the U. S. S. R.—is beneath reply. And so on.

Lovestone must ingratiate himself once more with the top sergeants of the Stalin faction. There is no better way for him to do this, there is nothing more palatable of flattery for these subalterns in the cloaks of generals than sustenance in the fight against Trotskyism. And Lovestone is an expert in this.

The negotiations for the re-establishment of the Right-Center bloc are going on full blast. The Right wing is toppling over. No time must be lost.

And so Lovestone makes haste, digs up his old clothes—"principles" and "tactics"—rushes over to the pawnshop of Uncle Stalin, gets the pure coin of a new assignment in the fight against "Trotskyism" and a new lease of political life for himself. But these are hard times. And who knows how long this coin will last?

—SAM GORDON.

Smash Hitler Now

(Continued from page 1)

united front of the Communist party with the Social Democratic Party and the reformist trade unions, are still being taken half-heartedly and in a distorted manner. But a start has been made.

A Complete Revision Needed

If matters are to rest with this "start" the danger will remain in all its force. We already have more than an inkling of what Hitler's victory would mean. The increasing arrogance of the Fascists, the daily assassination of radical workers in the streets, is a foretaste of what the Brown-Shirts would give the workers if they gained power. The negotiations at Lausanne between von Papen and Herriot for the establishment of an alliance which can be directed only against the Soviet Union, is another indication of what Hitler will aim at—for von Papen is only warming the seat of power for the Austrian adventurer. After babbling for years their abstract slogans of "Defend the Soviet Union!" the bureaucrats averred themselves to be incompetent to deal with the most actual threat to the existence of the workers' republic. The best defense of it at the present stage is a smashing defeat of Hitlerism. The latter can only be accomplished by a fundamental, open, serious revision of the criminal policy thus far pursued by Stalinism.

Days count now. The time to fight Hitlerism is not after it has conquered power, but before. The way to fight it is to throw overboard the vaporings about "social fascism" and to set up a genuine united front for the extra-parliamentary mass struggle against Fascism. The Bolshevik pointed the way in 1917. The German Bolsheviks must tread the same path, and do it without delay.

EXTRA! EXTRA! FINE DISCOVERED IN S. L. P.

It is hard to believe it. We simply refuse to believe it. Even the *Weekly People* is in doubt, though the story appeared on the front page of a recent issue of the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party. The story is that the section organizer of the South Bend section of the S. L. P. was arrested and charged with making bombs in co-operation with an individual alleged to be a stool-pigeon for the Bendix corporation. Of course the scandal was immediately expelled from the S. L. P. and the figure in tin can tied to his coat tail. But what bothers the *Weekly People* and indeed ourselves is how in hades did he manage to be elected section organizer in the S. L. P. and what he has been doing there anyhow? As the W. P. truly observes, the S. L. P. is down on anarchists, wobblies and Communists and repeatedly warns the government and all detective agencies that when an S. L. P. member is mistaken for a character dangerous to the existing order he is confused with a couple of other fellows.

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Stalinism's Straits; Opposition's Rise

(Continued from page 1)

ship is decomposing the Communist ranks, destroying the will of some, causing aversion in others.

Redoubled Blows at the Opposition

The settlement for the sins of several periods of epigone errors and crimes is face to face with us. Doomed by history, the Centrist bureaucracy with redoubled efforts clutches after tried methods. Having fallen into a vice between its classes enemies and the consequences of its own crimes, it redoubles, trebles its blows against the Left Opposition.

Seemingly everything has been tried already: vilifications, arrests, exiles, and firing squads. But no! In the Stalinist kitchen new dishes are being prepared from the decoctions and dregs of hatred and perfidy. Not so very long ago, *Pravda* reproduced photographic facsimiles of articles by Polish Fascists, passing out falsifications for the sacred truth. It was only yesterday that *Investia* reprinted with raptures the canards of a German Fascist sheet on the boardings regarding the conspiracy of the Left Opposition with the social democracy. The matter did not rest here. A certain Buechner is writing, on instructions from the Stalinist bureau, a German book in which he attempts to link the Left Opposition with the police. Everything that was written and said in 1917 by the Mensheviks, the Social Revolutionists and the Kadets is here surpassed not only in stupidity but also in villainy.

When demonstrating the inner depravity of Bolshevism, the Mensheviks clutched at least at facts: they cited Maltovsky, a member of the C. E. C. who was put by the police into the State Duma. They cited that the police department assigned its secret agents to sustain that course, which was directed toward a split of the Bolsheviks with the Mensheviks. And finally, they cited that Ludendorff "patronized" Lenin, by bringing him through in a sealed train. The Bolsheviks replied with contempt to the scoundrels who attempted to turn the plots of the police, against the most revolutionary party, into a polemical weapon against that same party. Today Stalin completely repeats the tactics of Maltovsky, Kerenky, Tsereteli, and Dan. With the sole difference that Stalin lacks even a vestige of facts. He manufactures them. The shady personage who writes under the name Buechner, relates that it seems that Trotsky's "Autobiography" is published in Warsaw by the political police. And this canard is published in all languages; on this they desire to educate the Communist youth.

A certain Hungarian Fascist "dedicates" his book to Trotsky, and expresses his ironical "thanks", in which hatred masquerades as wit. What conclusions could one draw from this episode? Did not revolutionists apply, only with greater success, that same method against their class enemies? Did not Lenin print his thanks to the English paper "Times" for some articles, or other, which he utilized in his own way? But there is a scoundrel to be found who in the columns of *Pravda* speaks out on this foundation of a union between Trotsky and the Fascists.

In an article I expressed myself to the effect that Japanese imperialism would hardly dare to throw an open challenge to the Soviet Union before it intrenches itself in Manchuria. In this connection the central organ of the American Communist (!!) Party writes that Trotsky acts in the interests of the Japanese. To explain this away by stupidity would be too superficial; after all, stupidity has its limits. Here we have to deal with a corrupt functionary who will stop at nothing in order to earn his salary. The purport of my article was to the effect that a struggle with the Red Army is too hard a nut for the teeth of Japanese militarism. The General Staff in Tokyo has reasons to believe that I am better able to evaluate the strength of the Red Army than the New York jawpoppers who are under

orders to snap at my calves. It is self-evident, of course, that great world problems are not resolved by isolated articles. But if one was to weigh the influence of articles, then my evaluation of the Red Army and the perspectives of the Soviet-Japanese War could serve in Japan only those elements that desire to hinder the war. But is it possible to answer barking and howling with arguments?

The "United Front": Who with Whom?

These gentlemen depict Rakovsky as an enemy of the Soviet Union. For that, they seek a champion in Barbusse who in turn wants to lean on Vandervelde. With its hat in hand the Stalinist bureaucracy is now begging alms from the petty bourgeois pacifists. And inflexible warriors such as Sosnovsky, heroes of the Civil War, such as Muralov and Gruenstein, such as hundreds and thousands of Bolshevik-Leninists, are in isolation and confinement, bound hand and foot.

Giving us over into the hands of the bourgeois police, the Stalinists declaim about our united front with the bourgeois counter-revolution. But in the eyes of the working class the capitalist governments of the world are aiding Stalin to surround the Oppositionists with a circle of barbed wire. No matter how Stalin's agents lie, this single fact exposes to the ultimate the actual grouping of forces.

They wish to tie us with the Japanese staff and the Polish police. Kerenky in his time tried already to tie up the Bolsheviks with the German staff and the Czarist police. Kerenky proceeded with this all the more licentiously the hotter the ground under his feet became. Today he has found imitators. And of what sort? These people shot down Blumkins and sent out in their stead Agabekovs. We brand the name Agabekov on your foreheads. With this brand you shall walk about to the end of your days.

What does Stalin want? He wants to utilize the war danger for a new and if possible, physical annihilation of Bolshevik-Leninists. Letters from the U. S. S. R., that have reached us lately bear witness to the fact that the Left Opposition is achieving now throughout the entire land a second enrollment. In the industrial centers, in plants, factories and mines a new generation of Bolshevik-Leninists has appeared. Creative ideas do not die. Political facts teach. The Left Opposition has demonstrated that it is unconquerable.

Stalin on the contrary has compromised himself on all sides. During the XVII conference he disgracefully kept silent on all problems. Not a word about the problems of Soviet economy! Not a word about the problems of Soviet economy! Not a word about the situation in Germany! "The Chief" who in the most responsible situations recognizes himself that he had best keep quiet, is a complete political bankrupt. Already

THE BOOK ON CHINA

Revolutionary, Marxist dynamite. That's what *Problems of the Chinese Revolution* is! No one who is not a case-hardened, irredeemable bureaucrat can read it and remain unaffected by it. Its argument, supported by documents, is conclusive, unanswerable.

The story of how the documents came into our hands reads like a piece of detective fiction. Suppressed speeches, documents smuggled out of the U. S. S. R., the proceedings of a whole plenum suppressed, articles written for *Pravda* and circulated illegally, all these are contained for the first time in their entirety—in any language—in *Problems of the Chinese Revolution*.

Its publication is a significant achievement from the point of view of revolutionary publications. No publishing house to our knowledge has ever put out a work of this size at this price. Its low price is no accident. The book is priced so low because of the absolute necessity of spreading it far and wide in the shortest possible time.

in the circles closest to Stalin—we are written from Moscow—the functionaries are ironically whispering "Hladn! we better ask for instructions from Rakovsky or Trotsky?" Out of this bureaucratic impotence has been born the most recent international campaign against the Left Opposition.

The work done by the Bolshevik-Leninists has not been done in vain. The fundamental documents and works of the Left Opposition have been issued in all languages of the civilized and semi-civilized world. In tens of countries there exist Oppositionist cadres that are to the marrow of their bones saturated with conviction in their correctness and in their historic right to victory. A great and an ineradicable conquest!

Unable to answer our criticism, enmeshed in contradictions, convicted by events, forced to keep quiet on the basic problems of politics, the Stalinist clique is making a final attempt to separate us from the official Communist parties by a criminological-political novel, the lucretude of which in no wise palliates its villainy.

The Stalinists by their persecutions would like to push us on the road of a second party and the Fourth International. They understand that a fatal error of this type on the part of the Opposition, if it would not nullify altogether all its successes, would for years slow up its ascent. To counterpose oneself inimically to the Communist parties would mean under the given conditions to fulfill the program of the centrist bureaucracy. No, that is not our road! The intrigues of Stalin, his Buechners and his Agabekovs, exposed and unexposed, will not force us to change our course. We stand on the soil of the first four Congresses of the Comintern, and the doctrines and traditions of Bolshevism. The lessons of the October revolution, we and only we are applying to all the tasks of the world proletariat. Over our heads waves the banner of the Third International. We lay all claim to its historical inheritance.

The Opposition is Invincible!

Proletarian politics knows neither the feeling of chagrin nor the feeling of revenge. It is directed by revolutionary expediency. Before the working masses of the U. S. S. R. and of the entire world the Bolshevik-Leninists repeat, "Today, as on the day when we first raised the voice of warning against the epigone bureaucracy, we are ready to a man to place ourselves at the disposal of the Comintern and of the Soviet state for the most common, the most onerous, and the most dangerous work. We are bound thereby to preserve steadfastly the discipline of action. Our condition is this alone: within the framework of the Comintern we must have the possibility of defending our ideas, i. e., the ideas of Marxism, in conformance with the elementary principles of party democracy."

We know that the Stalinists will not accept our proposal: they lack the guts for it. In order to agree to it, they must not be afraid of us. But therein is the whole business. It is the fear of the Left Opposition that is at present one of the most important springs of activity of the utterly compromised apparatus.

We seek not friendship with the bureaucracy but a fighting collaboration with the proletarian vanguard. In reply to provocations and the abject plots of the Stalinists, the Bolshevik-Leninists will come more closely to the Communist mass. As before, so now, our adherents will not limit themselves to exposing political mistakes and the crimes of leadership. Hand in hand with the rank and file of the party members they will fight for the banner of Communism—in the strike, in the street demonstration, in the election campaign, and in the more decisive battles when their hour shall strike.

Stalin may be able to make short shrift of individual Bolsheviks. But he will not strangle Bolshevism. The victory of the Left Opposition is assured by history. Frinkip, June 10, 1932.

—L. TROTSKY.

STALIN'S POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY

By Leon Trotsky

(Continued from last issue)

17. Forcing his way through from abroad at last, Lenin reads and fulminates against the "Kautskianist" *Pravda* (Lenin's own expression). Stalin steps aside. At the time when Kamenev defends himself, Stalin remains silent. Gradually, he enters on the new official line laid down by Lenin. But we cannot find one independent thought, one generalization over which it is worth stopping. When circumstances permit, Stalin stands between Kamenev and Lenin. Thus, four days before the October overturn, when Lenin demanded the expulsion of Zinoviev and Kamenev, Stalin declared in *Pravda* that he didn't see any principle difference (See in the same issue the article, "An Owl in a Sack").

18. Stalin did not occupy an independent position during the period of the Brest negotiations. He wavered, waited and remained silent. At the last moment he voted for Lenin's proposals. Stalin's confused and helpless position at that period is sufficiently clearly, though not fully characterized by even

the officially dressed up report of the C. C. (See "An Owl in a Sack").

19. In the period of the civil war, Stalin was against the principles laid down as a basis for the creation of the Red Army, and behind the scenes, inspired the so-called "military" opposition against Lenin and Trotsky. Facts bearing on this are partly set forth in Trotsky's "Autobiography" (Vol. 2, page 167, "Military Opposition"). See also Markin's article in No. 12-13, *Bulletin of the Russian Opposition*, page 36.

20. In 1922, during Lenin's illness and Trotsky's leave of absence, Stalin, under the influence of Sokolnikov, carries a resolution undermining the monopoly of foreign trade. Thanks to the vigorous protests of Lenin and Trotsky this resolution was withdrawn (see "A Letter to the Bureau of Party History" by Trotsky).

21. In the same period, on the national question, Stalin occupies a position which Lenin accuses of bureaucratic and chauvinistic tendencies. Stalin, on his part, accuses Lenin of national liberalism (see "A Letter to the Bureau

of Party History" by Trotsky).

22. What was Stalin's conduct on the question of the German revolution in 1923? Here again, as in March 1917, he had to orient himself independently in a question on a large scale: Lenin was ill, a struggle was being waged against Trotsky. Here is what Stalin wrote to Zinoviev and Bucharin in August 1923 about the situation in Germany: "Should the Communists (at the present stage) strive to seize power without the social democracy are ripe for this already,—this in my opinion is the question. On seizing the power we had in Russia such reserves as: (a) peace, (b) land to the peasants, (c) the support of the great majority of the working class, (d) the sympathy of the peasantry. The German Communists have nothing like this now. True, they have the Soviet Union as a neighbor which we didn't have, but what can we give them at this moment? If now in Germany the power, so to say, will fall and the Communists will seize it, they will fall through with a crash. This is the 'best' case. And in the worst—they'll be smashed to bits and thrown back. The thing is not in this, that Brandler wants to teach the masses, but that the bourgeoisie plus the Right social democracy would surely turn this teaching demonstration into a general slaughter (at present they have all the chances for it) and would destroy them. Certainly the Fascists are not napping, but it is more advantageous to us for the Fascists to attack first: this will rally the whole working class around the Communists. (Germany is not Bulgaria). Besides, the Fascists in Germany, according to the data we have, are

weak. In my estimation the Germans must be restrained, not spurred on."

In this manner, in August 1923, when the German revolution was knocking at all doors, Stalin reckoned that Brandler had to be restrained, not spurred on. For missing the revolutionary situation in Germany Stalin carries the weightiest share of the responsibility. He supported the procrastinators, the sceptics, the delayers in Germany. In a question of world-wide historical importance he not accidentally took an opportunist position: in reality he only continued that policy which in March 1917 he conducted in Russia.

23. After the revolutionary situation was ruined by passivity and indecision, Stalin for a long time defended the Brandlerist C. C. against Trotsky. In this way defending himself. Thus December 17, 1924—a year after the wreck in Germany—Stalin wrote: "This peculiarity must not be forgotten for a moment. It particularly has to be remembered in analyzing the events in the fall of 1923. First of all it has to be remembered by comrade Trotsky who indiscriminately (!) traces an analogy (!!) between the October revolution and the revolution in Germany, and unceasingly flays the German Communist party" (Questions of Leninism, 1928 edition, Page 171).

In this manner Trotsky was guilty in those days of flaying Brandlerism and not patronizing it. From this it is clearly seen how fit are Stalin and his Molotov for the struggle against the Rights in Germany.

24. The year 1924—a year of great turn. In the spring of this year Stalin

still repeats the old formulas about the impossibility of building socialism in one country, and a backward one at that.

In the fall of the same year he breaks with Marx and Lenin in the fundamental question of the proletarian revolution and constructs his theory of socialism in a single country. Properly speaking this theory was nowhere unfolded or even expounded in a positive form by Stalin. It is based on two deliberately falsified quotations from Lenin. To not a refutation of it has Stalin responded. The theory of socialism in one country has an administrative not a theoretical basis.

25. In the same year Stalin creates a theory of a dual composition, i. e., a two class party of workers and peasants for the East. This is a break with Marxism and the entire history of Bolshevism in the fundamental question of the class character of the party. Even the Comintern in 1923 was compelled to retreat from a theory that for a long time ruined the Communist parties of the East. But the great discovery continues to figure even today in Stalin's "Questions of Leninism."

26. In the same year, Stalin conducts the subordination of Chinese Communism to the bourgeois party, the Kuo Min Tang, designating the latter as the "worker's and peasants' party" according to the model invented by himself. The Chinese workers and peasants are politically enslaved to the bourgeoisie by the authority of the Comintern. Stalin organized in China that division of labor which Lenin prevented him from organizing in Russia in 1917: Chinese workers and peasants are "communist" and

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Kai Shek is "consolidated". Stalin's

policy was the direct and immediate cause of the wreck of the Chinese revolution.

27. Stalin's position—his zig zags—on the questions of Soviet economy are too fresh in the memory of our readers and we therefore do not stop to comment on them here.

28. In conclusion we recall Lenin's Testament. It is not a question of a polemical article or speech in which one can justifiably surmise unavoidable exaggerations flowing from the heated struggle. No, in the Testament Lenin, calmly weighing each word, gives his last advice to the party, appraising each of his co-workers on the basis of the entire experience of their work together. What does he say about Stalin? (a) "rude", (b) "disloyal", (c) inclined to "misuse of power". Deduction: "to be removed from the post of general secretary."

A few weeks later Lenin dictated a note to Stalin in which he declared his intention of "breaking off all personal and comradely relations" with him. This was one of the last expressions of Lenin's will. All these facts are established in the records of the July plenum of the C. C. of 1927.

Such are some of the landmarks of Stalin's political biography. They give a sufficiently complete picture in which energy, will and determination are combined with empiricism, near-sightedness, organic inclination to opportunist decisions in big questions, personal rudeness, disloyalty and a readiness to abuse power

ON THE SPOT

LET'S SHAKE HANDS ON THIS

This is not good hot weather stuff but even during the glare of an election campaign and the fury of peace proclamations there are indications that some of our best professors are devoting their brains to serious thinking. The French Academy of Science, than which there is none more savant, approved by a majority vote that it is safer from the hygienic point of view to osculate than to shake hands. The learned doctors blamed this hygienic deviation on the unfortunate germ who is unable to speak up for himself but we dare to state that the doctors simply prefer to kiss than to shake hands.

SMITH MAY KEEP HIS SHIRT ON

When Al Smith, lost leader of the Democratic Party, issued his expected statement pledging fealty to the Democracy in the election campaign, he avoided mention of the presidential candidate as if Franklin D. Roosevelt were Martin Luther running on the platform of the Prohibition Party. Four years ago when Al got the nomination at the Houston convention, William Gibbs McAdoo, his old rival, announced that he was going to take off his coat for Al and Democracy. Instead he put on a new suit and took a boat to Paris where he stayed until the weather got cooler in the United States. If the working class voters who work themselves into a lather over the confidence men of the capitalist parties took of their coats to work for Communism in the election campaign and all the year around before long the genus capitalist politician would be issuing statements from the zoo.

OLIVE IS WASTING HER OIL

In an effort to lubricate the Du Pont soul, Mrs. Olive Johnson, editor of the Weekly People, writes an open letter to the powder barons. Of course she probably believes that the bourgeoisie of this country, like the ruling classes of all times will not surrender their power without a violent struggle, but just a letter from the editor of the Weekly People might induce those dynamite gentlemen to step down gracefully. Perhaps they manufacture dynamite in order to provide employment, and promote wars with the same worthy aim in view. It is too bad people get killed in the process. It is also too bad Mrs. Johnson did not make her appeal to the exploited wage slaves of Du Pont. They would probably pay at least as much attention to it as the T. N. T. mahatmas.

WHOEVER WINS WE ARE FOR THIS FIGHT

We are informed that there was a wild session at the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the American Legion of New York County over the bonus question. The Legion bosses fought hard to prevent the passage of the resolution for payment but their patriotic efforts were of no avail and we must announce with great regret that those boys (hic, hic, horror) who fought for their country in France and even in Paris, insisted on demanding now what they were only supposed to get when they were dead or damned near it. I feel as keenly about the Legionnaires fight for a bonus as I do for the troubles of the King of Siam who had his fun and still is having a lot of it if my spies correctly report on him, and in a fight between a bunch of patriots who were organized to smash the labor movement and their bosses who organized them but now refuse to pay them for their patriotism, I am somewhat like the Irishman who was neutral in the late war, "I am not for England nor against Germany."

THE RASCALLY POOR SIMPLY WON'T BE GOOD

The nawty report is hitched on to a drive for funds but there is reason to believe that the moral turpitude of the working class knows no bounds. In the years of prosperity—write your own editorial about that—they went around riding in automobiles, wearing silks and satins and indulging in other debaucheries which were supposed to be strictly within the domain of the ruling classes. But it seems they are bound to sin in periods of depression as well as in periods of prosperity. The Salvation Army is raising a fund and in the press agent's report that I have on my desk, or whatever you want to call it, the heart appeal is based on the amazing fact that this is the most bastardly year in the history of this country. We have no objection to the bar sinister at all. In fact before our respectability became so shocking we used to quote with great gusto the axiom used by a Monarch of England when he was repulsed by the daughter of the Earl of Warwick. "A king's bastard is a house's pride," quoth he. Yes, there were kings in those days. But anyhow the working class should have more sympathy for the Salvation Army than they seem to have.

—RIDE.

A WARNING OUT OF THE PAST

There has recently been an increase in the number of violent physical encounters between members of the Communist party on the one hand, and members of other labor organizations on the other. On several occasions, organized groups of party members have attempted to break up meetings of the Left Opposition—only quite recently at Wilkins and Intervale Avenues, Bronx. At the same corner, a number of nights later, a violent battle took place between members of the Communist and Socialist parties at an S. P. meeting. On another evening, a similar fight took place at a socialist meeting at a downtown corner of Second Avenue in New York. In still other places, meetings of the Lovestone group have been disrupted by organized groups of opponents.

Should such a course be perpetuated, it can bring only the greatest discredit and harm to the Communist cause in general and to the party in particular. A stern warning throughout the party ranks against such an attitude towards working class opponents, and particularly towards the socialist workers, must immediately be issued so that everybody may know that the Communists will not take any responsibility for street fighting of any kind between workers.

In 1925, a severe crisis broke out in the German Communist party. The ultra-Leftist line of the party leadership, originally inspired by the Comintern chiefs themselves, produced the inevitable disastrous results for the party. The party had become increasingly isolated from the non-Communist masses. A huge wall had been erected between the

Communist and socialist workers—to the tremendous satisfaction of the socialist leaders. Innumerable cases were recorded of fights in the streets and halls between both sides, which only further alienated the socialist workers from the party.

So harmful had such a development become that the Executive Committee of the Communist International was compelled to refer to it publicly, before the whole working class of Germany, in its famous Open Letter to the German party in the middle of 1925. We quote a significant passage:

"In order really to find a path to the best section of the German social democratic workers, a struggle must be launched against those excesses which originate in the period when the struggle was conducted with arms in hand. The greatest harm to the cause of the working class is brought, for example, by cases of mutual fights between Communists and social democrats (at meetings, among the youth, etc.), which still take place to this very day, for which the social democrats are to blame without the Communists being blameless either. Such mutual fights play right into the hands of the counter-revolutionary leaders of the German social democracy, and there leaders naturally instigate deliberately such a struggle. The Communists must take the initiative for a final elimination of such phenomena, which naturally presupposes the good will of the social democratic workers."

With little change, this entirely sound and necessary advice of 1925 applies to the American party at the present time.

It is quite ludicrous to read the lamentations of the socialist press about the party's disruption of S. P. meetings, especially when it is remembered that the Hillquits were the first to introduce violence as a means of settling their disputes with the Left wing, not only inside the party in 1919, but in the trade unions under their control; and further, that the socialists in power have not hesitated a moment to crush the Communists under an iron heel. At the same time, the falsifications in the official party press about the increasing encounters do not conceal the well-known fact that the party not only encourages hooligan disruption of opponent meetings, but frequently initiates and organizes them. Workers who are moving towards Communism—non-party workers as well as rank and file Left wingers in the S. P.—are repelled from the party by such conduct. They are caught once more by the reaction, and so far as the Socialist party is concerned, Hillquit owes more to the criminal stupidity of the Stalinists than he thinks.

The party which talks today about "overcoming our isolation", must call a halt immediately, openly and in unmistakable terms. The lessons of 1925 must not be allowed to pass by without leaving clear traces on the consciousness of the Communist workers. Those who are seriously concerned with the movement will repeat the warning of the past and demand that it be heeded today.

Put an end to hooliganism and street fighting between workers of different views! Burn such a disgraceful method out of the revolutionary movement!

Five Expelled from Y.C.L.

Chicago Communist Youth Fight Campaign against Opposition

CHICAGO.—

The expulsion of four members of the Young Communist League, and the exclusion of one more, for refusing to denounce the Left Opposition as counter-revolutionary, and for conducting a fight against the paralyzing bureaucracy in the League follows right after the expulsion some months ago of comrades Satir, Gould and Andras. Unable to refute the telling charges of incompetence and bureaucracy, in the League, the petty functionaries have resorted to their classic reply: expulsions. The ideas of the Left Opposition, which the Stalinists have sought to repress by force, are making their way to the Communist workers and particularly the younger, militant comrades. The new addition of forces accruing to the Left Opposition in this case is a most welcome and significant sign of the progress we are making.

The expulsion of the comrades in question brought forward the following statement signed by all of them. We urge all comrades in the League and Party to take up this question and demand an end to the destructive, bureaucratic policy of suppression of Communist opinion within the movement.

STATEMENT OF THE EXPULSIONS OF PERN, BARSHEVSKY, SOLD, AND HANKIN AND THE EX- CLUSION OF FAREFIELD TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE:

Last July at the District convention of the Y. C. L. a group of comrades presented a series of criticisms regarding the intolerable situation in the League and condemned the bureaucratic activities of the leadership. These criticisms were confirmed by the Young Communist International in its resolution on the American League. The Y. C. L. although it condemned the Satir group by name, was forced to make the same criticism of the American leadership as was made by that group. Comrade Satir, Gould and Andras, leading comrades of District No. 8 were expelled by the bureaucrats so that their incompetence might not be exposed and that they might remain at their sinecures.

The criticisms of these comrades were:

1. Rooting ourselves in the factories
2. Against bureaucracy.
3. Raising the ideological level of the League
4. Insufficient anti-militarist work and numerous other points.

Again the bureaucratic and terroristic leadership has manifested itself not only in wholesale expulsions but also in the exclusion from membership of Dave Fairfield.

The latest victims of the bureaucratic and terroristic lash are Phil Sold, Irving Bern, Yetta Barshkevsky, Dave Fairfield and H. Hankin.

Phil Sold, organizer of the Lake Street Unit and very active among the young Negro workers was expelled six months ago for fraternizing with Satir and Gould, whom he considered revolutionaries of high standing and for refusing to condemn without study the Left Opposition. He has applied for readmittance, and upon maintaining his stand was refused reinstatement.

Bern and Barshkevsky, both young Communists who have proven themselves

active sincere fighters since pioneer age, and who have been brought up to believe in Leninist democratic centralism have been expelled for

- (1) fighting the bureaucracy, which is undermining the Y. C. L. and is so detrimental to the League's growth as a leader of the working class youth.
- (2) Refusing to denounce as counter-revolutionary comrades who have proven themselves sincere fighters. (Satir and Gould)
- (3) They dared to study the question of the Left Opposition.
- (4) These two comrades refused to condemn the Left Opposition as counter-revolutionary since the Y. C. L. leadership had failed to prove the incorrectness of certain policies of this group.

Dave Fairfield, a young comrade who after being convinced by members of the Tukey fraction applied for membership in the Y. C. L. and was refused admittance because he dared to question the policies of the Y. C. L. This especially illustrates the bureaucratic attitude of the leadership, since comrade Fairfield was refused the right to study both sides of the question. Furthermore, in spite of the fact that the leadership was unable to prove wherein the counter-revolutionary tendencies or activities of the comrades lay, they insisted that Fairfield condemn Bern and Barshkevsky as counter-revolutionaries.

Comrade Hankin, a new member of the League had several misconceptions of Negro work. Upon being shown his error he quickly, sincerely and openly recognized his mistake and condemned his previous stand at an open meeting. The comrades of his unit, especially the Negro comrades, greeted this frank speech with loud applause. Yet, for questioning the position of the Y. C. L. on the expelled comrades and the Left Opposition he was expelled as a white chauvinist.

Hoover & Unemployment

Republican Party Platform Ignores Vital Problem of Jobless

More than 13,000,000 men pound the pavements of plentiful America, out of work, with no hope of finding employment. Both the conservative Department of Labor and William Green, president of the A. F. L. corroborate these high figures of unemployment. All data published to date point to a daily increase of the jobless army.

It is no longer a matter of being jobless for a few weeks. These weeks have turned into months, and the months are rapidly becoming years. The prospects for work are as slight as the greatly reduced wages. The crowds at the factory gates are dwindling into mere handfuls. Even the brazen lies of Henry Ford, of putting thousands back on the job attract far less attention from the unemployed than they did some months ago. The most glibly begin to eye these deceptive statements with suspicion. One finds the curious anomaly in the want ad sections of the newspapers. It is no more the bosses who ask for "help". Today the workers spend their last dollars in advertisements, begging, pleading,

imploping some kindly capitalist to give them employment.

Jobless in Extreme Need

Two years ago unemployment meant the loss of a few luxuries. One could manage to exist without a radio and an automobile. But as the crisis continued, the lack of a job forced the worker to make payments on his home, and tens of thousands have gone under the auctioneer's hammer. Whatever savings the worker possessed have either been used up or have passed into the bankers' hands in the innumerable bank crashes. For some time, thousands of jobless have been kept afloat by assistance from more fortunate friends and relatives. But this situation is coming to an end, if it is not already concluded. The proletarian friends and relatives have been cast into the workless army. Or, if still working, their wages have been cut so low, that not only is assistance impossible, but they themselves are in dire need of relief of some sort. The picture is changing. The unemployed are ceasing to look for

(Continued on page 2)

Socialist Edict Paves Road for Hitlerites

Communists Must Form United Front Now

While the danger of a Fascist victory in Germany becomes increasingly accentuated, the social democrats are playing their classic role of restraining the workers from any concerted mass action to crush the Hitlerite viper before it is too late. Under the guise of opposing a concentration of Fascist power, the social democratic leaders are working hand in hand with the reaction to prevent "violence on both sides"—that is, to prevent the workers from uniting militantly against the Nazis. A special cablegram to the New York Times of July 14 gives the following significant report about Severing, the social democratic minister of the Interior for Prussia:

"While Baron Wilhelm von Gayl, Reich minister of the Interior, was on his way to confer with President von Hindenburg at Neudeck in East Prussia on what was to be done about the carnage in connection with the election campaign, Carl Severing, the Prussian Interior Minister, issued orders today forbidding local police authorities to allow demonstrations and meetings unless they were sure that a sufficient police force was available to stifle violence at its first sign. The edict stipulated that the police must be adequate not only to control assemblies but to provide safe conduct

home for all participants as well as to restrain them from committing acts of violence after the meeting's dispersal.

"Herr Severing's orders rest on the last presidential emergency decree, which made political demonstrations reportable to the police in advance."

Such an edict can apply essentially only to the Communists, even though ostensibly it is to include Fascist meetings as well. The Fascists are now under the direct protection of the federal government, which has removed the most important bans that existed prior to the formation of the von Papen government. The police administrations are shot through with Hitlerites and sympathizers. The Fascists are already organized on an efficient military basis, with strong support from the Reichswehr. They can be checked only by the united manifestation of working class strength in the country. By a "fair" opposition to "all" demonstrations, the social democratic priesthood is really playing right into the hands of Fascism, clearing the streets of proletarian demonstrations so that Hitler may have a clearer road to power.

At the same time, the Stalinist leaders are playing a dangerous game of hide-and-seek with the key to the whole situation—the united front of all the workers against the Nazis. Under the crushing weight of the situation, the fantastic theory of "social-Fascism" is being slowly shattered. But the desire to maintain the bureaucratic prestige of the party leaders prevents them from throwing the whole business overboard, bag and baggage, publicly, frankly, so that all the militants may understand the why and wherefore and be able to act accordingly. The situation cries out imperatively for clear-cut policies. The Stalinists are fooling around.

In some sections, the party has made a shameful turn towards the united front policy. In Berlin, it has gone so far as to address itself to the social democratic party. Why in Berlin and not nationally? Does "social-Fascism" hold good federally but not locally? Can a real united front be fought for if the old theory which prevented it is kept in reserve?

The half-measures being taken now are worse than no measures at all, in one sense, because it makes confusion worse confounded. In 1925, the Executive Committee of the Communist International had to declare to the ultra-Leftists in the German party, in connection with the Hindenburg-monarchist danger, which was far from being as acute as the Fascist danger today:

"The Red Front Fighters League must address an open letter to the Reichsbanner with the proposal for a common struggle against the monarchists. Our slogan is: Wherever you will fight against the monarchists, we shall support you unconditionally. . . . It is necessary to adopt a new tone towards the social democratic workers, emphasizing with all strength the readiness of holding back much of what separates the Communist party from the social democratic workers in the name of the common struggle against the monarchist danger. . . . It is necessary to make clear to all the members of the German C. P. and all workers that the main thing is the approachment to the social democratic workers in the factories." (Imprecort, June 16, 1925.)

While some of the formulations contained here are not entirely accurate, the spirit applies a hundredfold stronger to the present situation. A plain, public, candid turn completely away from the miserable theory of "social-Fascism". A recognition in full of the Opposition's proposal for a united front of the Communist and social democratic parties against the Fascist danger, a united front that will mobilize the million-masses of Germany's proletariat not only against Hitler and Co., but also against the treacherous policy of the socialist leadership. The party leadership which has already accumulated a menacing heap of blunders, must be driven to the wall on the question. The Communist workers in this country must lend their support to the policy we advocate.

It is not too late yet but neither is there too much time. Events are moving with express speed, and the party's policy must be changed accordingly. Fascism must be crushed now!

NEW YORK BRANCH PICNIC

The New York Branch of the Communist League of America will hold a picnic at Tibbetts Brook Park, on Sunday, August 7th. It is planned to get all members, friends and sympathizers of the Left Opposition in New York to attend.

Keep the date open. Watch The Militant for further information.

Leon Trotsky -- THE BARBUSSE CONGRESS

Dear Comrades:

I have before me the June 4 number of the Paris Magazine Monde. Monde is published by Barbusse and serves at the present time as the central organ for the convocation of the "great Anti-War Congress". On the third page of this magazine there is an extract from an appeal by Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse. The character and spirit of the appeal are sufficiently clear from the following words: "We call upon all people, all groups, regardless of their political affiliations and all labor organizations—cultural, social and trade union—upon all forces and all mass organizations! Let all join us in the International Congress of War against War."

Then follows a passage from a letter addressed by Rolland to Barbusse: "I am wholly of the opinion that the Congress should be open to all parties and non-partisans on a common basis of sincere and determined struggle against war." Further on, Rolland expresses his agreement with Barbusse, that the first place in this struggle should be occupied by the working class. Still further, we read the first list of those who have joined the Congress. It consists of radical and half-radical French and German writers, pacifists, members of the League of the Rights of Man, and so forth.

This is followed by an aphorism from the well-known Emile Vandervelde. "Everywhere war gives birth to . . . explosions of revolutionary dissatisfaction on the one hand and the rapid reaction of fanatical nationalism on the other. It is of the utmost necessity that the internationalists unite their forces closely in order to prevent war."

Finally, after these words by Vandervelde, quoted from the socialist journal Le Peuple of May 29, 1932, we read a quotation from the central organ of the French Communist party, l'Humanite, of May 31, 1932: "Reply 'Present!' to the call of Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse for participation in the International Congress at Geneva."

In the last issue of La Vie Ouvriere, the central organ of the Unitary General Confederation of Labor, there is an article in which complete agreement is expressed with the initiative taken by Rolland and Barbusse.

The picture is now perfectly clear. The French Communist Party and the trade union organization led by it, stand behind the initiators of the Congress. Behind French Communism stands the leadership of the Comintern. What is involved is the danger of a new world war. In the struggle against this danger it is necessary to utilize also the fellow-travellers, who appear or may appear to be, to a certain extent, the most honest and determined in the ranks of the petty bourgeois pacifists. However, this is in any case a question of tertiary or still lesser importance. The initiative in this matter, it would seem, should be taken before the eyes of the international proletariat, by the Comintern and Profintern. The most important problem is the successful attraction to our side of the working masses of the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals. As a

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Republican Platform and Unemployment

(Continued from page 1)

for jobs—they are seeking relief, food and shelter.

The coming winter shows no signs of improvement. More people will be out of work. Death from starvation will threaten every proletarian family. But before the commencement of the winter season, an election campaign will be conducted. Four parties, Republican, Democrat, Socialist and Communist, have drawn up platforms and nominated presidential candidates who stand on these platforms. With more than one-fourth of the American working class out of work, there can be no doubt as to the main issue of the campaign. It is **unemployment**. The acid test for the parties is their stand on this burning question. What have they to offer the jobless in their platforms? What have their actions been in obtaining relief for the unemployed? This article will deal with the record and the stand of the Republican party on this problem.

What have the Republicans done for the jobless? One word can sum up their deeds—nothing. They were elected on the promise of eternal prosperity. One year passed and their prosperity bubble burst.

For almost a year following the stock crash, with industry shutting down and layoffs rising to the millions, their main occupation was pulling the wool over the eyes of the people. There was no crisis, Hoover said. It was only a temporary fluctuation. Then—when it became impossible to deny what was so obvious, Hoover had another gag. It would all be over in 60 or 90 days. Or if these predictions proved false—then prosperity was around the corner. Like Diogenes who looked in vain for an honest man, the American workers are searching for this corner.

Hoover's Grand Scheme

But even if thousands of workers at the start, might have been inclined to believe in the shams of the "great engineer", he himself placed no stock in them. He embarked on a "grandiose program". The papers were full of it for days. \$500,000,000 was invested in a huge "public works" scheme. Millions of men were to be returned to work. Result—a huge fizzle. And the jobless army kept growing. Wall-Street-Hoover admits today in vetoing the Wagner-Garner "relief bill" that—\$300,000,000 will only give jobs to a mere one hundred thousand men.

The next publicity scheme (the only thing the unemployed got out of the Republican administration) was the "stagger system". The Republican platform says that this scheme of "part time employment—limited unemployment". It yielded nothing of the kind. Every succeeding month showed an increase in the number of men thrown out of work. What it really did was to cut the standard of wages in half. And you may be sure, the bosses are thankful.

To the Hunger March on Washington that demanded unemployment insurance, Hoover responded with an emphatic No. And to give force to his statement the Capital was surrounded by the militia armed with all the weapons of modern warfare.

But this wasn't enough. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation was organized. The purpose of this institution was to hand out a subsidy of over a billion dollars to the banks and the railroads. They were supposed to start the wheels of industry turning with this money. So Hoover said. The bankers and railroad magnates, however, took the money and divided it among themselves, under the high sounding title of "overdue liabilities".

Relief "Un-American"

The Republicans say in their platform that federal relief is un-American; only local relief is permitted. Hardly a month had passed since the platform was adopted and a bill is passed giving federal relief to states in need, to the tune of three hundred million dollars. And this is to be divided among the unemployed and their families who total over forty million people. Even if all the red tape were eliminated it would amount to scarcely ten dollars per person. And this for a whole year!

In a platform of more than twenty thousand words hardly a hundred are devoted to unemployment. To the demand for social insurance, the Republicans give lectures on "rugged American individualism". To the cry for relief they answer with platitudes about "courage, fortitude and patience". Starve—but starve quietly! They boast to their masters that there have been "few strikes and social disturbances" under their regime. They will eat these words yet!

Is any more proof necessary? The Republican party remains the most conscious and willing agents of the exploiters of the working class.

We must organize to destroy both the Republicans and the capitalist system which they represent. We must vote **Communist** as a sign that we understand the first task in our historic mission.

—CLARKE.

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I See War With Germany

by **LEON TROTSKY**

Opposition Challenge Still Unanswered

June 25, 1932.

Communist Party,
New Jersey District 7,
7 Charlton Street
Newark, New Jersey.
Dear Comrades:

On June 11th, a mass meeting was held under the auspices of the Friends of the Soviet Union, in Newark. At this meeting a report was made by the delegation which recently returned from a visit to the Soviet Union. One of the speakers, comrade Leo Petrovsky, who is also a leading party member, made a report in which he attacked the International Left Opposition and especially comrade Leon Trotsky.

The members of the Newark branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) protested his remarks and proposed that an open discussion be arranged on the platform of the International Left Opposition. Our proposition was accepted by comrade Rostovsky in behalf of the party. We therefore request that you appoint a committee to meet with our committee and make arrangements for organizing this discussion which in our opinion will help materially to clarify the confusion that exists in the Communist ranks with regard to the policies of the Left Opposition which have been slandered, misrepresented and distorted by the Party leadership and in the Party press.

With Communist Greetings,
LOUIS NAGY,
Secretary of the Newark Branch,
Communist League of America
(Opposition)

Pioneer Publishers Notes

In a short two weeks What Next by comrade Trotsky will be off the press. The timeliness of the work makes us confident that we are going to hang up a record for quick sales. We are making every effort to achieve this result. In next week's issue we expect to be able to make a significant announcement about the price which will make our first expectation almost a certainty. Watch for it!

The book will run to about one hundred and eighty pages and will be both paper and cloth bound. It will be up to our publishing standard in appearance and work. Arrangements are being made to ship them out against orders immediately they come off the press.

Coming on the heels of the **Problems of the Chinese Revolution**, the publication of **What Next** marks a high point in our publishing activities. But we are not stopping with this significant achievement. We are already preparing for our next publication. From this time forth we expect to issue a steady stream of works by the teachers and leaders, both living and dead, of the international revolutionary movement. In a short time we will announce what our next publication will be.

BOUND VOLUMES
Our small supply of the bound volumes of comrade Trotsky's pamphlets is getting steadily smaller. In these bound volumes are contained three earlier works by comrade Trotsky which are out of print and are unobtainable except in these bound volumes. These are: **The Turn in the C. I. and the Situation in Germany** which deals with the question of social-fascism; **World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan**, which deals with the question of economic collaboration with Soviet Union; and **The Draft Program of the Comintern** which deals with the question of socialism in one country. We may reprint one or all of these works. If we do it will be some time in the future. In the meantime the only opportunity our comrades and readers have to read and study these important works is in the bound volumes. And these are going fast.

Publications in Foreign Languages
A number of the works which we advertise in England are also obtainable from us in Jewish, Russian, Italian and Spanish. Comrades who read English with difficulty or feel more at home in their native languages should apply to us for information about these publications. We may not be able to fill every order but we will try.

Earn A Free Copy of Problems of the Chinese Revolution
Have you read **Problems of the Chinese Revolution**? How many copies have you sold? Comrades who are unemployed and cannot afford to buy a copy can easily earn a copy by getting orders for four paper bound copies. Upon receipt of orders for four copies we will send the remittance free a copy for yourself. This offer holds until further notice. It applies, of course, only to orders for the book itself. That is, it does not apply to Militant subs with which the book is given as a premium.

Now comrades, this is your opportunity! We are of the opinion still that no worker who has a dollar can refuse to buy this work when all its qualities are explained to him. Our experience here confirms us in our opinion. If you go to it you can do it.

at Tibbetts Brook Park failed to raise any substantial sum of money. A number of youth comrades and friends were there but few adult sympathizers cooperated.

Comrades should send in donations for the Spanish youth comrades so as to help them put out their monthly magazine, **Young Spartacus**.

The Club will hold a camp-fire at Palisades, Saturday evening July 23rd, comrades will meet on the New York side of the 125th St. ferry at 8:30 P. M. All comrades invited.

World politics have at present two focal points unusually remote from each other: one on the Mukden-Peking line, the other on the Berlin-Munich. Either one of these points of infection is enough to destroy the "normal" course of events on our planet for years—for decades. However, the day-by-day work of the diplomats and official politicians looks as though nothing unusual were happening. It looked the same along in 1912 during the Balkan War which was the overture to 1914.

For some reason—grossly slandering an intelligent bird—people call this an ostrich policy. The ornamental decision adopted by the League of Nations on the Manchurian question is a document of impotence without equal even in the history of European diplomacy: no self-respecting ostrich could possibly sign his name to it. This blindness—in some cases, of course, quite voluntary — to what is preparing in the Far East, has at least this mitigating circumstance: that events there will develop at a comparatively slow pace. The East, although awakening to a new life, is still far from the "American", and even the European, tempo.

Germany is a different matter. The blind alley into which Europe, Balkanized at Versailles, has now run finds a concentrated expression in Germany, where it has taken the political form of "National-Socialism." In the language of social psychology this political tendency might be described as an epidemic hysteria of despair among the intermediate classes: the ruined small trader, craftsman, and peasant; in part, too, the unemployed proletarian; the officer and non-commissioned officer of the great war, still wearing the symbols of distinction but without rations; the clerk of the closed-up office; the bookkeeper of the bankrupt bank; the engineer without occupation; the journalist without salary or prospect; the physician whose clients are still sick but have forgotten how to pay.

Hitler has refused to answer questions about his domestic program on the ground that it is a military secret. He is not obliged, he says, to give away his secret methods of salvation to his political enemies. This is not very patriotic, but it is clever. In reality Hitler has no secrets at all. However, we are not here concerned with domestic policies. In the matter of international politics his position seems at first glance a little more definite. In his speeches and articles Hitler declares war on the Versailles Treaty, whose creature he himself is. He specializes in terms of abuse directed against France. But as a matter of fact if he came into power he would be one of the chief pillars of Versailles, and would turn out to be a mainstay of French imperialism.

These assertions may seem paradoxical. Yet they flow inexorably from the logic of the European and international situation when correctly analyzed—when the analysis starts, that is, from the basic factors of politics, and not from phrases, gestures, and the other trash of the demagogue.

HITLER WILL NEED ALLIES

The German Fascists declare that they have two enemies: Marxism and Versailles. By "Marxism" the Communists and the German parties—the Communists and the social democrats, and one state—the Soviet Union. By Versailles, they mean France and Poland. In order to understand what will be the actual international role of a National-Socialist Germany, it is necessary to weigh briefly these elements of the problem.

The relation between Fascism and "Marxism" is sufficiently clear from the experience of Italy. Mussolini's program, up to the day of the opera march on Rome, was no less radical and no less mystical than that of Hitler. The reality turned out to be merely a struggle against revolutionary and oppositional forces. Like its Italian prototype, German National-Socialism can come to power only after breaking up the workers' organizations. This, however, is no simple task. Civil war lies on the road between the National-Socialists and the power they seek. Even if Hitler should get a parliamentary majority by peaceful methods—which may safely be excluded from things possible—he would find it necessary just the same, in order to inaugurate a Fascist regime, to break the backbone of the Communist party, the social democracy, and the trade-unions. And this is a very painful and prolonged surgical operation. Hitler himself, of course, understands this. That is why he is not at all disposed to accommodate his political plans to the uncertain destinies of German parliamentarianism.

While covering himself with phrases about legality, Hitler is awaiting the opportune moment to strike a short and sharp blow. Will he succeed in this? It is no easy task. But it would be unpardonably light-minded to consider his success impossible. And by whatever roads Hitler might come to power—whether through open doors or by breaking in—the Fascization of Germany would mean in any case a severe domestic conflict. This would inevitably paralyze the forces of the country for a considerable period of time, and compel Hitler to seek in surrounding Europe, not revenge, but allies and protectors. From this fundamental consideration our analysis must begin.

In their struggle against Fascism the German workers will naturally seek support in the Soviet Union, and they will find it. Can you imagine for a moment that in these circumstances Hitler's government will risk getting into an armed conflict with France or Poland? Between the proletariat of a Fascist Germany and

the Soviet Union stands Pilsudski. Pilsudski's help, or at least his friendly neutrality, will be infinitely more important to Hitler, absorbed in the Fascization of Germany, than the liquidation of the Polish Corridor. How insignificant this question will seem to Hitler—and indeed the whole question of the boundaries of Germany—in the midst of his bitter struggle to get the power and to keep it!

Pilsudski would be for Hitler a bridge toward friendship with France—if indeed there were no other bridges closer by. Even now there are voices heard in the French press—as yet only in its secondary organs—"It is time to steer our course by Hitler!" To be sure the official press, led by *Le Temps*, takes a hostile attitude to the National-Socialists. But this is not because the masters of fate in contemporary France take Hitler's martial gestures seriously. No, what frightens them is the path by which Hitler can alone come to power—the path of civil war, a thing whose outcome cannot be predicted by anybody. May not his policy of a state overturn from the Right unleash a revolution on the Left? That is what the ruling circles in France are worrying about—and quite justifiably, too.

But one thing is clear: If Hitler did overcome all obstacles and arrive in power, he would be compelled, in order to get a free hand within his own country, to begin with an oath of loyalty to Versailles. Nobody on the Quai d'Orsay has any doubt of that. Moreover, it is well understood that a military dictatorship of Hitler, once it was firmly established in Germany, might become a considerably more reliable element in the French hegemony over Europe, than the present German governmental system, whose mathematical formula consists almost entirely of unknown quantities.

WAR WOULD BE INEVITABLE

To imagine that the ruling circles in France would be "embarrassed" to act as patrons of a Fascist Germany would be quite childishly naive. France is now relying upon Poland, Roumania, and Yugoslavia, three countries ruled by a military dictatorship! Is this accidental? Not in the least. The present French hegemony over Europe is a result of the fact that France still remains the sole inheritor of the victory of the United States, Great Britain, Italy, and herself. (I do not name Russia here since she did not participate in the victory, although she paid for it with the greatest number of human lives.) From the hands of the most powerful combination of world forces which history has known, France has received an inheritance which she will not let go of, but which is too heavy for her narrow shoulders. The territory of France, her population, her productive forces, her national income—all these are obviously inadequate to support her lordly position. The Balkanization of Europe, the stirring up of antagonisms, the struggle against disarmament, support to military dictatorships—these are the methods necessary to prolong the hegemony of France.

The forcible splitting-up of the German nation enters into the system as a link quite as necessary as the fantastic boundary lines of Poland with its famous Corridor. In the language of Versailles, "Corridor" is the name given to an operation which other people call removing a rib from a living organism. When France, while supporting Japan in Manchuria, swears to God that she seeks peace, this only means that she seeks the inviolability for her own hegemony—that is, her right to dismember Europe and reduce it to chaos. Immoderate con-

querors, as history testifies, are always inclined to "pacifism", because they dread the revenge of the conquered.

A Fascist regime—a thing which could be realized only at the price of bloody convulsions and a new exhaustion of Germany—would be for that very reason an invaluable element in French hegemony. From the side of the National-Socialists France and her Versailles system have nothing at all to fear.

Would Hitler in power, then, mean peace? No, Hitler in power would mean a re-enforcement of French hegemony. But exactly for this reason Hitler in power would mean war—not against Poland, not against France, but against the Soviet Union.

The Moscow press has spoken more than once in recent years about an approaching military intervention in the Soviet Union. The author of these lines has more than once objected to this kind of snap prognosis—not because he thought that there was in Europe, or on the rest of the planet, any lack of the evil will to war against the Soviet Union. No; there was no lack of that. But for such a risky undertaking the disagreements and resistances were too great, not only between the different European states, but still more within each of them.

There's hardly a politician worthy mentioning who now imagines that the Soviet Republic could be settled with by means of armies improvised along the border or simple landing operations. Even Winston Churchill no longer believes that, notwithstanding the very wide gamut of his political vocal exercises. An experiment of this kind was more than well made during the years 1918-20 when Churchill, according to his own proud boast, mobilized "fourteen nations" against the Soviet Union. How happy the British exchequer would be now to have back those hundreds of millions of pounds spent on intervention in Russia! But we mustn't cry over spilt milk. Besides a good lesson was paid for with that money. If at that time, in the first years of the Soviet Republic when the Red army was still walking in its baby shoes—alas, in those years it often had nothing on its feet at all—the troops of "fourteen nations" could not win the victory, how much less hope there is now, when the Red Army is a mighty force, with a victorious tradition, with young and yet experienced officers, with inexhaustible reserves raised up by the Revolution, and with sufficiently opulent military stores!

The united forces of the encircling nations, even if they could be dragged into the adventure, would be small for the task of intervention in the Soviet Union. Japan is too far off for an independent military role against the Soviet Union, and moreover the Mikado's government will have troubles enough near-by in the coming years. To make intervention possible, a great, highly industrialized, and moreover continental European empire would be needed—one which would desire, and be able, to take upon itself the principal weight of a holy pilgrimage against the Soviets. To be more accurate—a country would be needed which had nothing to lose. A glance at the political map of Europe will convince you that such a mission could be undertaken only by a Fascist Germany. More than that, a Fascist Germany would have no other road left to go. Having come to power at the price of innumerable victims, having revealed its bankruptcy in all domestic problems, having capitulated to France and consequently to such semi-vassal states as Poland, the Fascist regime would be inexorably compelled to seek some sort of gambling way out of its own bankruptcy, and out of the con-

traditions of the international situation. A war against the Soviet Union would grow out of these circumstances with fatal necessity.

To this pessimistic prognosis you might reply by citing the example of Italy, with whom the Soviet Union has established a *modus vivendi*. But that objection is superficial. Italy is separated from the Soviet Union by a series of intervening countries. Italian Fascism rose with the yeast of a purely domestic crisis—the national claims of Italy having been satisfied liberally enough at Versailles. Italian Fascism came to power shortly after the great war, at which time there could be no talk of a new war. And finally Fascist Italy remained lonely, and nobody in Europe knew how stable the Fascist regime would prove, on the one hand, or the Soviet regime on the other.

In all these respects, the position of Hitler's Germany would be fatally different. An external success would be necessary to it. The Soviet Union would be an intolerable neighbor. We remember how long Pilsudski hesitated before signing the pact of non-aggression with Russia. Hitler side by side with Pilsudski—that alone almost answers our question. On the other hand France cannot help understanding that she is not in a position to keep Germany permanently disarmed. The French policy will be to turn Fascist Germany against the East. That will offer an escape valve for the national indignation against the Versailles regime, and—who knows?—maybe we will have the good luck to find along this road new sources for the solution of that most sacred of all world problems, the problem of reparations.

RUSSIA MUST BE PREPARED

If you take on faith the assertion of the Fascist prophets that they will come to power during the first half of 1932—though we are far from believing these people on their mere word—it is possible to lay out in advance a sort of political calendar. A couple of years must be set aside for the Fascization of Germany—for crushing the German working class, creating a Fascist militia, and restoring the cadres of the army. Along about 1933-34, then, the conditions for a military intervention in the Soviet Union would be adequately ripe.

This "calendar" of course assumes that the government of the Soviet Union will be meanwhile patiently waiting. My relations with the present Moscow government are not such that I have any right to speak in its name or refer to its intentions, about which I, like every other reader and man of politics, can judge only on the basis of all the information accessible. But I am all the more free to say how in my opinion the Soviet government ought to act in case of a Fascist state revolution in Germany. Upon receiving the telegraphic communication of this event I would, in their place, sign an order for the mobilization of classes. When you have a mortal enemy before you, and when war flows with necessity from the logic of the objective situation, it would be unpardonable light-mindedness to give that enemy time to establish and fortify himself, conclude the necessary alliances, receive the necessary help, work out a plan of concentric military actions—not only from the west but from the east—and thus grow up to the dimensions of a colossal danger.

Hitler's shock troops are already singing all over Germany a marching song against the Soviets, composed by a certain Doctor Hans Buchner. It would be imprudent to let the Fascists draw this martial air. If they are destined to sing it, let them sing it staccato.

Whichever of the two might happen to take the formal initiative, a war between a government of Hitler and the Soviet Government would be inevitable, and that too at a very early date. The consequences of this war would be incalculable. But whatever illusions they might cherish in Paris, one thing could be confidently asserted: In the flames of a Bolshevik-Fascist war, one of the first things to burn up would be the Versailles treaty.

—L. TROTSKY.

YOUTH NOTES

JULY ISSUE OF YOUNG SPARTACUS

Send for the July issue of **Young Spartacus**. Order a bundle and distribute the papers to the working and Communist youth. The issue contains articles of interest to all youth. An article by N. Gould explains the recent situation in the Chicago Young Communist League.

NEW YORK

The Spartacus Youth Club at its last meeting, Friday, July 8, held a discussion on the "Communists and the Presidential Elections". Comrade Morris Kent led the discussion and a number of comrades participated. On July 15 comrade H. Capelli will lead a discussion on the "Reasons for the Backwardness of the American Working Class".

A number of highly successful open-air meetings were held by the club in the past few weeks. Last Thursday a meeting was held on the corner of Second Ave. and 4th St., at which **Young Spartacus**, **The Militant**, and **Germany, the Key to the International Situation** were sold. A number of youth contacts were made.

The picnic held for the Spanish youth and the Mexican comrades last Sunday

PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

BY **LEON TROTSKY**

These 450 pages of analysis and record of the revolution and counter-revolution in China since 1925, offer the first integral Marxian presentation of one of the greatest movements in modern times. The views of the Left Opposition are given here for the first time in systematic, elaborated form, side-by-side with a stinging criticism of the catastrophic course pursued by Stalin and Bukharin. The suppressed writings of Trotsky are found here for the first time in English, together with appendices by Zinoviev, Vuyovitch, Nassunov and others.

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The Crisis in the A. C. W.

Independent Clothing Workers Union Formed in Canada

In the July issue of the *Advance*, official organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union we read a report of a ten percent wage cut put over on the Philadelphia membership through the decision of the "Impartial Chairman", Judge Stern. This wage cut is one of the seasonal wage cuts that are foisted upon the membership of the A. C. W. by official agreement with the Clothing Manufacturers' Association, in addition to the unceasing wage reductions in the shops that are not recorded.

It has been the accepted theory and practice of the A. C. W. that all disputes between it and the clothing manufacturers are settled by arbitration. Hillman has made this system renowned, as the last word of the "higher labor strategy" in contradistinction to the "uncivilized", "Jungle" method of the strike.

To our great amazement however, we read further in connection with the above wage cut in Philadelphia the following ponderous editorial remarks:

Hillman's New "Military"

"It is all turning in a vicious circle. The Philadelphia manufacturers, of course, want the wage cut for whatever reason it has. But they also want it as an advertising device. They can tell the trade press and the buyers that labor now being cheaper, they can turn out better quality goods for the same money or the same quality for less money. So they get the advantage and use it. And there the vicious circle begins. First Chicago and Rochester wanted reductions to enable them to compete with New York and Philadelphia. They got what they wanted. Now Philadelphia must have a further wage reduction to be enabled to compete with Chicago and Rochester and New York. The next in line is New York! It must compete with Philadelphia. Then presumably Chicago and Rochester will follow."

"The game will have to be stopped sooner or later. Perhaps later will be late and the industry will have gone to the dogs. The game will not be stopped by holy invocations or righteous indignation. It is up to the union and the union only. It may not be in a position today, so it must prepare for the task—today, tomorrow, every day. Not impartial arbitration but more union power is the court of last resort. Accounts will be squared even though it may take time and effort."

What has become of that "higher labor strategy" to which are attributed all the "achievements" of the A. C. W., and on which Hillman prides himself on every occasion? Has not Hillman by the grace of this "higher labor strategy" gained recognition and prestige among manufacturers, politicians, judges, senators, the clergy etc.? The monumental achievements of the A. C. W. in the sphere of "civilization" are recalled with pride by Hillman and his lieutenants not only on the pages of trade union journals but also, and more so, in the capitalist press. The Amalgamated "Labor" banks (which serve loans to the clothing firms and thereby assume responsibility for their stability at the expense of the workers); the cooperative houses (where dwellings are provided for the union officials and business people); the unemployment insurance schemes (which serve as a means to insure the high salaries of the officials); and above all the famous "Impartial machinery" to settle disputes in the industry and avoid strikes, are held up by Hillman and the bosses alike as a model to be copied by the rest of the labor unions.

I recall an editorial that appeared in a New York liberal paper some time ago in which the Amalgamated system of unemployment insurance was cited as an example of a successful solution of the unemployed problem. According to that editorial the A. C. W. membership were receiving as much as eighty percent, four-fifths of their average wages (and their wages, as you know are very high). The editor, of course, obtained his information

directly through Hillman's offices. So what has become of all these great "achievements" and the class collaboration methods which are responsible for them? Have they failed? Has Hillman decided to discard the "civilized" methods and turn to more union power, to the "court of last resort"? Does he really intend to "square accounts", even though "only in the future"? If anyone thinks so on the basis of the hypocritical pronouncements of his lickspittle editor on the *Advance*, he is simply a fool or a novice.

Collapse of "Higher Strategy"

The Hillman bureaucracy feels that all the things mentioned above are already too well known and properly evaluated, especially by the A. C. W. members themselves. The "higher labor strategy" of the Hillman bureaucracy, which so closely tied it to the clothing manufacturers and gained a high reputation, prestige and medals for Hillman in the bourgeois world, have brought starvation, slavery, demoralization and despair to the tens of thousands of clothing workers. There is hardly a clothing center, here or in Canada, where the clothing workers have not had the opportunity to get a taste of Hillman's "civilized" union methods. And many of them are already beginning to react to these methods in a direct and efficacious manner.

The Amalgamated bureaucracy feels the bankruptcy of its "higher labor strategy". It feels it considerably and substantially. It feels it financially and organizationally. Its prestige is falling precipitately: both with the manufacturers and the workers. Its banks are crashing. Local unions and centers are rebelling. They openly break away from the A. C. W. decaying body. The Hillman bureaucracy is experiencing a sinking of the foundation under its feet. It must seek a way of rescuing itself. Hence this talk of a change of tactics. Hence the hypocritical references to struggles . . . "in the future". This is essentially the purport of the ponderous remarks of the mandacious, hypocritical sheet, paradoxically called *Advance*. It is perdy multiplied by crass insouciance. It will not mislead anybody.

On the same page of the same issue of the *Advance*, a slanderous attack is made on the new Clothing Workers Union recently formed in Montreal, Canada, out of the former Amalgamated locals. This new union was born in the open revolt of the membership against the A. C. W. bureaucracy for their granting of wage cuts, their terroristic methods, expulsions, and so forth. The patience of the membership reached the breaking point. First the pressers threw into the face of the A. C. W. officials their union "protection" and the benefits of the A. C. W. and quit the union. They were followed by the operators and tailors who jointly organized themselves into the All-Canadian Clothing Workers Union. This new union has practically succeeded in wresting control from the Amalgamated in the clothing centers of Canada and is proceeding with further plans of organization.

Hillman Sunk in Montreal

The strategy of the Hillman bureaucracy did not avail. The manufacturers have not long enjoyed the benefit of the wage cuts, relieved from Hillman as the pride of union recognition. Of no avail were also the terror and the shrewd, tricky maneuvers of the Hillman agents who sought to save their dominance over the workers. When the Hillman agents, in order to save the sinking Amalgamated ship, at the eleventh hour made promises of union democracy and better protection only to keep the tailors from leaving the Amalgamated, it was already too late. The tailors had already crossed the threshold. To make them come back was impossible. The Amalgamated ship in Montreal had sunk.

The attacks on the All-Canadian Clothing Workers Union have, as it is evi-

dent, been conceived out of the impotency of the Hillman bureaucracy to save its hold on the Canadian organizations and are naturally expressive of that mood. That is why it accuses the new union of granting bigger and better wage cuts to the manufacturers! (They only regret that they could not succeed with such methods.) "Obviously," writes the *Advance*, "our organization cannot compete in this policy of unlimited reductions. We are not interested in being a preferred company union." (They prefer to have the monopoly.) "It is the business of the union to play a protective part in the bargain between the union and the employer and not merely to be sanctioning every demand of the employer!" (Does it really do it?)

Has the editor forgotten what he has written in the previous column about the present policies of the Amalgamated and the "vicious circle" the Amalgamated is in, due to these policies? But this is impossible. One might think that in Montreal, at least, the A. C. W. pursued different tactics. But here we read in the declaration of the Committee of 50 that conducted the struggle against the A. C. W. bureaucracy in Montreal, the following:

"If you are not familiar with the methods of the Hillman agents, give your attention to this example: 'Samuelson's is an open shop. Some time before the boss was paying \$3.25 for making a garment. The business agent of the A. C. W. came along and offered the boss to cut the price to \$2.25. The condition was that the employed force the workers to join the Amalgamated and collect dues from them. The boss lawyer demanded a written agreement. The union did not sign the agreement because the firm is still in possession of an injunction procured against the Amalgamated some time before. The price of the garment, however, as a re-

sult of this incident, was reduced. Hillman's agents ran the show in Montreal by vicious terror . . . The subterranean opposition in the Amalgamated has only been organized a year ago. Why had the opposition to be secret? . . ."

Autocracy in the Union

"More than four years ago the Amalgamated leadership had made a pogrom on all the Left and progressive tailors. They were thrown out of the union and deprived of their jobs. When the Lefts had been chased out of the trade, the problems in the union still remained. The Left-baiters became the persecuted of tomorrow for their open criticism of the self-rule of the Amalgamated bureaucrats . . . Democracy was abolished! Elections for local officials were a farce. Workers had to vote for candidates of the cliques. This was only for the Executive and Joint Boards. No elections for paid officials had been held for the last five years. They were appointed by a Hillman agent" and so forth.

The lies and slanders of Hillman and his sycophants of the *Advance* will not stop the revolt of the tailors in Canada and elsewhere. Their deeds are already too well known. As regards the new union in Canada we may hope that the tailors there have learned enough from their experience with the Hillman bureaucracy and its "civilized" union methods of class collaboration not to let themselves be led into a new swamp by the leaders of the All-Canadian Congress with which the new union has been affiliated. They must remain on guard for their interests and build a foundation for a real class struggle union. Only then will they have achieved a great historical task in the interests of the masses of tailors and the labor movement in general. Only then will their revolt against the A. C. W. be fully justified.

—ALBERT ORLAND.

The Civil War in Chile

Motive Forces Behind South American «Revolutions»

We have witnessed recently a series of "revolutions" in Chile, expressing themselves in the overthrow of several governments. First of all, the military, ultra-reactionary dictatorship of Ibanez was supplanted by Montero. The latter's regime was overthrown, in turn by Davila in conjunction with part of the military camarilla of which Col. Marmaduke Grove is one of the outstanding representatives. Constituting itself a "revolutionary" junta and declaring itself to be a "socialist" government, the Davila clique later renounced their original views as too radical.

Marmaduke Grove, who has been employing even more demagogical phrases of an "anti-imperialist" character, for a short time succeeded to power in place of Davila. Whereupon the latter broke with the "revolutionary" junta altogether and prepared another coup d'Etat which was crowned with success. As we are writing these lines, Grove and his followers have been exiled and Davila is master of the Chilean household. On the one hand, he plays around with ideas of a fake working class and "socialist" character. On the other, he has initiated a most brutal persecution against the proletarian revolutionary organizations. The Communist party and the red trade unions have been declared illegal and according to information furnished by the bourgeois press, hundreds of Communists have been arrested and deported.

We must pose before us the question: What are the reasons for these continual "revolutions" resulting in changes of regime of such an unstable character? And what are the causes for the "radical

demagogy which makes up the political baggage of the various factions fighting for power? The answer to these questions, we find in the semi-colonial character of the national economy of Chile, which has been going through a veritably catastrophic downward development in recent years as a consequence of the deep world crisis in the capitalist system. This economic crisis has been transformed into a sharp political crisis which has penetrated the entire life of the nation. Discontent is extending to all parts of the population. In order to be able to give a better grasp of the real import of the present situation in Chile, we shall review in brief the state of its national economy and the effect of the world crisis on it.

Chile is one of the most industrialized countries in Latin America, but the structure of its economy bears a semi-colonial and mono-productive character. The basic industry of the country is the nitrate industry. Copper is next in importance. Nitrates represent 46 per cent of its total exports and copper 34 per cent. This shows us to what degree the national economy is dependent upon these two products.

The nitrate industry has been badly shaken for years. The international agrarian crisis has exercised a strong check on the nitrate market through the decreased demand for fertilizers. Another cause is the high development in the production of synthetic nitrates. The coup d'Etat of Ibanez in 1927 was an attempt on the part of the national bourgeoisie to overcome this crisis under the leadership of American imperialism by introducing methods of rationalization in production, leading to the shifting of the burden of the crisis to the shoulders of the working class. To this end, Ibanez applied a fierce persecution against even the most elementary organizations of the proletariat.

The brutal rationalization which culminated in the reorganization of the nitrate industry took place under the leadership of the Cosach trust, dominated in turn by American capital. The government ceded to this trust all the nitrate fields owned by the state, at the same time exempting it from the export tax. These privileges granted to the Cosach outfit by the government made possible the existence of enterprises standing outside of the trust. In this manner the British, Yugoslav and Chilean, etc. companies were forced to enter into the trust. Production which had increased considerably in the first years of the Ibanez dictatorship, has suffered of late, an enormous decrease, in which overproduction is the determining factor, although the intentions of the trust to maintain the price level also have their effect.

This can be seen from the following figures. In December 1922, production stood at 285,000 tons. In September 1930, at 185,000 tons. We have no recent data on hand, but there can be no doubt that with the sharpening of the crisis, production has decreased much more yet. As a consequence of all this, more than half the workers in the industry are out of jobs.

While the nitrate industry is divided up among the capitalists of the various countries, the copper industry is almost entirely in the hands of Yankee capital. As a result of the crisis, this industry is working at about two thirds of its capacity. Prices have fallen in alarming proportions. Thousands of workers have been thrown out of work and those who are still working have had their wages reduced 40 per cent.

The nitrate and copper crisis has been converted into a national crisis. The situation in the other industries follows closely along the same lines. The crisis has gripped with just as disastrous consequences the coal and the transport industries. Commerce and agriculture are likewise caught in its grip.

The unstable economic structure of Chile, which must depend upon its external market so lavishly, is manifest in the present economic crisis and its political implications. The struggle between the imperialists, the weakness of the national bourgeoisie, the parasitic role it plays as the prostitute servant of whatever imperialism has more to offer, also calls forth the instability of the governmental camarillas, the "revolutions", the constant intrigues in which the representatives of the various imperialist powers participate. The heterogeneous character of the ruling class further aggravates the vacillations of the political power and creates the ground for military dictatorships and reactionary regimes known for their fierce persecution not only of the working class but also of their political adversaries in the contending bourgeois cliques.

This accounts for the continual "revolutions", not only in Chile but in all of Latin America. In Chile it merely came to a sharper point than elsewhere. The crisis is more acute there and results in a sharpening of the class struggle, expressed in strikes and working class demonstrations. This state of development of the class struggle also explains the "proletarian" demagogy and the "anti-imperialist" phrases employed by the different bourgeois camarillas to shunt off the strong militant sentiments of the working class along harmless channels. Unfortunately, these sentiments have not reached the point of clear class consciousness. —ALBERTO GONZALEZ.

(To be continued)

CORRECTION

In the sixth paragraph of comrade Trotsky's article "Stalinism in Struts; Opposition on Upsurge," on page 1 of our last issue, an unfortunate typographical error was made. It reads: "The general line is incorrect, but the executives are poor." It should read, of course: "The general line is correct, but the executives are poor."

The Stalinists and the Waterfront Work

NEW YORK.

For the last five years the Communist party and the Trade Union Unity League have been functioning on the waterfront in New York and the other ports of the U. S. A. The writer has come to the conclusion that after five years of work among the seamen and harbor workers, the time has come when it is absolutely necessary seriously to take an account of what has been accomplished during this period. What have been our gains? What our losses? What influence have we got over the seamen, harbor workers and longshoremen? What has actually been achieved?

Have we a strong, fighting, industrial union? Have we engaged in important struggles? Do the seamen and longshoremen come to us for leadership in their struggle? Are they ready to fight under our banner?

A truthful answer to the above questions, everyone involved will have to admit, can be given only in the negative. We must then ask ourselves, why haven't we any substantial influence? What is wrong?

Has our policy toward the seamen and harbor workers been correct? Again the correct answer is, no. The piecemeal and bureaucratic will say: We have got influence, but times are bad. Take no notice of these social-fascists and counter-revolutionary Trotskyists, etc.

Fiasco of Bureaucrats

Answers like these will not, however, explain away the fact that after five years on the waterfront there are not five functioning ship committees in the whole U. S. Mercantile Marine. No dock committee whatever. No fraction in reformist I. L. A. or any of the other existing unions in New York City and elsewhere.

The Minks and the other bureaucrats will point to their success with the River Boat Men of Stockton, California. But they cannot cover up thereby their fiasco in the criminal handling of the Philadelphia longshoremen's strike, in the New Orleans strike; in the strike on

the Clyde line a few weeks ago, their shameful desertion of Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer, who were seamen after all, good militant marine workers no matter

Why not the 4 Marx Bros? (Not to Speak of Greta Garbo)

The event for which the American working class has searched the horizon like a stranded mariner, has finally been announced in the public prints. The Times of July 15, announces the formation of the American section of the "World Congress Against War" organized by Barbusse and Rolland as a pacifist masquerade for the Comintern. Here are the names of some of the people who are to constitute the organizers of the revolutionary movement against imperialism: Harry Elmer Barnes, liberal historian for the petty bourgeois Scripps chain; Upton Sinclair, well-known supporter of peace in peace times and of war during war times; Robert Morris Lovett, another petty bourgeois professor; and Corliss Lamont, the only one of the noted family whom the *Daily Worker* treats with respect. As if this were not enough to form an anti-war center to which the Stalinists give, at the very least, their tacit support, there are also Alla Nazimova, who is undoubtedly a remarkable tragedienne on the stage; Leopold Stokowski who wields a nifty orchestra baton; Lillian Wald, who also pities the poor; and not the least, Thornton Wilder, who now treads the Bridge of San Henri Barbusse.

We ask: Why not the four Marx Brothers? Why not Eddie Cantor, Albertina Rasch and Dorsha? Why not Greta Garbo and the Hall Johnson choir? Why not George Gershwin and Minnie the Moocher? And what about Amos and Andy, Felix the Cat, Israeli Antler and Betty Boop-Boop-a-Doop? We don't know if they're all against war or not, and it doesn't matter. But we bet they'll put on a much better show at Geneva.

what their political beliefs may be. These facts cannot be side-stepped. And the workers in the M. W. I. U. must ask themselves: What are we heading for under the present leadership? What has become of the militants who built up the International Seamen's Club, the Marine Workers League and founded the Industrial Union? Why is Harvey, for instance, in the coal fields? Harvey is a seaman and his place is on the waterfront. Why is McGrath in the Soviet Union? The seamen are organized one hundred per cent over there. They don't need any organizers from the U. S. A. We need all the organizers we can get. We are suffering at present from too much talk about revolution and too little action about organizing.

For a fighting opposition

The seamen and harbor workers ought to ask these questions at the next meeting of the M. W. I. U. The bureaucratic machine cannot be allowed to continue wrecking what has been built up by the militants with their sweat and blood. A fighting opposition has got to be organized, a machine that will counter the machine of the Stalinist wreckers. That is the one way of making our union a real militant, industrial union.

Beware of the Andersons and the other Lovestonite hangers-on who try to buy you with a bowl of greasy stew. Act like union men, the union rightly belongs to you. Organization is the need of the hour, among the seamen as everywhere. But we must organize correctly. We know how to get what we want, not the swivel chair leaders, the Minks, the Andersons, etc.

The class conscious seamen and harbor workers must get busy. There is a lot of organizing to do, if we are to escape the threat of starvation that stares us in the eye. The way to do it is by establishing rank and file control. Get into the union and let us all get together to run out the pie-cards and bureaucrats. We have got to choose leaders with backbones, not fish bones.

—B. F.

Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition

The Ultra-Left Zig-zag in the Comintern and the «Third Period»

The ultra-Left zig-zag in the Russian party, which began after the grain crisis that followed the Fifteenth Congress of the C. P. S. U. at the end of 1927, was very soon projected in a direct line to the whole of the Communist International. This flight of the frightened bureaucrats from yesterday's rank opportunism to adventurism is embraced in what has become known as the "third period"

The Turn at the Ninth Plenum

The arbitrarily defined period does not commence in the Comintern's history with its proclamation at the Sixth Congress, but even more definitely at the 9th Plenum of the C. I. early in 1928. At that time the first signs of a working class resurgence in Europe could be detected, but only the first signs. The vote cast for the Communist parties, particularly in Germany, was increasing, but with it, also, the vote cast for the social democracy. In a number of other countries, however, the working class was either writhing in the pain of a still unsmothered defeat, as in China, or else passive under the soporific effects of a temporary high conjuncture, as in France and the United States.

The Ninth Plenum, instead of establishing the precise stage of development of the international labor movement, proclaimed the rise of a "new and higher" stage of the Chinese revolution (not counter-revolution, but revolution!), gave its blanket endorsement to guerrilla adventurism, and announced from the mouth

of Thaelmann and the other spokesmen of the Comintern that the working masses throughout the world were becoming "more and more radicalized". The warnings against this light-minded conception of an automatic, horizontal progress of the revolutionary movement, were of no avail, for they were uttered by the Opposition. And comrade Trotsky's clear-sighted analysis of the real status of the movement was not only passed over in silence at the Sixth Congress to which it was presented, but it was not even given to the assembled delegates. His study on this subject, nevertheless remains the first work written against the superficial exaggerations and ultra-Leftism of the post Right wing period of bureaucratic Centrism.

The Sixth Congress in the middle of 1928 carried the Ninth Plenum a few steps further in absurdity. Formally, it marked the culminating point of the collaboration between Centrism and the Right wing (Stalin and Bucharin). Actually, it incorporated into the foundation of the next period a mixture of opportunist premises and ultra-Left deductions which have been at the root of all the confusion and defeats suffered by Communism since that time.

The Sixth Congress had many points of similarity with the Fifth, which was held in 1924 after the defeat in Germany. In 1924, no defeat was acknowledged; on the contrary, the revolution was proclaimed to be right ahead. In

1928, virtually the same atrocious error was made with regard to the Chinese revolution. In the period of the Fifth Congress, Stalin made the novel discovery that the "social democracy was the most moderate wing of Fascism". In 1928, the Sixth Congress laid the basis for the unique philosophy of "social-Fascism". The Fifth Congress celebrated the victory of "Bolshevization" and "monolithism", at a time when the very basis under the various "Bolshevik leaderships" imposed upon the national sections was being undermined. In 1928, the most violent internal struggles were being fought behind the scenes of the "unified Communist International". The Fifth Congress, with all its ultra-Leftist palaver, contained not merely the germs of a brief spurt to the Left but also a protracted swing to the Right, to the period of the Anglo-Russian Committee, of the Chiang Kai-Shek alliance, the Anti-Imperialist League and the "Peasants' International". The Sixth Congress, for all its endorsement of adventurist conclusions, consecrated the revisionist theory of socialism in one country and established the slogan of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" (that is, the Kerenskiad or the Kuo Min Tang tragedy) as an iron law governing the doctrines of the revolution on three-quarters of the earth.

Stalin and the Right Wing

The struggle against the "Right danger" launched at the Sixth Congress, which Bucharin had resisted only as recently the Fifteenth Congress of the Russian party, was platonic and anonymous. Its value may be estimated from the fact that such a struggle was proclaimed by the international leader of the Right wing, Bucharin, from the Congress tribune. In this manner, the for-

mal unification of the ruling bloc was preserved and used to cover up the bitter internal dispute. It is instructive to observe that at the very time that Stalin was busily engaged in sapping the ground under Bucharin and Co., going so far as to organize an unofficial congress of his own, simultaneously with "Bucharin's Congress", he nevertheless took the leadership in condemning any rumors about disagreements in the Russian party leadership as "Trotskyist slanders". In a special report on the subject made by Stalin himself to the Council of Elders at the Congress, he repudiated all rumors regarding differences in the Russian Political Bureau. He emphatically declared that there were any Right wingers or Right wing views in the Political Bureau or even the Central Committee, and, to confirm his assertions, introduced a resolution, signed by himself and every other member of the Political Bureau which declared:

"The undersigned members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union declare before the Council of Elders of the Congress that they most emphatically protest against the circulation of rumors that there are discussions among the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. Needless to say, the assembled marionettes listened solemnly and approvingly to this criminally ludicrous deception of the Communist International, concocted jointly by Stalin and Bucharin. Everybody at the Congress knew the truth; everybody knew that Stalin was simply lying with a straight face; but unlike the boy in the crowd of obedient and respectful subjects through whom the king was passing, nobody could be found to rise and shout that the king

was naked! From his exile in Alma-Ata, Trotsky summed up this aspect of the Congress in a letter to a comrade: "The theses announce a 'Bolshevization and internal consolidation' of the parties of the Comintern and the 'suppression of the internal struggle'! The Congress, however, (even as seen through the bars set up by the editorial censors) presents a picture of an entirely different character. A violent and muffled struggle is developing all along the line. Factional groupings, large and small, revealed themselves at the Congress in the delegations from Germany, England, Poland, the United States, Rumania, Juglo-Slavia, etc. The delegation of the U. S. S. R. naturally was no exception. On the contrary, it is the one which transplants schisms into the other parties. In a multitude of speeches, complaints were heard about sharp factional battles 'which are not justified by any serious political differences'. No one took the trouble to ask himself how these 'factional struggles devour' the 'internally consolidated Communist International'.

The answer is nevertheless clear. At present, the Comintern is basing itself on a bloc composed of the Right and the Center, or to speak more precisely, of the opportunist faction. The situation in the U. S. S. R. and the regime in the C. I. have retarded the development of the differences of opinion between these groups, whereas the class struggle makes their coalition, shot at from all sides, insupportable. That is where the bitter factional struggles come from in the absence of 'important political differences'.

(Continued in next issue)

—SHACHTMAN.

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Aftermath of Lausanne

European Powers Seek United Front Against United States

Contrary to expectations, the European powers did manage to come to at least a temporary agreement on reparations at Lausanne. Paced with the perspective of a bankrupt and politically tottering capitalist Germany, the Allied vultures have agreed for the time being to release their claws from the throat of their Teutonic competitor.

The German Junker delegation at Lausanne spoke hard words and came off with a sigh of relief. The governments of Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium have decided to give German capitalism a breathing spell on the external front so as better to be able to entrench reaction within the country and to prepare the crushing of the internal enemy—the awakening German proletariat.

What the Agreement Consists of

The agreement arrived at by the diplomats in the conference reduces the original reparations sum demanded of the Reich—\$33,000,000,000—to a mere \$750,000,000. \$5,000,000,000 of the original sum had already been paid under the Dawes and the Young plans. The payment of the remaining \$750,000,000 is to take the form of bond issues which are not to be redeemed for more than three years. The Germans are thereby granted a greater concession than ever before. A new alignment of the imperialist forces is in the offing.

It is well known that American pressure had a great deal to do with the accord finally achieved. Harriot, the leader of the French delegation has admitted as much in his report before the Chamber of Deputies. American private capital has some \$6,000,000,000 dollars at stake in Germany not counting various trade advantages, concessions, etc. The action of the European powers was, in this sense, a gesture to draw out of the Wall St. government a compromise with regard to their own war debts, amounting to some \$10,000,000,000 at this date.

But the continental imperialists do not restrict themselves to gestures, nor do they store great hopes in the good faith of their American creditor. Perhaps even more sensational and more important than the settlement made at Lausanne is the new entente that has been formed or rather, reformed by Great Britain and France "in the spirit which has inspired the Lausanne agreement". The entente provides for coordination in the efforts of each country to obtain a favorable deal on war debts from Washington. It further proposes to find a common "solution for the disarmament question which will be beneficial and equitable for all the powers concerned." That is, it advances the idea of a united front

of European governments in opposition to the hypocritically pacifist (for the other powers) plans of the Hoover administration. Finally, the official statement announcing the entente expresses the "hope that other governments will join them in adopting their procedure", an obvious feeler extended to the Germans, considering that this organized cooperation will also preoccupy itself with the "practical preparation of the world economic conference".

The Significance of the New Entente

Just how serious this newest step of the diplomats actually is, can be gathered from the manner in which they proceeded. Immediately after the adjournment of the Lausanne gathering, rumors of a Franco-British accord began to spread. At first, there were vigorous denials by both parties concerned. Things went so far that even the parliamentary bodies of the two powers were not informed of the affair. Only one hour before Parliament was dissolved for the summer period did Sir John Simon, the British Foreign Minister inform the House of Commons of the action taken, so that no debate would be possible. Immediately after Sir John's announcement, all sorts of "interpretations" came pouring in from Downing Street. In Paris, a similar atmosphere was created.

All these indications point to the conclusion that the European front is being organized against the American reaction master. As a confirmation of this conclusion can be considered the fact that the official announcement of the new Franco-British entente followed only after the American Secretary of State had denied any and every sort of participation of the Washington administration in the agreement accomplished at Lausanne. It was really Stimson's statements that called forth the publication of the treaty.

It is altogether unlikely that the European united front against Yankee capital will reach the point of realization. The conflicts on the continent are too deep-rooted and much too dependent upon national considerations for a solid international front to be established. The American colossus still holds the fate of many of the lesser countries in the balance. An agreement like the present can be prompted merely by temporary necessities. The Lausanne accord still remains tentative to decision by the various national legislative organs. It is only the threat of proletarian uprising, with Germany as the power house, that forces the imperialist robbers to bring their heads together in parity.

The German working class has gained nothing by Lausanne. There is not a

thought in the minds of the German reaction to release their stranglehold on Germany's workers. The lease of life which German capitalism has received on the international front will surely instigate an even harder drive than before to push Fascism into power.

The struggle of the German working class against the Fascist menace is a struggle of international significance. The victory of the German working class alone will open the road for a solution of the impasse on the continent by paving the way for a Soviet United States of Europe. Only a Soviet United States of Europe can help the old world to ward off the shackles of Wall Street domination and save it from degeneration into barbarism.

—SAM GORDON.

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The government, the press, the cinema, the church (which has set up tent in the Right. A mute turn, to be sure, solution"), together with the liberal leaders, are allied and linked together in this task of winning them over to the reaction.

What Is Our Task?

The marchers are approaching the borders of class consciousness. We must help them over the border.

The task is most difficult. The ex-soldiers and the rest of the American working class has no deep-rooted revolutionary traditions. It has had no long sustained revolutionary activity, due to the country's comparatively steady economic expansion. But now under the blows of a terrific crisis, the masses begin to awaken to class consciousness. The American worker is extremely slow to change. But when he does change, he moves in quick tempo. And he changes strong.

In so far as we enlighten these ex-soldiers, awaken them, in so far as we arouse their class initiative we arouse the initiative of millions of workers.

For this a patient, persistent preparatory work is necessary. The class conscious soldier must mingle with the others in their camp, fraternize with them, be devoted to them, awaken them to class consciousness. Thus he will be able to fight more effectively for free speech in the camp, for direct rank and file control of the officers, etc.

But he will not be able to fight for influence among the men by wanting an a priori leadership, by a display of verbal fireworks, by wanting "officially successful" isolated demonstrations irrespective of time and circumstance. Such vulgar theatrical Leftism will not do.

Patient, persistent explanation. Concentrate your strength to enlighten them. Fraternize with each contingent. Root yourself amongst them. Win them over. Consolidate the employed and unemployed around them. And fight: For cash relief, For unemployment insurance, For the six hour day, For extension of long term credits and resumption of trade with Russia, For the defense of the Soviet Union!

—G. D.

The Barbusse Congress Against War

(Continued from page 1)

means to this end the policy of the united front can be of great service. The last session of the Executive Committee of the Second International pronounced itself against Japan and "for the defense of the U. S. S. R." We know the weight and the value of this defense inasmuch as the decision of the leaders is concerned. But the very fact of the adoption of this decision is an indication of the force of the mass pressure (the crisis and the danger of war). The Comintern was duty bound in these circumstances to develop the policy of the united front on an international scale, i. e., to propose to the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals openly before the world proletariat a definite, carefully weighed program of practical measures against the danger of war.

But the Comintern is silent. The Proletariat is silent. The initiative is surrendered to two pacifist writers, one of whom—Romain Rolland—is undoubtedly a great writer and a prominent person, but a man who is not engaged in politics, and the other—Barbusse—is a pacifist and a mystic, a Communist or one expelled from the Communist party, but at any rate an advocate of the complete fusion of the Communist parties with the social democracy. "Join us", say Rolland and Barbusse. Answer "Present!", I, Humanite joins in the refrain. Is it possible to imagine anything more monstrous, more capitulatory and more criminal than this crawling of official Communism before petty bourgeois pacifism?

In Germany, it is declared impermissible to apply the tactics of a united front to the mass organizations of the workers, with the aim of exposing the reformist leaders. At the same time, a united front on an international scale is being applied, of which the first steps are turned into a boosting campaign for the worst of the gallery of reformist traitors. Vandervelde is surely "for peace". He reckons that it is more advantageous and convenient to serve in the ministry of his king in time of peace than in time of war. And thus, the impudent apophorems of this social patriot, whose signature, if I am not mistaken, appears on the Versailles Peace Treaty, are made into a program of the huge anti-war Congress. And I, Humanite gives its support to this treacherous and pernicious masquerade.

In Germany, it is a question of warding off the Fascist counter-revolutionary pogrom, which immediately and directly threatens not only the working class but its reformist organizations and even its reformist leaders. To the social democratic gentlemen, it is a question of salaries, of state privileges and even of their own hides. One must be in a state

of complete bureaucratic idiocy to refuse to utilize correctly and systematically the great, sharp contradictions between the interests of the proletariat revolution.

In the question of war, however, it is an entirely different matter. War does not at all constitute a direct threat to the reformist organizations, particularly to their leaders. On the contrary, experience has shown that war opens up dizzying careers for the reformist leaders. Patriotism is just that ideology which most closely ties the social democracy to its national bourgeoisie. If it is possible, even inevitable, that the social democracy will be forced in some form or other, within certain bounds, to defend itself against Fascism, when the latter will seize it by the throat, (and it will seize it), the possibility that the social democracy of any country should conduct a struggle against its bourgeoisie in the case of a war declaration, be it even against the Soviet Union, is entirely excluded. The revolutionary campaign against war has as its particular and specific aim the exposure of the deceit and the putrefaction of social democratic pacifism.

But what does the Comintern do? It prohibits the utilization of the absolutely real and deep antagonism between the national social democracy and national Fascism, while it attempts to grab hold of the illusory, hypocritical antagonism between the international social democracy and its imperialist master.

If in Germany the united front is altogether prohibited, on the "international" scale the united front is from the very beginning given a decorative, masquerading, deliberately deceptive and rotten character. Exploiting the idealistic naïveté of the absolutely sincere Romain Rolland, all fakers and dirty careerists, retired social democratic ministers and candidates for the ministry will declare: "Present!" For this gentry the Congress will serve as a sanatorium where they will improve their somewhat besmirched reputations in order to sell themselves at a higher price. This was the manner in which the participants in the Anti-Imperialist League acted. We are faced with a repetition of a Kuo Min Tang and an Anglo-Russian Committee on a world scale.

There are pedants who doubt if we are correct in defining the international Stalinist faction as Centrist. Those who have been poisoned by ill-digested texts are incapable of learning from living facts. Here you have ideal, classic, universal Centristism in full bloom: its nose turned to the Right, its tail still strongly inclined towards the Left. Draw a line uniting its nose with its tail and you will find the orbit of Centristism.

History is at a breaking point. The whole world is at a breaking point today. And so is Centristism. In the U. S. S. R. the Stalinists still continue to prattle about the abolition of classes in five years and at the same time they are restoring the free market. The ultra-Left tail does not yet know that the wise opportunist head has decided. In the domain of cultural policy in the U. S. S. R. a sharp turn has been made to the Right. The mute turn, to be sure, without any commentary, but a so much the more threatening one. The same has taken place in the policies of the Comintern. While the luckless Platinizky are still showing the remnants of the ultra-Leftist end, the Mamulskys have already been ordered to turn their heads to the Right without regard for their spinal vertebrae. Never as yet in the nine years of its practice has the epigone school revealed its unprincipledness, its ideological shallowness and its practical knavery in so naked and shameless a manner as this.

Bolshevik-Leninists! The symptoms of a great historical turn are accumulating in the world atmosphere. This turn is bound to have its effects on the destiny of our faction. Already we are charged with tasks of truly great historical significance. The struggle against war means above all a struggle against pacifist masquerading and Centrist bureaucratic quackery. It is necessary to launch a pitiless campaign to expose the contradictions of the Stalinist apparatus, whose bankruptcy in the impending great events is inevitable.

The defense of the U. S. S. R. is not a parlor phrase with which the not always disinterested friends of the Stalinist bureaucracy parade. The international defense of the U. S. S. R. is becoming increasingly more dependent upon the international revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. Where the blood and fate of millions are at stake, the greatest clarity is needed. Nobody today is rendering better service to the class enemy than the Stalinist apparatus which in the struggle for the remnants of its prestige, is sowing confusion and chaos everywhere.

Bolshevik-Leninists! You will be charged with an enormous task. Weeks and months are approaching when every revolutionist will have to show what he is worth. Carry the ideas of Marxism and Leninism into the ranks of the advanced workers. Help the international proletarian vanguard extricate itself from the which has lost its head. What is involved is no small matter: It is the fate of the U. S. S. R. and the world proletarian revolution.

June 13, 1932

—LEON TROTSKY.

The «Bonuseers» at Washington

By withholding or misrepresenting the facts, by refusing to "advertise" the cause of the soldiers, the bourgeois papers thought the bonus movement would die a natural death. The notices in the press would give you the impression that the ex-soldiers are acting as their own pallbearers.

What are the facts? There are now (and this is a conservative estimate) 30,000 ex-soldiers in the camps. In one camp alone there are 15,000 men, an increase of a 100 per cent over last month, and more are coming in. For every one going out at least ten are coming in. In all, about 200 have returned home—most of them sick, their nerves all shot. Those known to be well are given the "grand razzberry" and marked "yellow-bellies."

Veterans Stick

The ex-soldiers have thumbs down on the \$100,000 appropriation which would provide for each one of them a railroad ticket to go home and 75c for food for each day's traveling. This amount expended would be deducted from the bonus when it is due, in 1945. This insult is being buried by the curses of the soldiers. Out of the bars of the "Veterans Administration" ticket window in Union Station, the idle clerks stare blankly.

While the press is playing a sort of hide and seek with these men who "bummed" their way to Washington, the government officials are trying to palm them off as pleasantly as possible for benefit of tourists. About a hundred feet away from the camp, they have put up about thirty army tents. Though condemned by the army commission, they are comparatively neat and clean looking. They are set up in the form of a right angle that holds, as it were, within its span, and at the same time hides from the vehicular approach, the squalor of the camp. Police Commissioner Glassford personally took a hand in putting up these tents.

Not only this. The newsreel photographers have been ordered not to show anything of the soldiers which would arouse other veterans to join them, or create for the marchers favorable public opinion. (However, the photographers are to be ready to take riot scenes or other disturbances!)

Observe how they're arranging the "show-window" for display. It pays to advertise. But the advertisers reckon without their "product", the soldiers themselves. The officials will have to resort to a couple of other tricks, and there's no doubt they've got them up their sleeve. But it will be a tough thing to put it over on the men.

The 30,000 soldiers are there to stick until decent relief is provided. "What would be the use of our going home", said one of the soldiers. "There's not a day's work to be gotten. Many of us have no

homes. Those of us who have homes are going to lose them because we can't pay the taxes. If we turned back there'd be nothing to do out bum around and beg. We've got some pride. We'll stick together. There's hope in that."

Bonuseers Still Deluded

But still pumped up with some of the bourgeois prejudices, the ex-soldiers are passive. They still believe that toleration of the Waters' leadership is best for getting them what they want. But under this passivity is deep resentment and they are watching to see what the "leaders" will actually do for them.

So there they are in this squalid camp. Government officials urge them to be clean—to be clean in a garbage heap beside a filthy river! The food supply is running out. The men are compelled to send out committees to "chisel" meat from this butcher, lard from that grocer, etc. You will know the quality of the food from the fact that hundreds of the men, and children too, are suffering from diarrhea. The children—there are 200 of them—are especially hard hit because of the difficulty of getting sufficient fresh milk for them.

"We must have relief!", said a soldier to me. "They better come across. They think us bums. Yes, but they better come across!—When women and children roll in the mud and s... it's beginning to be time to do something about it. Afraid, eh? Let them call the militia. In one minute we've got more experience than they have with all their training!"

It is now almost seven weeks since the marchers entrenched themselves in Washington. Of all the sections of the working classes, they have been hardest hit. They have been compelled by the class struggle to take this means of demand. ing relief for themselves. True, they are not yet class conscious. But they are beginning to think a little of their enemies, as witness in the camp the mock graves of Hoover, Mellon, Reed, and Dawes, (the sculptured images of these gentlemen on top of the graves). "Millions for war: starvation for the soldiers", reads one of their slogans.

The bourgeoisie will find this situation a hard nut to crack. They will resort to all sort of tricks and maneuvers to buy the soldiers out at the lowest possible price. When the government is convinced of their determination to stick, it may institute some plan to pay them a pittance, getting the money back for example thru a special bonus tax; or they may have a plan to give them 2 or 3 days work a week, provided by their state. These jobs to be open to them by firing those now working on relief jobs. So they may try to substitute this jobless army for another. It's safer.

Whatever the plans, what they want to do is to win them over to the reaction.

The Census Report and the Middle Class

The government has just released the 1930 census figures of the gainfully employed. These figures list workers owners, bankers and managers. Like all statistics of the capitalist, they must be analyzed before they are of value for the working class. These figures present a decline in the number of foreign-born workers. The native white and Negro workers show an increase, but this can be accounted for by the natural population increase and not the influx of workers into industry. There are 7,411,137 foreign-born "employed", 5,503,535 Negro and about a half a million Spanish-Americans. The census lists all who are able to work as gainfully employed regardless of the six million workers unemployed at the time the census was taken.

Labor Shifts

These figures show a shift of labor power from the division of production to the division of distribution. Farming, lumbering, fishing and mining show a decline of labor power employed at production while those occupations listed under distribution show an increase. Manufacturing and transportation show a total gain due to population increase but basic occupation divisions of this total show a marked decline. The light industries such as: dressmaking, tailors, millinery, upholstery, leather, tobacco, food, etc., show a decline in labor power. In heavy industry: iron, steel, metal, molding machine, boiler-making, lumber, and railroad transportation show a decline. These figures present the effects of the contradictions capitalism is moving in, with increased production and a permanent army of unemployed, with a lower standard of living, and increased capital and wealth in the hands of fewer capitalist.

More light will be thrown on these figures when we divide them into classes. The following is a list of the non-worker gainfully employed taken from the census:

Non-Workers Gainfully Employed

Finance, bankers, brokers, etc.	221,504
Industry, owners	245,008
Transportation	138,707
Wholesale, owners	83,525
Domestic, owners	255,340
Retail, owners	1,703,522
Farmers Owners and tenants	6,012,012
Professional, credit agents, etc.	3,541,562
Government employees	600,513
Managers, officials, inspectors, real estate agents, etc.	1,179,760
Foreman, overseers, etc.	595,029
	14,750,504
Gainfully employed Total	48,829,929
Non-workers	14,750,407
	34,079,522

The fifteen million non-workers gainfully employed make up the exploiting class and their office boys. Over fourteen million of these make up the "great" American middle class. The ideology as well as the line of march of this class is as varied as their rainbow and is constantly changing colors.

For example, the retail merchants in struggle against the chain stores react to the managers of the chain stores who carry on the business for the owners. The personnel of the industrialist see things somewhat different than the personnel of the financier. The tenant farmers do not view matters like the farm owners. The poor farmer, middle farmer and rich farmer have their differences. Some of the petty bourgeois want to turn the wheels of industry backward. Others trail behind the industrialist, others behind the financier, and some behind the workers, but all of them think they are capable as a class of leading the workers.

The more one considers the middle class, pressed between the capitalist and the workers, the more one can realize, the vacillations and different layers at juxtaposition to each other. The vanguard of the workers must be able to utilize this division within the enemy. In America the parliamentary structure gives the middle class great advantages in the general administration of city, county, and state politics but the whole structure is well organized to leave the determining forces of the government in the hands of the dominating imperialist group.

Middle Class in U. S.

The middle class within the American structure is able to press heavily upon the developing working class. It takes organizational forms in many ways, from farmer-labor parties to Anti-Imperialist Leagues; from craft job control to anti-political action; from a struggle to reduce the cost of living to the fight to obtain a glass of beer under the leadership of Green and Walker.

The Communist can only utilize the petty bourgeoisie against the bourgeoisie, if this class is considered in its manifold divisions and sections and not as a homogeneous mass. In the class struggle the middle class must always be considered as fellow travelers. Individuals of this class, who leave their class, who throw overboard their ideology, who learn Marxism, are an entirely different problem for us. The petty bourgeoisie as a class cannot lead and can only be of value if they follow the proletariat in the struggle against capitalism. The main danger of the working class is to trail behind the middle class. Our key to this problem is the program, policies and tactics of the Communist party. Centristism has failed in this task. Today, Stalinism is not winning individuals from

this class on the basis of Marxism; Stalinism is incorporating petty bourgeois policies which cause this class to flock to the banner of "revolution". The Militant from week to week elaborates on these non-Marxist policies of Centristism.

Under Stalinism the workers are not brought to the movement on the basis of Marxism; they are won on the basis of opportunism, adventurism, and petty bourgeois ideas. Under such a regime these workers do not and cannot shake off completely their bourgeois ideology. Under a Marxian leadership the "green" worker is assimilated in the Bolshevik current. Stalinism warps the new recruits.

Our task is to win the working class and with this class pressure to force layers of the petty bourgeoisie to support our position. Only in this sense do we want the middle class as a class ally. With increased class struggles and increased class pressure, under Communist leadership, having a Marxian policy, layers of the middle class are forced to support our position. As the struggle increases, new layers of workers brought into action will force up new layers of allies. Only on this basis can allies be of value to us.

Regain Proletarian Base First

An ebb or defeat in the line of march of our class will cause sections of our allies to withdraw and often turn on us. We cannot regain these allies by compromise, as Stalinism does in all parts of the world. We can only regain these allies by regaining our own class position first. Necessary steps must be taken, reorganization or retreat, to consolidating our own class forces at a level suitable for the task, enabling us to maintain our position and to strike out in new class battles for new positions.

The Communist League of America cannot ignore the large middle class in America as a valuable ally or bitter enemy. The best way not to ignore this class is to learn from the blunders of Stalinism, replace it with a Marxian line and give our full energy to our own class, the working class. The Communist must point out the road for the working class. The greater the numbers of workers we move into action against capitalism the broader is our class base and the greater will be the layers of allies forced to move in our line of march. Without this class base, the class guarantee is lacking, and the allies will lead the workers to defeat. Such is the logic of Stalinism in Germany in 1933, in China in 1927; and such is the road their line of march is leading to in America. The Communist worker must fight against the Stalin stranglehold for Marxism, for the Marxian policies of the Left Opposition.

—H. O.

WORKERS
OF THE
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THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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ON THE SPOT

BATA QUITS A BATTY SYSTEM

As these lines are written Thomas Bata of Czechoslovakia, the big boot and shoe man, is putting all the other suicides in the capitalist world next to pure reading matter. Not since Krueger of Stockholm added an additional hole to the official equipment of his head in a Paris hotel did the death of any capitalist magnate cause as much consternation as that of Thomas Bata. While I am willing to go a long way in believing that the capitalist papers will print almost any story that is not fit to print they are liable to put their penthouse and airplane cases on the inside pages with the "I refuse to pay for the bed and board" stuff if suicides in high places continue at the present rate. In times of crisis the capitalist papers get their orders to cut out all the movie stuff about printing the story and be damned.

KRUEGER ROSE FROM AND WENT TO THE BOTTOM

A few years back magazines flourished by giving the stories of men high in the capitalist system who rose from the bottom. But so many of those men of genius have gone to the bottom since the panic of 1929 that only an official organ of a mortuary association could now make capital out of their lives. Krueger operated in almost all capitalist countries. He did the old financiers paid homage to him. He dictated the policies of governments by loans. His financial-industrial pyramid was based on the toll of hundreds of thousands of wage-slaves. It was the same old system by which the many are compelled to pay toll to the few ever since the birth of capitalism.

KRUEGER, INSULL, CANONE—ALL SELF-MADE MAN

Thomas Bata literally started on a shoestring. Like a good many of the big men of business he got his real start during the war. He got government contracts. Perhaps he did not put good leather in the shoes he made for the Austro-Hungarian soldiers who tramped to death for a cause that meant nothing but a continuation of slavery for them if their armies were victorious. Not so with the ruling classes. The Bata and Insull and Kruegers make money on wars even if the countries to which they owe nominal allegiance lose. The workers always lose except when they fight for themselves. Soviet Russia pointed the way.

BATA BELIEVED IN FORD METHODS

Bata was an admirer of the efficiency methods practiced by our own Henry Ford who will be regarded as one of those industrial Messiahs until he is caught in the crash. Like Henry, Bata did not permit his employees to join unions. We don't know whether he had inspectors smell their breath when they punched the time clocks in the morning but he insisted that they brush their teeth ten minutes before open windows. Well, that's suspicious.

BROTHER DOAK SOUNDS AN OPTIMISTIC NOTE

It is a pleasure to turn from a contemplation of death and disaster to something that might give even a few folks hope and cheer. We have with us ladies and gentlemen of the honorable Brother Doak, secretary of the Labor in the Hoover cabinet. The depression has brought the workers and the employers closer together, he says. Well, there is some truth in that. There are approximately twelve millions unemployed, so since they have nothing to do and the few who dominate the industrial machinery never did anything but loaf and make the other fellow work, there is a certain bond between them. Of course, the unemployed are pretty near the starvation line; many of them are actually starving and we have yet to hear of the big fellows going without their meals. So much for Doak.

DOG AND CANARY GREET ROOSEVELT NOMINATION

Roosevelt campaign headquarters announce quite seriously that a poodle barked and a canary that was dumb for a whole year sang when Roosevelt's nomination was announced on the radio. We are not surprised at the dog's action. A dog usually howls and acts foolish in the presence of lunatics. But we doubt the story about the canary. We are anxiously waiting for a report on the Missouri mule and that strange bird native to Mexico who is obliged by physical misconstruction to turn on his back whenever he has to answer a call of nature. It looks like Roosevelt for next president. It is reported that the Bronx Zoo is for him to the last jackass.

—RIDEM.

Communism or Pacifism?

The Party and the Barbusse Congress

The American section of the "World Congress Against War", led by Theodore Dreiser, and heavily watered down with pacifists like Upton Sinclair, Harry Elmer Barnes and Robert Morss Lovett, has called a conference in New York to select fifty delegates to be sent to Geneva to attend the world congress.

The Daily Worker, which has given its endorsement to the Comintern-inspired Barbusse venture, has maintained a complete silence on the New York conference. The confused, pacifistically-tainted call of the American section of the congress, its petty bourgeois composition, has not met with a single word of criticism from the official party or its press.

The proclaimed object of this movement is to mobilize the masses throughout the world in the "struggle against the war danger". But the danger of imperialism war is not something separated from the class struggle in general, separated in such a manner that some mystically "special" form of fight against it is permissible or required. The revolutionary Communists conduct themselves on the economic field upon the foundation of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie. Politics is concentrated economics. War is the continuation of politics by other means. The leadership of the masses in the economic struggle which belongs to the Communists, cannot be surrendered by the latter in this petty bourgeois pacifist—without creating the utmost confusion in the ranks of the workers and producing the most pernicious effects.

This is not the first time this surrender, in the form of a masquerade, has occurred in the Communist International. In 1926, the Comintern actually yielded the leadership of the struggle against world imperialism and intervention against the Soviet Union, to the "Anglo-Russian Committee", which was proclaimed by Stalin and Bucharin to be the "organizational center of the struggle against world imperialism". The Anglo-Russian Committee, on its English side at least, proved to be a prop of imperialism and a monstrous deception of the workers whom the Comintern told to follow Purcell, Hicks and Co. In 1927, the Stalin-Bucharin regime told the workers that Chiang Kai-Shek's Kuo Min Tang was ordained to lead the struggle against foreign imperialism, with the Communists playing a subordinate role. The Kuo Min Tang proved to be a prop of imperialism and an agent in the struggle against the Soviet Union and the revolutionary Chinese masses.

For the Comintern to invest the present Barbusse-Rolland-Sinclair-Mann-Sun Yat Sen-Dreiser movement with the role of organizing the "struggle against the war danger and for the defense of the Soviet Union", is to lead the world's class conscious masses into a new debacle of the Anglo-Russian Committee and Kuo Min Tang variety.

The struggle against the imperialist war danger cannot be organized and led by Barbusse and Sinclair, but only by the Communists. The initiative for such a movement cannot be given into the hands of confused pacifists behind whom the Comintern hid: Can we imagine Lenin turning such a task over into the hands of Gorky and then announcing that the Bolsheviks will affiliate with it? The Communists should participate even in this Congress of pacifists, careerists, and politicians. But only in the manner in which Lenin advised the Communist position in the Hague pacifist congress of 1922: to expose the reactionary role of pacifism and to advance the Communist position on the class nature of war and its solution. The party in particular, which bears so much responsibility for this venture, must speak out clearly and stop playing at hide and seek. The Left Opposition will not fail to play its part in the accomplishment of this task.

New York Painters Out on Strike

Ten thousand painters of New York were called out on strike July 13-1, by the strike committee of District Council No. 9. Ten thousand painters must register twice a day so that the officials are sure they are not scabbing. The strike committee calls this a young man's strike. They make a special appeal to the young painters. Already many bosses have signed up and thousands of painters supporting the administration are back on the jobs. These employed workers pay a five dollar strike assessment; the main thing the officials want, since the D. C. is financially embarrassed.

The Alteration Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers Union of New York calls this a fake strike, but being true to their class, stand solid on strike with

Germany on Eve of Civil War

THE PARTY "ANSWERS" OUR WARNING

The warning we issued in the last issue of the Militant against the hoodlum tendencies manifested in the Communist party against the meetings of other working class organizations, has called forth a characteristic reply. In the Daily Worker of Tuesday, July 19, the editorial writer barks out a hysterical column of venom in which the customary "amalgam" is made of Hoover, Dies, Lovestone, Hillquit and the Trotskyists—all engaged in the service of the bourgeoisie. This reply to a revolutionary criticism is too hoary and does not improve with age. We warned that the attacks made on meetings not organized by the official party were bringing discredit upon its name and the cause of Communism as a whole. We brought an example out of the past of the German Communist Party, which lost its hold on the masses by similar policies. It is true that the socialists first introduced these methods

against the revolutionists. That is no reason for the party to adopt the same course. An even more disastrous result than the one we have already mentioned is this: in these disgraceful street-fights, it is the police who eventually "settle" the dispute, regardless of responsibility for them. Such tactics make the police the "arbitrator" between contending workers' organizations. The Daily Worker, without a blush of shame coming to its cheek, accuses us of helping the initiators of the Dies Bill. Quite the contrary: it is the tactics of the Stalinist that play into the hands of our enemies. The revolutionists will better be able to resist the growing terror against the militant workers by seeking to preserve the traditions that the labor movement has won for itself, and not by contributing to their violation. A halt must be called! It is high time. The thinking party members will demand it.

15,000 Workers Strike

Textile and Furniture Plants Shut Down in North Carolina

The spontaneous strike of hosiery workers against a 25 percent wage cut has spread throughout the city of High Point, North Carolina, closing every factory, uniting 15,000 workers in strike in over 150 mills. Hosiery workers, furniture factory workers, laundry workers and the unemployed have joined in the strike which is spreading to Thomasville, Kersyville, Lexington, Jamestown and Forsythe where strikers have held demonstrations of solidarity.

Dozens of isolated mill strikes in the last few months against the starvation cuttings in this strike, and has frightened the bosses and their state into action to head off the spread of the strike and unity of employed and unemployed striking workers. The police from all nearby cities have been rushed to High Point as the first measure against the workers. General Metz, of the National Guards, who led the troops against the Gastonia and Marion strikers was sent to High Point at once by Governor Gardner to plan the next step against the striking workers.

Strike After Wage Cut
The strike began July 19, in eight plants involving 3,000 workers. It spread to all mills and factories in and around High Point until complete shutdown was had. Mass marching and mass picketing brought thousands of more workers into the ranks of the strikers. The wage cut of the hosiery workers was from \$2.25 to \$1.50 per hundred.

As the strike spread the mass picketing increased. All night long they went from factory to mill, calling out the workers, shutting off the power, and smashing down locked gates hindering their progress.

Already the bosses fear the mass pressure. Already they are negotiating with the workers. It is reported that several mills have already consented to recall the 25 percent wage cut.

The U. T. W. union, and the Mustettes have rushed organizers to High Point. They hope to gain the confidence of the strikers and prevent them from moving into the channels of the N. T. W. U. and Communist leadership. The whole history of the U. T. W. in the south is a history of the worst kind of betrayal. The recent experiences of the U. T. W. under Muste leadership carries out the same line, only in sugar-coated form.

The Communists and the N. T. W. U. struggling upon the basis of the class struggle is the only force capable of guiding the increased class motion of the southern workers into the united class struggle against the bosses and their

The Stalinist Course

The party is frantically trying to make up for lost time, and past mistakes, but their present line of march, even at the inception of the "turn" to High Point has germs of future blunders. The paper half-turn of the T. U. U. L. in united front activity, which has caused the present rumbles of factional strife in the circles of the bureaucrats already lays the road for the Communists and their class struggle followers. In the editorial of July 21 of the Daily Worker (City Edition) they continue to say, "Only rank and file leadership can win the strike. The editorial confuses rank and file control with rank and file leadership. Nowhere does the editorial, or the Daily Worker in this or previous issues speak of steps toward united front action that will insure the N. T. W. U. minority rights at this stage of the struggle to enable it through the class struggle and ideological influence to win the majority of the workers to our program, and at the same time prevent the U. T. W. union and the social reformers from gaining domination. Unless a Marxian leadership, a Communist leadership is able to win the decisive section of the strikers, the hammer blows of the bosses and their government and the class collaboration policies of the reformers will bring defeat. If the strike does not have a Marxian leadership the workers will not learn the proper class lessons if defeated. The trade union policy of the T. U. U. L. must not stop at the paper half-turn. The Leninist line presented by the Left Opposition must be adopted.

Workers Shot in Illinois

One worker dead, three dying and thirty, more or less seriously wounded, is the answer given the three hundred unemployed workers demanding work at union wages at the Illinois Waterway Dam, in Marseilles, Ill.

The Illinois Waterway Dam is a Federal State Construction project. Work on Federal State Construction projects are usually of the most highly rationalized character. The government expends the greatest amount of energy in extracting the maximum of labor power from those whom it employs. The miserable conditions of the workers employed on the Boulder Dam project, Mississippi Levee, etc., are parallel examples. Work on these Federal dams is carried on under the glaring rays of the hot summer sun. Cases of sunstroke and heat exhaustion are a daily occurrence. For this miserable work the present rate of pay at this particular Dam is 35 cents an hour for laborers, 40 cents for truck drivers and 90 cents for crane operators. The unemployed union men demanded 50 cents, 70 cents and \$1.62 per hour respectively. The answer to these demands was the spatter of machine-gun bullets fired by Hoover's company guards at the demonstrating workers. The workers fought back valiantly. Using every improvised weapon at command, the workers showed a real militancy and courage in fighting back the government black-

The Fate of the World Revolution Hangs in the Balance!

A military dictatorship has been imposed upon the state of Prussia. Martial law reigns in Red Berlin, the city which in 1930 gave the Communists the largest vote. The soldateska of the Junker General Von Schleicher rules the streets. The socialist ministers of Prussia have been ousted from office on threat of arrest. The socialist police president of Berlin has submitted his resignation from the military detention prison at Moabit, to which he has been hailed by Von Schleicher's men.

On the direct demand of Hans Kerl, National Socialist president of the Prussian Diet and after a rabid campaign on the part of Adolf Hitler and Alfred Hugenberg, President Paul von Hindenburg issued the decree by which Prussia passed over into the hands of the military. The decree establishes the Chancellor of the Reich as Federal Commissioner for Prussia with powers to remove members of the Prussian ministry and to name commissioners for the conduct of the other Prussian cabinet posts. It proclaims the assumption of executive power by the Minister of the Reichswehr and declares "admissible restrictions of . . . freedom of speech, press and assembly, invasion of the mails", etc. It announces the death penalty for strikers.

The New Decree in Practice
Raids have already been carried out on the offices of the Rote Fahne, the Communist central organ and the paper

Mass Meeting

Military Dictatorship in Germany

WILL HITLER TAKE POWER?
WILL THE SOCIALISTS FIGHT?
WHAT SHOULD THE COMMUNISTS DO?

Speakers
H. OEHLER M. SHACHTMAN
Chairman: A. GLOTZER

Wednesday, July 27th, at 8 P. M.
STUYVESANT CASINO
2nd Avenue and 9th Street

All Welcome Admission Free
Auspices: N. Y. Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

has been suspended. Police have dispersed a Communist meeting in South-east Berlin by gunfire. The promulgation of the dictatorship by the Von Papen regime came about as a challenge to the growing resistance on the part of the workers in concerted local actions of Communist and socialists against the Fascist terror. The dictatorship decree is a direct step in the initiation of civil war against the working class.

The newspapers report the jubilant reception given the issuance of the act by Hugenberg and Hitler. It is only natural that Hitler should be jubilant. For the seizure of Prussia cannot be interpreted otherwise than as an organizational preparative for the Fascist seizure of power. The Von Papen government has been carrying out the demands of the Nazis consistently. They have already openly and officially come to the aid of the Fascist bands in their armed attacks upon the working class organization, as is evident from the motivation of the Hindenburg Document. The integration of the Nazi Storm Troops within the framework of the state is next on the order of the day.

More shameful and more despicable than ever is the policy of the German social democracy in this situation. Feeling

hobnails of the reactionary soldateska on their very skins, their ministers forcibly ousted, their officials placed under arrest, the reformist traitors are, in spite of all this, calling upon their followers to "maintain order" not to "yield to provocation" and to "concentrate all forces on the Reichstag elections campaign"! Not a word about any kind of united working class action, not even a simulation of militancy. Even today, when it is clear to all that the heads of the workers are at stake, the betrayers of 1918-1919 play their old abominable role, cringing before the will of the bourgeois masters, prepared for the most disastrous sell out of all.

The Workers Strive for Unity
Already their attempts to spread the illusions of a legalistic and parliamentary resistance have been largely dissipated by semi-official announcements that the Reichstag elections are to be postponed. In the meantime the workers are becoming constantly more restless, their desire for united working class action is universal.

"The establishment of a dictatorial power in the hands of Chancellor von Papen," says a Berlin dispatch of the New York Evening Post, "has increased the tendency of the social democratic and the Communist workers to draw together in a united proletarian front". This tendency will yet increase manifold. The workers of Germany realize that they are facing a life and death struggle with their mortal enemy. They recognize distinctly in the setting up of the Prussian dictatorship—the hand of Fascism. Their will to fight is not impaired. The showing they have made in the recent clashes with the Hitlerite bands prove that they are far from giving up the struggle.

Yet, while the natural class bonds constantly tend to draw the workers, social democrats and Communists closer and closer, the proletarian camp still remains divided on the eve of battle.

The Daily Worker of Thursday July 28th says that the "workers have been establishing the Red United Front . . . over the heads of the social democratic leaders". There can be nothing more dangerous than this deceptive and illusory piece of information. There can be nothing more criminal than the maintenance of the thoroughly false and splitting tactic of the "Red United Front" which poses the question of establishing united front action on the basis of an ultimatum handed to the workers to accept in advance the leadership of the Communist party. And in the same breath, the Daily Worker dispatch further informs us that "a mass political strike of the German working class was called for by the Communist party fraction in the Reichstag"—not by any united front body!

If the information of the Daily Worker (Continued on page 4)

PRESS PICNIC IN NEW YORK

A picnic for the benefit of our press will be held at Tibbets Brook Park, N. Y., Sunday, August 7th. Friends and sympathizers of The Militant, Worker, Kampf, Communists, and Young Spontaneists should cooperate to make this a big success.

The last joint press picnic held in New York was very successful, socially and financially. A good time was had by all. The financial income substantially aided our papers.

A social program is being arranged. One or more baseball games will be played. Food, refreshments, games and amusements will be supplied.

Remember the date, Sunday, August 7. Keep it open. Notify your friends and fellow workers. Watch the Militant and the other Opposition press for further announcements and details.

The Massacre of St. Louis Workers

ST. LOUIS.—
Following the forcible dispersion of approximately five thousand unemployed workers and their children who had gathered at the City Hall in St. Louis under the leadership of the local Unemployed Council, the local branch to the Communist League of America (Opposition) sent an open letter to the Communist party in hope of immediate action in reply to our offer of aid and united action in the fight against unemployment and police terror by organizing a united front conference.

As yet the Party has remained quiet, although Foster is scheduled to speak in St. Louis on his election tour in two days.

Jobless Position Acuteness
The unemployment situation in St.

Louis has recently grown acute; the "relief" associations erasing 15,000 families' names from their books within the past week "due to a shortage of funds" and the City operated Bureau For Homeless Men turning nearly 2,000 men out into the streets because "all available finances are already spent". The Board of Aldermen has held a special meeting with 2,000 business men but there was no general agreement on how to raise the necessary funds to "avert the crisis". Everything from a 5 million dollar bond issue to a cent tax on newspapers has been discussed and debated—while the unemployed starved or lived on garbage.

The Unemployed Council of St. Louis, as the result of about 3,000 demonstrations (Continued on page 2)

The Massacre in St. Louis

Left Opposition Calls Upon Party to Form a Workers' United Front

(Continued from page 1)
ing on July 8th, "scared" the city officials and the result was: \$1.00 grocery orders were immediately given out after the hunger march. That was Friday. On Monday, yesterday, the Unemployed Council sent in their committee of 12 to the Alderman's Chambers demanding that immediate legislation be passed to raise funds so that the unemployed will receive a minimum of \$7.00 a week for family of two and \$2.00 additional for each dependent.

Police Bomb Workers

But the committee never came out. After waiting, listening and speaking for three hours, a committee of 50 women and 100 ex-service men volunteered to enter the City Hall to learn what was detaining the original committee of 12. The police immediately tossed a tear-gas bomb at the crowd, and someone in the crowd caught it and tossed it back in the midst of the police. The detectives and cops scrambled back into the building, emerging a minute later with two machine-guns, tear-gas guns and several dozen tear-gas bombs. A couple of police began shooting point blank at the mass of people. Four workers falling down, one of them a Negro, who is seriously wounded and expected to die.

The unemployed, in defense of their lives, fought back heroically. With only bricks pelted up from the street and some soda bottles and apples and oranges necessarily expropriated from a fruit dealer in their midst, the workers understood the police tear gas and bullet fire for fully a quarter of an hour before the streets were cleared and capitalist "law and order" established.

In the event the Communist party does not immediately act against the police repression, the St. Louis branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition), despite its numerical smallness, will institute the elementary united front campaign for the workers' right to free speech and public assembly, against the police terrorism, and for immediate unemployment relief.

ST. LOUIS.—

To protest against last Monday's police massacre, the "united front" of the Unemployed Council, the International Labor Defense and the Communist party, issued circulars calling upon the workers to attend a public protest demonstration at Alce Plaza, 18th and Market Streets on Wednesday at 5:30 P. M. But the protest demonstration failed to materialize. In compliance with the blue-coats' orders of "no congregating", the party members kept walking and waiting and waiting. For a miracle, I suppose. The several hundreds workers who had come to join in the protest against the police terrorism waited an hour and some two hours trying to figure out why the party members were waiting, and then left, some in disgust, while party members continued looking at the sky, and tying and re-tying their shoelaces. I went up to one of the typical Stalinists (Schwartz) and offered (in line with our letter offering our support) to help start the meeting but was met with the parrot retort of "counter-revolutionists—we wouldn't do anything with you."

"Self-Criticism"

Now in "explaining" the reasons for the failure of the mass protest the party members give the following Leninist self-

criticism: "The police wouldn't allow any congregating and if anyone would have started speaking he would have been arrested. Besides some of our best speakers were in jail." BUT ALL OF THIS WAS KNOWN BEFORE THE MEETING WAS ARRANGED!

The City administration, seeing that their edict of no Alce Plaza protest meeting was a success changed their ruling of "no Communist assemblies anywhere in the city for any purpose" and stated the next morning that indoor meetings could be held, "if they were orderly", and that Foster would be allowed to speak at the Turner Hall in the evening.

The election campaign meeting which had been prominently advertised by all of the capitalist newspapers, was well attended. The hall was jammed—with 700 or 800 in attendance. Many of the party members and sympathizers who had failed to show up at the proposed demonstration came down to hear Foster. Vote Communist undoubtedly is their slogan.

In addition to his talk on the national situation, Foster, the great Steel Strike Strategist, gave out the "general line" for the unemployment fight in St. Louis. Despite the non-materialization of the previous night's protest demonstration and despite the fact that almost every worker present was commenting on it, Foster did not even mention a word about it. He evidently figured the less said about it the better.

"The General Line"

Foster's "general line" was: The workers must answer "the bullets" and "the concessions". (The "concessions" were \$200,000 that the city administration gave to the charity associations following Monday's massacre). The workers must answer "the bullets" with a fighting spirit of steel. And "the concessions" by registering and organizing every unemployed worker in the Unemployed Council. Lastly, "what about the workers who are in jail?" "A Defense Council" must be organized even with delegates from the A. F. of L. unions, fraternal organizations, etc., "for the purpose of" raising money for their defense! Especially property owners are needed, the chairman explained, for bail purposes. There were more cheers, but some of the workers went home asking themselves the question: "Was that Foster, the great Steel Strike Strategist?"

About the immediate necessity of organizing a mass movement to force the administration to permit the workers to publicly assemble, to protest against the police repression, and to gain our unemployment demands, Foster's silence was golden.

At the conference of the Defense Council (if and when called) the Communist League of America (Opposition) will fight for the adoption of our proposed line of action—the immediate necessity of a broad united front of all working-class organizations to fight for the workers' right to free speech and to public assembly, against the police terrorism, for the freeing of the arrested unemployed, and for a political, religious or economic affiliations.

—MARTIN PAYER.

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO
THE MILITANT

Belgian Diggers Resist Wage-cut

The article below by comrade Lesoil, leader of the Belgian Opposition and active militant of the miners in the Charleroi coal fields, serves as a background of information through which the more recent strike wave which upset Belgium and required the intervention of the king and the government, may be more clearly understood.

Right after the trade union congress, Delattre wrote an article recommending to the miners not to allow themselves to be maneuvered by the Communists.

We are going to prove that the extraordinary congress of the Central was nothing but a maneuver of the leaders in order to subject the miners to the employers.

We will prove this by irrefutable facts. If the official index of May 15 fell so as to justify the bosses' demand for a general 5 per cent cut of the miners in the country, they would immediately have called together the Mixed Commission and demanded the 5 per cent.

They didn't do it... because officially they had no right to a contractual reduction.

The fall in the index was invented after the fact! Why? Because the bosses having posted a cut of from 2 to 10 percent in the Borinage district, the Borinese miners decided unanimously to quit in a strike against this reduction.

Faced by the threat of a general strike in the Borinage, strike which might by its scope and vigor have unleashed a general movement of resistance to the wage cuts, the employees, the government retreated.

They accepted and followed the advice of the Central trade union leaders who proposed to them to table the 5 percent reduction for all the miners in the country. The result is that the bosses who wanted to cut the wages of 40,000 miners by 4 percent on the average, receive a general cut of 5 percent for 150,000 miners.

Instead of saving 960,000 francs (almost \$40,000) per month from the wages of the Borinese, the employers will save 4,500,000 francs out of the totality of the miners.

Furthermore, with the help of the trade union leaders, they avoid the Borinage strike and obtain a decision of the congress ordering the miners to accept the contractual reduction manufactured at the last minute to deceive the miners and force them into this decision; to leave work in strike against their central organization so as to be able to defend their wages.

What did the speeches of the delegates still working in the mines demonstrate?

1. The will of the Borinese miners to fight in defense of their wages;
2. The great dissatisfaction existing among the miners in all the fields;
3. And this assertion, undisputed by the leaders of the union, that nowhere, in no field, is the contract respected by the bosses.

At the same time the delegates declare that the wages are below schedule, that the employers do not respect them, that the trade union leaders impose the acceptance of the new reduction upon the miners because the workers must respect the contract.

Defenders of the employers' interests, spokesmen of the employers at the head

New York Painters out on Strike

Drastic Wage Cuts Meets Resistance of Building Trades Workers

(Continued from page 1)
and for class unity against the capitalist class. The action of the District Council was against unity. The Alteration Painters want the unity of the painters. The District Council also divided the trades by refusing to organize the alteration painters.

A rejection of the United Front is the desire of the A. F. L. officials. If they accept a united front proposal, it is not because they have a change of heart, but because the pressure from the rank and file has forced them into a united front. We want a united front to expose the A. F. L. fakery, to protect the workers from the sell-out and to build and advance the workers industrial labor organizations and movement.

Will the Alteration Painters Union succeed in preventing a sellout, succeed in winning the strike. To find out if this is possible we must investigate the action of the Alteration Painters officials in their United Front proposal. The united front of the Alteration Painters was only a half step, just like the half step taken by the T. U. U. L. in the "new turn". A paper proposal for a united front without proper organizational preliminary steps and follow-up steps is as hopeless in results as the former united front from below.

The proposal of the Alteration Painters Union for equal representation on the strike committee when the District Council counts its members by the thousands and the Alteration painters count theirs by the hundreds, plays into the hands of the A. F. L. officials, for good excuses, to reject the class struggle united front. Neither union is an industrial union. The A. F. L. unions stand on the basis of class collaboration and the Alteration Painters Union stands on that of the class struggle. The failure of the Alteration Painters Union officials to pose the question of uniting the two unions after proper preparations and with organizational safeguards for the class struggle wing of the unity, also gives the fakery weapons against the unity proposal.

In calling for a united front, the Alteration Painters officials failed to carry on the preliminary preparation work within the A. F. L. When the unity committee appeared before the District Council the rank and file, through written word and verbal, should have been well prepared for the negotiations, should know our proposals, should be pushed into a position to support unity, to bring pressure upon their bureaucratic leadership for un-

accepting the wage reductions by the congress without consulting the miners and without permitting them to express themselves on it.

The congress was a maneuver of the reformist leaders to subject the mass of the miners to the conditions of the employers.

It is not with impunity that this policy of complicity and direct aid by the leaders of the trade union Central to the coal bosses is to be practised, for the dissatisfaction is growing and anger is beginning to rise among the miners; and when it explodes their blows will be directed not only against their starvation—bosses but also against their accomplices, the reformist leaders.

Charleroi, Belgium
—L. LESOIL.

CAMPFIRE POSTPONED

Due to other arrangements that intervened, the campfire announced for Saturday, July 23, by the Spartacus Youth Club, has been postponed until further notice. Watch the Militant for further information.

MILITANT BUILDERS

Who is a Militant Builder? A Militant builder is a comrade or sympathizer who is seriously interested in building the circulation of the Militant because he realizes that our point of view, the ideas for which we are fighting, our fight must be carried to an ever widening circle of Communist and Left wing workers and to the working class generally.

A Militant builder understands that to build the circulation of the Militant a group of people is necessary—a group of people who conceive it to be one of their main tasks to see workers, talk of workers, to get subs. He understands that it is not enough to do this every now and then. He understands that it is necessary to do this steadily over a long period of time. He understands that in the present period it is his revolutionary duty to get subs. It is the task in hand at the moment.

It is by this steady plugging in this period that we are firmly sinking our roots into the minds and thinking of the working class. Through the work of our staff of Militant builders we are making the name of the Militant known, and we are making known what it stands for and fights for.

Right now we need recruits. We want every comrade to join up. It is really a fairly simple matter to get subs. All that is needed is a little energy. Comrades, we must get subs. We must build the circulation of the Militant. It is our chief propaganda instrument. It is the voice in this country of revolutionary internationalism. Its message—our message—must be carried to the Communist and Left wing workers, to the whole working class.

To work! Get subs!

Pioneer Publishers Notes

JUST ARRIVED FROM ENGLAND!

We are in receipt of 30 copies of *Whither England* by comrade Trotsky. To our readers and comrades this book needs no introduction. It is a brilliant Marxist analysis of the class forces at work in old England. The predictions it makes have been confirmed by time and are being confirmed by the onward sweep of the class war.

The book is paper bound and runs to 180 pages. It sells for 75 cents. Orders will be filled strictly in the order in which they are received.

WHAT NEXT?

On July 31 the elections to the Reichstag will take place in the midst of what is virtually civil war. On August 1, we will issue comrade Trotsky's latest work dealing with the present situation in Germany. Its great timeliness inclines us to believe that its sale will be quick. What we want now is in advance sale. Comrades, readers and sympathizers! Order your copies now! Make the sale of the book a success! Get orders for it!

Comrades who are unemployed and cannot afford to buy their own copies can earn a copy by getting orders for four copies and remitting for them. Upon receipt of the order we will send free to the comrade a copy of the book.

PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

"Problems of the Chinese Revolution" is moving but not fast enough. Once more we ask: How many copies have you sold? To unemployed comrades we make the same offer we made in the paragraph above in connection with *What Next?* What we want is to place this book in the hands of as many workers as we can. To workers already infected with Stalinism this book will be a sort of ideological antidote. To workers immune from the ideological degeneration of Stalinism this book will be a sort of immunization. That is our job—to combat and destroy the poison of Stalinism. This book by comrade Trotsky is a potent weapon in our hands—provided we apply it. If every comrade were to sell three copies a good part of our task would be accomplished.

Publications in Foreign Languages

A number of the works which we advertise in England are also obtainable from us in Jewish, Russian, Italian and Spanish. Comrades who read English with difficulty or feel more at home in their native languages should apply to us for information about these publications. We may not be able to fill every order but we will try.

BOUND VOLUMES OF TROTSKY'S PAMPHLETS

Do you want a copy of these bound volumes? There are still a few left. Do you know a worker who wants to make a serious study of the principle questions in dispute between Stalinism and the International Left? Do you know a worker unclear on the basic question of Socialism in One Country? Do you know a worker who believes in the idiotic theory of social-Fascism? Do you know a worker who thinks we are counter-revolutionists?

If you know such a worker persuade him to buy a bound volume of these pamphlets by comrade Trotsky and study these questions for himself. Explain to him that while he will be unable to get three of the pamphlets which are out of print and unobtainable except in these bound volumes. These pamphlets are the all-important and basic document. The Draft Program of the Comintern: The Turn in the C. I. and the Situation in Germany; and World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan.

The Dollar Versus the Pound

Wall St. and Lombard St. Fight for World Financial Supremacy

For years the American imperialists have been fighting their British competitors, struggling to obtain Dollar supremacy over the Pound, and now the capitalists of the United States can boast that they have accomplished this task. Step by step, since the world war, the Dollar has fought the Pound in every corner of the globe, taking advantage of the decay of the British Empire in order to gain world domination. The Pound ruled when capitalism was expanding, and was able to draw the best of the capitalist profits and plunder toward London, but America has this dollar supremacy in the decay of capitalism, and with the post war reparation tangle, the present deepening crisis, the American capitalists have only been able to reap a whirlwind of entangling world political problems that their Washington office boys are not capable of untangling.

The tremendous productive forces, the over abundance of capital and of means of production laid the base for the present Dollar domination. This enables the American imperialists to stand on the top of the heap of the exploiting capitalist nations. But it is not an expanding and growing world economic structure, that is pouring tribute into the Wall Street. The tribute paid to the tribute of dying "victims" to a master who will give them a little longer lease on life. This forces the American capitalists to face problems unparalleled hitherto in the world of capitalism. Problems that will cut short the fruits of the victory of Dollar domination.

In an attempt to extract itself from the crisis, American imperialism has been forced to give more immediate attention to problems in South America, Asia and Europe than to internal developments. The capitalists, however, have not neglected the problems within the country. On the contrary, they have handled them remarkably well in the interest of the financiers. Every measure of importance taken has been by and for and of the financiers at the expense of the workers, the farmers, the middle class, and the small industrialist. The financiers the monopolist and the big in-

dustrialists are being cared for satisfactorily. The class nature of the drastic measures taken by the government within the country stand out with distinct prominence but the increasing international problems have required even more drastic steps.

In Germany the class struggle is at a higher level and threatening revolution or imperialist war needs measures equal to the task of insuring the position of the American capitalist. When the American workers will begin to press hard upon the exploiting classes, when the revolutionary movement here will surge upward, the more drastic measures, as well as demagogic steps, will be taken internally. In this case it is up to the Communists to be equal the task.

Several months ago when England was forced off the gold standard, the American Dollar won a signal victory in replacing the Pound. New York supplanted London as the gold center. But the present reparations "settlement" throws light upon the manner in which New York replaced London in the period of decay of capitalism. England has no choice in retreating from the gold standard. This was a move to reorganize the British economic structure. Now England is trying to make a come-back. America is trying somewhat different steps. But the purpose of each is the same—to reorganize in order to be in a position to defeat the other imperialist in the struggle for the redivision of the world. By economic war as long as possible—and by imperialist war when necessary. The lowering of wages, and the reduction of the standard of living in America are necessary capitalist steps in this direction. Our class tasks lie in the opposite direction.

After America obtained Dollar domination, other capitalist nations led by France made drastic attacks on the dollar, hoping to dislodge it from the key position. They were successful for a time in badly shaking the American financial structure. It can now be said that the first victory over the Pound has been followed up by a second victory over the other imperialists in retaining

the dominating position after the attacks. The question confronting American capitalism now is—can the American imperialists follow this up and transform the events into their favor? The American capitalists are not yet sufficiently reorganized to give a positive answer to this question. They are busy with measures to strengthen their position to enable them to carry through the next step. It will not be the other imperialists who will prevent the fulfillment; it can only be the world imperialist under Communist leadership.

If the developing German civil war or an imperialist war does not alter the course, the American capitalists have a favorable chance. At home the financiers have forced the other exploiters to follow their lead. The measures prior to the Two Billion Credit Pool were preliminary steps. The Credit Pool had its positive side for the bankers as well as its negative side for the other classes. The Glass \$1,000,000,000 inflation bill is another step to peg up the Dollar in an attempt to enable it to hold its dominating position. The inflation bill will force through another indirect wage cut upon the American workers and enable the bosses to garner a huge profit even though the rate of profit has fallen.

It is only a temporary measure but such measures are necessary in these trying days. Any measure the capitalists take today will only intensify the contradictions tomorrow. But they cannot wait. The life of dying capitalism is at stake and measures must be taken today.

The capitalist remedy for deflation is inflation, yet neither can touch the core of the problem. The financiers are pressing hard for the Branch Banking Law. And since they started the public campaign many months ago for Branch Banking they have gained considerable headway. This measure will be a worthwhile breathing spell for them if they are able to push it through.

The dollar stands, but the crisis deepens. The financiers have been able to deal some blows through their imperialist agents but the main test is still ahead. The moratorium, the reparations and the German situation holds much in store for the fate of Dollar supremacy.

—H. O.

PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

BY LEON TROTSKY

These 450 pages of analysis and record of the revolution and counter-revolution in China since 1925, offer the first integral Marxist presentation of one of the greatest movements in modern times. The views of the Left Opposition are given here for the first time in systematic, elaborated form, side-by-side with a stinging criticism of the catastrophic course pursued by Stalin and Bukharin. The suppressed writings of Trotsky are found here for the first time in English, together with appendices by Zinoviev, Vuyovich, Nassunov and others.

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The Civil War in Chile

Motive Forces Behind South American «Revolutions»

(Continued from last issue)

The «socialist» and «anti-imperialist» mask of Davila and his former companion-in-arms, Marmaduke Grove, served the one purpose of derailing the working masses from their genuine struggle. This demagogic also found an echo in the Right wing Lovestone group, which declared at the time, that the «Radical Rising in Chile Triumphs» and that «Davila Establishes Anti-Imperialist Regime». It is not strange at all that the Lovestoneite opportunists should fall for all the demagoguery of Chile's bourgeoisie. They can't be expected to see further than their nose. They have in their time seen such «radical» and «anti-imperialist» movements in the antics of Chiang Kai-Shek, Calles, Obregon, Sandino, etc.

But the «revolutionary» flirtations of Davila and Co. cannot deceive the conscious proletariat. Davila and his «socialist» phraseology are not even a novelty for us. For Ivanhoe (whom Davila represented as ambassador to Washington), when he came to power, used a more or less analogous ruse. He also spoke about «anti-imperialism» and national reformism. But his anti-imperialism was directed against the British imperialists alone (whom his predecessor, Alessandri, had served) and in favor of American imperialism. His national reformism became concretized in throwing the whole weight of the crisis on the shoulders of the working class.

For lack of information, we cannot devote ourselves sufficiently to the role played by the official Communist party in the latest events. We shall return to that subject on another occasion. From the information we can get through the bourgeois and the local Communist press, it appears that the party did not attempt a repetition of its putschist tactics, pursued at the time of the revolt of the navy. If this is so, then the party acted quite correctly, for the situation, nationally as well as on the whole continent, is not at a ripe for an insurrection of an independent character.

In order to understand better the problems of the Chilean revolution we shall give a brief account of the social forces in Chile. The proletariat of the towns and countryside, about 400,000 in number, quite considerable in proportion to the population of the country—about 4,000,000—has not yet assimilated the ideas of Communism and still remains subject to great confusion. This is due in large part to the enormous ideological shortcomings of the official party. The working class movement of Chile is one of the oldest in Latin America. It is known for its strong spirit of militancy and for its abounding revolutionary energy. But very often, due to its ideological backwardness, its revolutionary energy is exploited for the interests of alien class forces, as demonstrated to a certain degree by the latest events.

The Communist party is also one of the oldest parties of Latin America and today the strongest, enjoying a great deal of influence over the working class. But it is still very far from being able to give the necessary leadership to the revolutionary proletariat. For it is itself at a low ideological level. The membership as a whole, as well as the leadership are lacking in a theoretical base. The leadership in its big majority is composed of confused revolutionists and petty bourgeois radicals. In this respect it is worth while mentioning that the situation in the other Latin American countries is not much better and in some even worse. A great share of the responsibility for this state of affairs rests upon the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International. This bureaucratic international leadership, with its national socialist base resulting in the practical abandonment of the international revolutionary movement—Latin America included—contributes predominantly to the retardation and the disorientation of the Communist forces in these countries. Opportunism and adventurism have their deep roots inside the Chilean Communist Party. And where was the Chilean party to learn otherwise? From the rotten maneuvers of Stalin-Bucharin with Chiang Kai-Shek in China and with Purcell, Hicks and Co. in the Anglo-Russian Committee? From the great wisdom of the «third period» which completely overlooked the revolution in Spain and instead put the insurrection on the order of the day in France? No, the teachings and the tactics of Stalin-Manuilsky-Molotov could not help the Latin American parties rid themselves of the ulcers of opportunism and adventurism. On the contrary, they only helped to perpetuate them.

Even greater than in the fields of daily struggle, is the confusionism on the question of the character of the revolution. In the thesis presented by the South American Bureau of the Communist International on the situation in Chile, there is talk, in reference to this question, of the «agrarian and anti-imperialist» revolution and the «workers and peasants» government. This vital and central revolutionary problem is treated with the greatest confusion and ambiguity by the S. A. B. as well as by the whole Stalinist press of Latin America. It is only a logical consequence, since they are part and parcel of the Stalinist apparatus in the C. I. which is responsible for the presentation of the problem of the revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries as a problem of the «democratic dictatorship of the workers and the peasantry». This slogan, which has been recovered from the «museum of Bolshevik relics» (to which Lenin had relegated it with just those words), at first applied to countries whose national economy bears an agrarian character, is today being employed by the Stalinists, not only for such countries, but also for highly developed industrial countries (like Germany or the United States). The Leninist slogan of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which carried the Russian revolution to victory and which alone can achieve its victory on an international scale, is taboo for all the Latin American Stalinists.

Without a clear view of the character of the revolution, the Communist movement will not be able to progress in the methods and tactics of struggle. The equivocal formula of the «agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution» can only lead our parties to a repetition of the Calles-Obregon policy of our Mexican party and the «Bloques Obreros y Campesinos» in other countries. All these also flowed from confusionist policies of the anti-Leninist leadership of the C. I. and its scandalous «auxiliaries» like the Anti-Imperialist League, which considered Mexico under the Calles regime a country «where the process of the liquidation of feudalism is being realized and which endeavors to create its own economy in spite of imperialist designs» (resolution on Latin America at the Anti-Imperialist Congress of Brussels).

We have seen to what extent the Stalinist concept of the «anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution» in Mexico has disarmed our party ideologically. The same danger exists for all the young and weak Latin American parties. Its continued propaganda spells disaster for the development of the revolution in South America. There can be no intermediary revolution. Neither in Chile, nor on the Latin American continent, nor in any other part of the world for that matter. There can be only two forms of rule—the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie of Latin America is as backward and non-socialist as in the rest of the world, and therefore cannot participate at the present stage of history as a leading force in society. It can either turn to reaction and go with the bourgeoisie or follow the proletariat along the road of revolution. It is necessary to end the illusions and the idealization of the peasantry. It is necessary to take a Marxist position on the agrarian problem, so as to be able to adopt a correct revolutionary line in the development of the class struggle in Latin America. Such a position requires the recognition of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat on a national, on a continental and on a world scale.

In conclusion. The latest events reflect the existence of wide spread tranquility among all social groups and the sharpening of the class struggle in particular. The bourgeoisie is not able to solve the crisis, which determines the changes in the government cliques and which helped carry Davila into power. The misery and the starvation of the producing masses of the cities and the countryside remain as before. The personal dictatorships, or even Fascist dictatorships, no matter what sort of demagoguery they employ, will not be able to revive the carcass of the semi-colonial capitalist system in Chile. All the fundamental problems stand unsolved and are increasing in acuteness. The contradiction will take on even a sharper character in the future.

This opens up broad perspectives for the Communist party. But in order to be able to take advantage of this extraordinary, favorable situation for a progressive development of the Communist forces, it is necessary to have a clear view of the problems of the revolution, not only of Chile, but of the Latin American continent in particular and the international situation in general. It is necessary to adopt a correct strategy and tactic by coordinating and systematizing the Communist activities on a continental scale, since the triumph of the revolution in Chile depends upon that in the most important countries of Latin America, as an integral part of the world revolution. That necessary strategy and tactic can only be elaborated on the basis of the theory of the permanent revolution.

—ALBERTO GONZALEZ.

FIRST MEETING IN ANTHRACITE
The first meeting of the Left Opposition in that part of Pennsylvania will be held on Sunday, July 24th at 3 P. M., in Luzerne, Pa., the heart of the anthracite coal fields. The meeting will be held in the Italian Reunited Hall, in which comrade Max Shachtman, editor of the Militant, will speak on «The Crisis in the Communist Movement». This will be the first opportunity of the workers in that territory to hear the viewpoint of the Left Opposition expressed from the platform. Admission is free to enable the maximum to attend.

What Is Happening in the Soviet Union

A Letter from Moscow

Behind the scenes of the Stalinist apparatus a deep-going process is at work undermining the «monolithism» of the leading group which is narrowing down ever more threateningly the personality of Stalin. The official party press naturally maintains a censor-bound silence on what is going on in actuality. The present letter will give our readers an insight into some of the significant events taking place.

The chief characteristic of the present situation, particularly in the mood of the party, is the disquieting indeterminateness. The causes for it are ingrained in the international situation, and the economic manifestations as well as the subjective mood of the party. During the last years, the center of gravity in the party shifted ever higher and higher. The more the party became distended, the smaller became the number of individuals that preserved an influence on the life of the state. In the course of a few years everybody was tutored to swear by the «Leninist C. C.»; but now the young Comsomol (member of the Y. C. L.) retainers in the apparatus refer to the C. C. with semi-ironical smirks; the matter, you see, rests not with C. C. but with given individuals and groupings within the apparatus.

The first two years of the five year plan undoubtedly uplifted the self-esteem of the upper crust and strengthened the personal authority of Stalin. Our papers reprinted the references of the foreign press to the successes of the industrialization and to its organizers. There is no doubt that this exerted its influence on sufficiently wide circles. The highest crest of this wave can be considered, if you please, the moment of the trial against the Mensheviks. It would be incorrect to explain away their confessions and repentances by cowardice alone. The more honest among them were undoubtedly under the influence of the successes in industrialization and collectivization.

THE ALL-EMBRACING COLLECTIVIZATION

But, comparatively speaking, from this same time the situation in food stuffs and necessities begins to sharpen acutely. The all-embracing collectivization represented in itself an extremely contradictory process. Very considerable strata of the peasantry went into the collective farm approximately in the same state of mind with which the unemployed flock into the community soup-kitchens. With only this difference, that in capitalist community kitchens are expended philanthropic crusts of capitalist profits, whereas within an important number of the collective farms the basic capital was eaten up. At the present moment the bureaucracy of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture reckons—secretly, of course,—that only 10% of the collective farms have become firmly established, while the remainder cannot be taken into account. It is quite possible that this is an exaggeration to the other side; a disenchanted bureaucracy is none too bashful in its dealings with statistics. But it is indubitable that the grandiose utopia of an all-embracing collectivization of the peasantry has suffered in the course of two or three years an equally grandiose defeat. This fact enters in an ever increasing scale into the consciousness of the entire nation, and dominates more and more the consciousness of the nation.

All our crises and difficulties following after October 1917 had one and the same profound source: the absence of the jointure or the instability of the jointure between the city and the village. The vacillations in the matter of collectivization (dizziness, and then pulling oneself out of it only to be followed by new dizziness) meant for the hundred-millioned village, commotions on a grandiose scale. Here the revolution reached out to the deepest roots of the national-economic life. The bureaucracy perpetuated everything in order to endow these processes, difficult as they were through the force of objective causes, with the most acute possible unhealthy character. The peasantry at the present moment is indubitably dissatisfied. They do not know what or how to gauge and they feel all too clearly in their everyday existence that those on top do not know what direction to take. I speak in the main of the period preceding the restoration of the private market. The new reform came unexpectedly. Its consequences may be very great. At the moment it is not easy to appraise it. The responses and presuppositions it has called forth from all sides vary considerably and sometimes are directly contradictory. The leadership offers no general appraisal, i. e., does not function as a leadership. But I shall write subsequently about the markets because up to now they are in a large measure more of a symptom than an economic factor.

The discord within the villages and the discord between the city and the village, as always the case, is taken out on the worker, making his position as regards necessities worse. You have no doubt noticed in our press what a tremendous place in our inner life has been occupied by the problem of rabbit culture. The entire party was mobilized and set on foot under the slogan of breeding rabbits. Rabbit nurseries were founded in factories. One might suppose that here one is dealing with Belgium or England, yet even in these thickly populated countries the rabbit hardly appears as a subject for such a governmental cult. Tens and hundreds of factory directors and expert economists have taken an absolutely negative attitude to the «all-embracing rabbit culture» as being deleterious to the industry and economy in general. It is entirely self-evident that the revival of factory truck-gardens and the creation of factory rabbit nurseries denotes the attempt to found alongside of industry «one's private», small, but reliable rural economy. Consequently in this fact is expressed the acute break in the jointure between the city and the village. But none expresses oneself seriously on this topic out loud. You may recall how Lenin opened the period of revision in War-Communism. «We must put it plainly: the peasantry is not satisfied with the character of the relations we have established.» This statement is often recalled at present by many, but, of course, only among themselves, within a narrow circle. At this moment, in the summer of 1932, it is no less exigent to give oneself a lucid accounting of the actual situation than in the beginning of 1921. But here blocking the road at every step the party regime looms in the way.

The situation in foodstuffs is grave to extremes. Not only in Crimea or Georgia but in the Urals, Ukraine and Siberia. The deterioration in the functioning of the transport system has not been restored by Andreyev. Miracles were expected from this precocious bureaucrat, a former «Trotskyist», who was put in place of the old Stalinist Rukhovich, but the miracles did not materialize. The root of the matter is in the provisions situation of the workers and the employees. All the arrears in and the failures and unfulfillments of plans, the falling in quality, etc., of the transport and both the light and heavy industry have in the main the same source: the insufficient and irregular provisioning of the workers. Wherever there is a scarcity of the most essential objects for personal subsistence there you inevitably get the development of misuse, plundering, speculation, etc. Such is the atmosphere that surrounds the cooperatives and the government trade units.

At the Congress of the Trade Unions, Molotov alone improvised on the theme that the successes of the five year plan found their expression «in the considerable betterment of the well-being of the working classes and of the laboring village.» Molotov, in general, is reckoned as the leader of the Left flank of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It is rumored that he personally is against all retreats and modifications in the questions of collectivization and industrialization. But Rudzutak spoke at that same Congress in an altogether different tone. «Why are we so badly off in matters relating to supplying the workers? First of all because we allotted too little attention to this sphere of activity. We were absorbed in gigantic enterprises.» In his old letter about the five year plan, C. G. Rakovsky long since sounded the alarm, warning that the industrialization could break off and endanger the entire regime, if the leaders would henceforth «pay little attention» to the problems of provisioning the workers. But Rakovsky is even now in Barnaul. While Rudzutak in Moscow is forced to admit, «The great mass of consumers, the great mass of workers, and collective farms operatives, who are served by poor cooperatives, poor trade institutions are becoming imbued with nasty feelings.» There is, of course, no exaggeration whatever in Rudzutak's words. This spring in Moscow factories—even in Moscow where the position is privileged—there took place mass demonstrations of dissatisfaction. And the reasons? Increased prices, scarcity of goods, increased dues and taxes, and particularly the deficiency in victuals. It became necessary to mobilize some 3,000 agitators to get to work on the workers. Of course all these «misunderstandings» have thus far borne a family character. In so far as one may judge, the bourgeoisie and its agents, the Mensheviks did not succeed in getting their hands warm from this; but the symptomatic significance of these manifestations of dissatisfaction is very great. This is apparent if only from the fact that blocks of stone such as Rudzutak have become articulate.

The bureaucracy senses that there is dissatisfaction with it from below and it transfers its growing alarm over to Stalin. While formerly the bureaucracy itself presented matters in such wise as to make Stalin the source of all successes, it is now inclined more and more in seeing in him the author of all failures. There is an evergrowing discord between the official tone in relation to Stalin and the actual attitude toward him. Shvernik, Stalin's commissar in the trade unions announced in his report at the Congress, «One of the most important conditions for the victory of the general line of our party is the fact that at the head of our party, there stands immovably the truest and most genial pupil of Lenin, the leader of the working class, comrade Stalin.» The majority of the delegates sat through the pronouncement of these words with wooden faces. All tried to avoid looking at one another. No one believes in the «genius» of Stalin. Two years ago, even last year, many of these same delegates considered, however, useful and necessary to sustain the fable of the genius. In this way the bureaucracy hoped to strengthen its authority before the masses. Now there remains only a thin core of the bureaucracy which continues, like Shvernik, in sustaining a patently fallen idol. The majority of the bureaucracy, even in the party, is seeking to remove itself from the Stalinist faction, in the restricted sense of the word.

(To be continued)

NEW YORK BRANCH PICNIC
The New York Branch of the Communist League of America will hold a picnic at Tibbetts Brook Park, on Sunday, August 7th. It is planned to get all members, friends and sympathizers of the Left Opposition in New York to attend. Keep the date open. Watch The Militant for further information.

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Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition

The Ultra-Left Zig-zag in the Comintern and the «Third Period»

(Continued from last issue)

The dissolution of this state of affairs, as we have seen from previous articles, was not long delayed. In almost less time than it takes to tell it, virtually all the leading spokesmen of the Sixth Congress were either crushed organizationally, expelled outright, or saved from expulsion by humiliating capitulation. Just as the leaders of the Fifth Congress lasted but a brief moment in the seats of power, so did the Sixth Congress «Bolsheviks» meet with a speedy end. Bucharin, the political leader of the Congress, the reporter on the program, the president of the Comintern, was denounced a few months later as the leader of the capitalist-restorationist tendency in the Soviet Union (no less!). Lovestone, Gittlow and Wolfe were unceremoniously expelled as agents of the American bourgeoisie. Roy, who had made a livelihood denouncing Trotsky as an agent of Chamberlain, found himself designated in exactly the same manner. Jilek and Co. in Czechoslovakia, Kilbom in Sweden, Brandler (and almost Ewert) in Germany, Seiller and Co. in France, and a host of others were expelled or withdrawn from the Comintern.

The removal of any Right wing restraint made possible the climb to the heights of absurdity at the 10th Plenum in 1929, to the very peaks of the «third period». In passing, it might be mentioned that even among the Right wing politicians there is a somewhat academic dispute about the origin of the «revision

of Leninism» (from the Right wing standpoint). The American Lovestoneites, who tried to sell the Sixth Congress to the American party, declare that the «revision» began only at the 10th Plenum. The German Brandlerists, as well as M. N. Roy, declare that it began at the Sixth Congress. To the extent that this dispute is of practical importance, right is undoubtedly to be found more in the German than in the American sector of the Right wing. The 10th Plenum was the redutio ad absurdum of the Sixth Congress, with a number of novelties added by Stalin and Molotov on their own account.

It is sometimes hard to determine whether this Plenum should be examined from the standpoint of politics or the standpoint of farce. It is the plenum par excellence of the «third period», the same «third period» which was at first denounced as an opportunistic idea by the Thaelmann-Neumann delegation to the Sixth Congress.

The «third period», its proponents explained, was characterized by a constantly increasing radicalization of the masses, simultaneously in every country. There can be no fourth period, announced Molotov, for the third period ends with revolution. The present «heightened political sensitivity of the broad masses», added Losovsky, «is a characteristic sign of the eve of a Revolution. Molireva, a member of the E. O. C. I., declared: «It is my opinion from the

May events as well as from the recent Polish events that there were a series of elements in them that recall our July days. The fact alone that the Communist parties had to restrain the most advanced sections of the working class in their surge forward, speaks for a rapidly approaching revolutionary situation.» This extravagance is illuminated only if it is remembered that our «July days» were the direct precursor of the insurrectionary October days in Russia. And it must further be remembered that all these fantasies were presented to the official Communist world as unshakable articles of faith more than three years ago!

Third Period and Social-Fascism

And from this «third period» with its incessantly rising radicalization of the masses in virtually every country in the world, in which France was solemnly announced to be at the head of the revolutionary list (in 1929!), dived the theory of social Fascism, a disease of senile decay from which the Comintern is suffering to this day. With Stalin's ingenious formula of 1924 in mind, Manuilsky now announced that «The fusion of the social democracy with the capitalist state is not merely a fusion at the top. This fusion has taken place from top to bottom, all along the line.» Improving on Lenin, Manuilsky announced that Noske back in 1918 was already a social Fascist.

The master strategist of the Hungarian revolution, Bela Kun, who destroyed that revolution by failing to understand the nature of the social democracy in 1918, now tried some ten years later to repair the damage by advancing an even worse interpretation: «Social-Fascism is the type of Fascist development in those countries in which capitalist development is more advanced than in Italy . . . In

this stage of development, social reformism dies out; it is transformed partly into social demagogic elements and partly into the element of mass violence of Fascism.»

From which Manuilsky drew the conclusion concerning the united front policy that «We have never considered it as a formula for everybody, for all times and people . . . Today we are stronger and proceed to more aggressive methods in the struggle for the majority of the working class.» What the lesser functionaries had to contribute to the question may easily be imagined from these few quotations.

The official motivation for the establishment of the «third period» and all its commandments was false from beginning to end. But this does not mean that there was not a profound reason for the 180 degrees turn in the course of the Comintern. The reasons for the Leftward swing here already been sketched here. Centrism, bereft of any anchor in principles, possessing no platform distinctly its own, was driven to the Left by the pressure of events and criticism. Having no real foundation, it must base itself upon an artificially preserved prestige. In order to maintain the continuity of its prestige, that is, in order to explain away the head-over-heels turn to the Left, or more precisely, in order to justify the change without in any way leaving room for criticism of its preceding course, the «third period» was called into existence.

A Convenient Theory

By its proclamation, the Centrists were able to justify the «united front from the top» with Chiang Kai-Shek and Purcell as well as no united front at all. Both were justified by one brilliant theory: the arbitrary establishment of periods. In the «second period», ac-

Germany on the Eve of Civil War

(Continued from page 1)

In this instance is correct, then the Stalinist leadership is guilty of a heinous crime against the German and international working class. To issue a separate call, to call for action today, when the enemy is at the gates, before constructing a solid and unified proletarian front is an empty gesture.

Communist Clarity Imperative

The hour of decisive struggle is close at hand. Whoever toys with a situation like the present toys with disaster. It is necessary for the leadership of the Communist party to take a bold step in order not to crash into an abyss. It must tell the working class in all frankness that its policies of the recent past—with its theory of "social fascism"—and its tactic of the "Red United Front"—have been false. The party must prove to the workers that it is earnest and sincere that it is capable of correcting its mistake, that it is their only genuine party. That requires an appeal to the followers of the social democrats and the reformist trade unions to put their leaders to the test, by demanding of them that they join in a united front of all the proletarian organization in the fight against fascism.

The Class Line-Up—International

The imperialist powers are standing on the side, nodding with approval at the preparations for the fascist seizure of power in Germany. France, so loud in its official and unofficial protests to mere parades of German Nationalities in the past, is keeping strangely silent today, when Nationalist reaction spreads out in full force. Why? Because the French imperialists, like all the others, realize that their class stakes are in the impending civil strife. Hitler and his herald, Von Papen, know very well that in the struggle against their own working class, they will receive the full support of French imperialism. They know that in return for this support, they will have to act with their French supporters against the class brothers of the German working class in Soviet Russia. The struggle of the classes in Germany involves the struggle of the class on an international scale. The seizure of power by the fascists in Germany will give the signal for a general mobilization among the world powers against the U. S. S. R.—against the world working class.

It is plain that the seizure of power by the fascists can be answered only by a mobilization of the working class of the U. S. S. R. and of the world. It is under such circumstances, in a situation pregnant with great events of international and historical significance, that the Communist and the Stalinist leadership of the Soviet Union maintain an ominous silence. Is the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is the Executive Committee of the Communist International to persist in

its silence? Or will the revolutionary movement of the world receive a clear and loud word from its "general staff?"

The workers of Germany are facing a fateful, epoch-making struggle, the imperialists are arming for war, through a robber Japan in the East. The silence of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist movement must be broken. Workers, revolutionists, bombard your Communist party organizations with demands that the Comintern speak out, that the Soviet leadership speak out and act decisively!

Demand the adoption of the Leninist United Front, demand that the Communist Party of Germany put the reformist leaders to the test in action! United

working class action of the Communist and social democratic organizations must be posed in an international manner: a fight against fascism on the basis of the most intimate and concrete collaboration of the German working class and the U. S. S. R. Let the social democrats answer in action. Let the workers who follow them judge them on the answers they give in action within the United Front. That is the only way to avoid defeat in this fateful hour.

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Democratic Party & Unemployment

The Republicans and the Democrats are two sides of one medal. The only difference between them is that the Republicans are in and the Democrats are out. If one understands this, then it is not difficult to grasp the meaning and purpose of the two old parties.

In the final analysis, they are both employed by the same master—Wall Street. But these parties do not say or even do the identical thing. There is a division of labor between them. The fact that they have special and different duties to perform towards their common master, is particularly noticeable during a crisis.

The Republican party holds the reins of government. Consequently all its statements and actions must not only be directed towards maintaining the status quo (the capitalist system) but also to defend the methods employed during their tenure of office, to perpetuate the system. The task that falls to the Democrats, in this election campaign, is a horse of a different color.

Problem of Democrats

The pernicious duty of the Democrats springs entirely from present conditions—the economic crisis. Discontent is rife throughout the land. But it is still vague, embryonic and undirected. It is not yet clear to the American masses how to turn or against which enemy their blows should be leveled. The trick of the Democrats is to seize hold of this disgruntlement and to guide it into harmless channels.

The thing to do—and the Democrats make no bones about their little job—is to prevent the masses from seeing things as they actually are. It is not the Capitalist system that is responsible for the unprecedented crisis and the unparalleled misery. The profit system is both perfect and eternal. This is the theory of the Democrats. But the Republican party has misused and abused the "precious" system. And this is the main plank in the Democratic platform. The crisis is due to the Republicans, starvation, wage cuts and evictions, and unemployment—all are due to Republican maladministration. Drive the G. O. P. out, put us in, and everything will be hunky-dory. This sort of tripe is being peddled around by the ton, and no doubt it will have its effect.

The economic catastrophe of today is not the first in American history. They have recovered every few years, as long as the parasite few, known as "capital", have held sway over the large majority of exploited wage slaves. And crises have recurred irrespective of which party has been in office. We have known "Democratic" crises as well as "Republican",

The Democrats, with their candidate, Roosevelt, will stand by capitalism to their dying day. But that does not hinder them from selling their demagogic wares in open market. They pose as saviors of the worker and petty bourgeois who are called, the "forgotten man". They will "restore employment, improve present conditions and afford permanent relief to the people". There is as much truth in this statement as there is in one of Baron Munchausen's notorious fables. There is nothing in this program that could accomplish such a miracle. Only the Communists, with their program for the proletarian revolution can solve this knotted problem.

For the unemployed the Democrats have nothing but fake promises and polished words. The shorter working week is promised only as a measure to include government employees. In a previous issue we pointed out the positions of the Democrats on the bill cutting the hours of the civil service employees. But they also gave them a corresponding reduction in wages. And the Democrats want to make this a national program. Morgan is with them. But what about the "forgotten man"?

Unemployment Insurance

Unemployment insurance is slipped into the platform on the ly—but only as a state measure. Roosevelt has been governor of New York State for four years. Where is the unemployment insurance?

Unemployment relief is held out as a big snare for votes. But—the Democratic mayors of New York, Chicago and Detroit have all cut off immediate relief to the unemployed, even though the demand for it becomes more urgent.

The real program of the Democratic lickspittles has already been shown with unmistakable clarity. It is a program of lead. In Democratic Detroit, Mayor Murphy's police poured a hail of bullets into their demonstrating ranks, killing four and wounding many others. In Melrose Park, Chicago, Cermak's Democratic cops trained machine guns on the jobless, murdered one and wounded five.

The program of the Communist League is one of action:

The six hour day, five day week—no reduction in pay.

Immediate federal and local relief.

Unemployment insurance.

Recognition of and credits to Soviet Russia.

Vote for Foster and Ford!

This is the program for the workers—the Democrats' is for the bosses. There can be no mistake in the choice of the proletariat.

—CLARKE.

Problems of the Unemployed

The unemployment crisis has become an enormous factor in beginning to develop a change of ideology and—what will flow from it—a change of political allegiance within the American working class. These trends of a change are appearing first among the unemployed section. Its course will naturally lead away from the prevailing bourgeois influence. But its direction, whether reformist or revolutionary, as far as the immediate future is concerned, is not yet decided.

Within the unemployment movement both of these two opposites are represented. They are represented on the one hand in the Unemployment Councils initiated, organized and controlled by the official Communist party. On the other, we have such as the Unemployed Citizens' League of Seattle and other Pacific Coast cities, the Superior Labor Unemployment Committee, the unemployment movement of the West Virginia Miners Union and the unemployment organizations of the Socialist Party.

It is not the purpose here to describe these latter organizations in their history and development, or to try to make a thorough analysis; that will be found in another article in this issue. Here it is only the purpose to develop a few points by way of comparison.

The Party Councils

The Unemployment Councils, organized by the party, took on features from its inception which ordinarily should have been to their advantage. But they also took on features, and a good many more, which seriously hindered their development. In both respects it was a matter of party policy. First of all they were founded on the idea that nothing can be obtained by the working class except through struggle and naturally they became militant in character not so much concerned with the purely practical, and usually shortlived, methods of self-help.

(In this connection we are leaving out of consideration the Browderian idea of soup kitchens which was, fortunately for the party, also shortlived). The Councils had a semblance of a national scope, being initiated in the main cities throughout the country under a centralized direction. This was all to their advantage. But one particular feature of disadvantage alone was pretty well sufficient to offset all this. The Councils were not at all in the real sense of the word, organized as united front bodies. As a matter of fact the restrictions and limitations put upon them, with the bureaucratic methods of control entirely prevented them from becoming representative of a mass movement. To this it is necessary to add the adventurist tactical policies pursued by the party and swinging from the extreme of "capturing the streets" to the opportunist method of propagating only unemployment

which constantly reduced the movement to smaller proportions. For these reasons the Unemployment Councils have marked a fairly constant downward curve despite the exceptional opportunities available.

By way of comparison we have on the other hand the unemployment organizations mentioned of which perhaps the Unemployed Citizens' League of Seattle, Wash., is one of the best examples. Its objectives were distinctly those of "practical" reform measures. It attained considerable success in the methods of mutual self-help such as collections of food and other necessities. It also used its influence in a political way to obtain certain relief measures from the city government. Its practical advances turned it rapidly into becoming a mass movement. But it was not only in the features already cited that it represented an opposite tendency to the party controlled Unemployment Councils, that held

true in almost every other respect. It is a localized movement, loosely organized with few regulations and, while remembering that it is still a comparatively new movement, its existence has so far marked an upward curve.

The Reformist Dilemma

Nevertheless this movement is about to come to its crossroads. That is above all determined by its distinctly reformist direction and the alternatives it will face at the crossroads are already clearly indicated. It has already begun to take on the political parliamentary features of endorsing so-called favorable candidates for elections. It is speaking of "establishing factories" to produce for the league members. Of course, the means of production are not expropriated that way nor will such parliamentary politics establish a workers government. So in both cases these alternatives can lead at best only to reducing the movement to either a purely reformist parliamentary party or a mutual self-help society, neither of which will afford it the possibility of playing a very serious or positive working class role.

There is, of course, still another alternative at hand, namely; for this movement to change its course and progress toward a revolutionary direction. Of that, however, there will be little likelihood unless the revolutionary, the Communist elements consciously penetrate the movement with this as the distinct objective. But to realize such an objective it would be necessary first of all for the official party policy to change, by an earnest adoption of the united front tactic in the unemployment movement. Both of these measures would go hand in hand and would be entirely in accord with the needs of the working class movement as well as the requirements of a revolutionary policy.

But these two comparisons bring to the fore also the serious question of the stage of development of the broad working class movement today. Have we reached a point at which the Communist party can assume to function as the controlling center of the whole, broad mass movement? Hardly! An unemployment mass movement in the United States is yet in its infancy and its potential political level is so far only a very elementary one. In such a situation the party must still conceive its role and function as the Left wing within a general movement. However, if this is the correct analysis, and it could hardly be contested, then that fact alone so much more reinforces the imperative necessity of the party utilizing its present strategic position of being in control of the Unemployment Councils, to endeavor seriously to build the unemployment movement on a national scale into a genuine united front movement, not only embracing the unemployment organizations mentioned, but all existing working class organizations, political trade unions and fraternal bodies.

But even these questions touch only one side of the problem. There are now special features developing within American capitalism, accelerated by this crisis. On the one hand there is the phenomenon of a permanent unemployed army. Its permanency is quite well recognized, and need not be further substantiated by arguments. On the other hand there are the specific measures being applied by American capitalism in an effort to get out of the crisis. The first one noticeable is the beginning toward restoring profits on existing capital, i. e., increasing the mass of profit. In this respect "Broadstreet's" tells us some interesting examples:

Capitalist Income

"The Baltimore and Ohio . . . in February 1932, nearly doubled its February 1931, net operating income despite a

\$2,750,000 reduction in gross. The New York Central lowered its operating ratio to 74.5, the lowest for any month since 1929, and also increased its net with a smaller gross. Altogether some 20 railroads were able to report higher incomes. Mr. W. W. Colpitts, of Coverdale & Colpitts, railroad engineers, has estimated that if railway carloadings return to but halfway between their present level and the 1929 figures, the net operating income for the roads in the United States as a whole would be greater than in 1929."

Here we have a practical illustration of what the restoration of profits means. It represents an enormous increase in the intensity of exploitation; more profits realized with less men employed. The violent depression of the wage level is already well known, and known by actual experience to all employed workers. But by these very facts, the problems of the crisis, the problems of unemployment becomes even more distinctly problems of the working class as a whole, not at all confined to the unemployed alone. And the conclusion which we must of necessity draw therefrom will be that an unemployed movement confined to the unemployed alone is doomed to impotence and extinction. The unity of action of the employed with the unemployed must be assured.

The possibilities for this are available particularly in the stage we are now entering. Its permanent army of unemployed, its increase in intensity of exploitation and its depression of the wage level also bring the immediate and most pressing needs of the working class as a whole down to a more general, a more common level for all sections concerned. This will serve to harmonize its demands.

It is from such considerations as these that the party leadership must draw its conclusions. Its great opportunities it has so far recklessly frittered away, bureaucratically stifled all criticism and driven away again from the party ranks the many workers who came sincerely to Communism but could not agree with such methods. The party is now faced with a serious contest for influence with social reformism within the unemployment movement. The direction this movement will take, toward revolutionary objectives or merely toward reformism is still to be decided. If the party is to cast its weight in the scale for the decision and seriously bring its influence to bear, it must change its course. Not a change toward emulating the "practicalness" of the reformists but a change toward uniting the workers in struggle and bringing forward, more clearly the revolutionary objectives.

The unemployment movement must be thoroughly integrated with the general working class movement, particularly the trade unions. It is imperative necessity that all work organizations be drawn into a united front movement for the struggle growing out of the unemployment situation. Only the Communists are really capable of organizing such a united front. But for that the party must also become integrated with the general movement. It must penetrate the broad workers' organizations, particularly the trade unions.

—ARNE SWABECK.

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The Fascist Firing Squads in Action From Maggiora to Sbardellotto and Bovone

The first time the firing squads instituted by Mussolini following the exceptional laws (November 1926) was ordered to function, it was against Michel Della Maggiora, a Communist worker. Since then (November 14, 1928) the Special Tribunal has several times had recourse to the black shirt rifles for the "defense" of the Fascist state. After the execution of the Communist worker Della Maggiora, we had that of the Slovene nationalist Gortan (October 17, 1929) and of the anarchist Schirru on May 29, 1931. At dawn on June 17, the engineer Domenico Bovone and the mason Angelo Sbardellotto fell under a rain of Fascist lead, shot in the back. Both had been condemned to death by the Special Tribunal under the indictment of being "terrorist agents of the Anti-Fascist Concentration which has its center in Paris".

Under the same indictment, other accused have been condemned to from 10 to 30 years of confinement. In the succession of death verdicts executed by the black shirt squads—from Della Maggiora to Bovone and Sbardellotto—there is a sort of demonstration by blood and fire to the Italian situation.

From the whole Fascist experience, it becomes clear that Mussolini is forced to have recourse to a redoubling of the terror every time Fascism comes to a critical turn. In order to facilitate its task, it makes use of provocations, which have become a system in Mussolini's art of governing. From numerous evidence in our possession, the provocations organized by the O. V. R. A. (a sort of Fascist Okhrana) never or almost never fail to play their part in the various unsuccessful attempts on the life of the Duce and in the many arrests of anti-Fascist militants working secretly in Italy. But

one fact is certain: the impotence of the defense organizations of the Fascist state (O. V. R. A., Special Tribunal, etc.) in their efforts to uproot anti-Fascism. "We must put an end to this rabid growth," the public prosecutor exclaimed at the trial of Bovone, in demanding a death verdict against him. But this "rabid growth" of anti-Fascism does not cease its bloom. It is growing and its roots are spreading. While the jails are bursting with prisoners and the ditches filled in with the corpses of the assassinated, new fighters are produced, prepared to dare anything, to sacrifice everything.

The Weapon of Terror

The weapon of the terror is being transformed into a weapon against the regime. Yesterday, still with a hesitant hand, a worker was shot, a fighter of Communism, Michele Della Maggiora; today the needs of the butchers have increased and it is necessary for them at the dawn of the same day to assassinate the engineer Bovone, terrorist of the Irish school and the worker Sbardellotto, both accused of having acted for the Anti-Fascist Concentration.

The particular and immediate significance of the two new victims of the black shirt executions rests precisely in the fact that the trial of Bovone and Sbardellotto were trials against the Anti-Fascist Concentration against "democratic" anti-Fascism. The public prosecutor through whom the Fascist state has spoken, demanded a regular punitive expedition against the democratic anti-Fascist exiles. The Italian press has even gone so far as to demand the extradition of the leaders of the A. C. in Paris or at least the carrying out of the expulsion decrees issued by the Tardieu government. The Fascist offensive

against the democratic anti-Fascist parties who compose the Concentration is also a manifest sign of the deep economic and social crisis which is undermining the black shirt regime. The process of the going over of ever larger layers of the population into the camp of the opposition to Fascism is accelerated by the constant aggravation of the economic crisis. All the governmental promises are belied by the facts. No recovery in the field of production, but stagnation and further decline. Unemployment had more than doubled (from 400,000 to more than 1,000,000), the deficit in the state budget has risen to nearly 2.5 billion. The domestic debt has increased enormously (32 billion lire). Taxes are so intolerable that the tax payers can no longer pay them and the state cannot enforce payment. Consumption has been reduced to the extreme. There has been a general decline in stocks; the industries can get no credit; failures are increasing (from 894 in 1917 to 1658 in February 1932).

A problem which strikes at the very heart of the regime is the crisis of the young generations of the petty bourgeoisie—the crisis of the youth that leave the universities and the secondary schools and presses upon the state for jobs, for work. In 1919-1920, the unemployment of the intellectual petty bourgeoisie gave birth to Fascism. After ten years of Fascist rule, a swing in the opposite direction is becoming manifest in the various strata of the petty bourgeoisie to such a point that friction can be observed even inside of Fascism between the "young and the old".

Fascism Losing Support

Contrary to what is taking place in Germany, Fascism in Italy is losing more and more its social supports, which explains its evolution in the direction of ever more brutal forms of terror and oppression. From the factories, anti-Fascism is penetrating into the universities, among the petty industrialists and mer-

chants, among the artisans and the peasants. Out of fear of being isolated from its allies—the middle layers—the bourgeoisie itself has become hesitant. The fear of the immediate future is manifest from the attitude of the Rome government in international politics. One expression of it is to be found in the telegram of Mussolini to the Lausanne Conference ("It is necessary to insist and to make a decision, if we are to have world recovery").

One task of the Communist party in Italy consists in understanding how to profit from the vacillations of the middle class forces who are turning away from Fascism, in order to win them over from the bourgeoisie as allies of the working class. But the leadership of the Italian Communist Party is also following the theory of social-Fascism. It also combines all the anti-Fascist, non-Communist parties into one reactionary mass. In this manner it only succeeds in making the policy of the Communist party incomprehensible and in preventing the revolutionary proletariat from extending its influence also to certain sections of the middle classes.

Democratic anti-Fascism (the Anti-Fascist Concentration), in fighting against the Fascist dictatorship, fights at the same time against the proletarian direction of the anti-Fascist movement, that is to say, it fights to prevent the proletariat, the Communist solution of the Italian crisis. Therein consists the

real counter-revolutionary function of the A. F. C., its reactionary substance. But it is stupid to present the democratic anti-Fascist movement as a movement in competition with Fascism, as **Stato Operto** (theoretical organ of the C. P. I.) does. That only makes everything confused, does not teach the masses anything of the real nature of the Concentrationist type of anti-Fascism. Curious competitors, these "social Fascists" who throw bombs against the black shirt regime and who get themselves shot in the back by this same regime. By grouping together in this single reactionary mass the butchers and their victims, by wiping out all distinction between Fascism and democratic anti-Fascism, one only aids the latter in its role of deceiving the working class and of preventing it from accomplishing its revolutionary aims. The Communist party can succeed in showing the real counter-revolutionary function of democratic anti-Fascism only by the way of action, in the process of the struggle, that is to say, by pushing the anti-Fascist struggle to its ultimate consequences up to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the proletarian power. For such a policy it is necessary to return to a Bolshevik-Leninist application of the united front with the **proletarian anti-Fascist** organizations (reformists, maximalists, syndicalists, anarchists, republicans, etc.) and to alliances with the peasant masses and the petty bourgeois masses of the towns who are under the influence of the

democratic anti-Fascist groupings.

Task of the Party

The Communist party will gain the leadership of the anti-Fascist masses not because it says so in the resolutions of the Central Committee, but when and to the degree in which it is capable of really placing itself at the head of the masses which are entering into struggle and of guiding them toward the overthrow of Fascism and capitalism. To the degree in which it is capable of proving that the struggle for democracy cannot be conceived as separate and opposed to the struggle for socialism, that is to say, the struggle for the proletarian power, for the creation of a new state, a workers' state. The necessity for the Communist Party of Italy of re-examining its policy once more is demonstrated not only by the Italian events but by the whole international situation. The Fourth Congress of the Italian Communist Party was described by the leadership as the **last** before we reach the threshold of the Italian revolution. From this description alone, the bureaucratic character of this congress is evident enough. It is time that comrades now pose the demand for a genuine congress of the party with a broad and thorough preparation among the membership and with the direct participation of our opposition. The urgency of this congress is felt by every comrade who follows the Italian and the international situation. The convocation of a congress of our party is also necessary for a discussion of the international policy and that in the U. S. S. R. It should serve as a preparation for the Congress of the Communist International, the necessity of which can well be realized, if one takes into account all the events that have unfolded during the four years that separate us from the unfortunate Sixth Congress.

Our demand must become the demand of all the comrades who are conscientious about the present situation.

—FEROCI.



'What Next?'— Book of Hour

WHAT NEXT? by Leon Trotsky. Translated from the Russian original by U. Vanzler. 200 pages. Pioneer Publishers, New York, Paper, 35c; Cloth, 65c.

Events are moving with dazzling rapidity in Germany. Within a brief two years span, government control has passed over from the hands of the socialist coalition under Hermann Mueller and into the hands of the Junker dictatorship under Von Papen. Only a few months ago, the main popular prop of the government—then led by Brüning—was constituted by the reformist trade unions under the control of the social democracy. Today, the government of Germany leans for its mass support upon the motley following of Hitler and the Fascist party.

From Harzburg to Von Papen

As late as December of last year, the French jingoists were still howling blue murder because the Harzburg meet of the Hitler-Hugenberg Opposition had been permitted by the authorities. In these days, when nationalism runs rampant in Germany, when Minister of the Reichswehr Von Schleicher announces disregard in the future for the armament provisions of the Versailles Treaty, the Paris press appears to forget all its fears for "French security". Von Papen even suggests "occasional conversations" between the general staffs of Germany and France" to Premier Herriot (Interview of Von Papen, N. Y. World-Telegram, July 27, 1932).

A year ago, Brüning appealed for aid from American financiers against the threat of "Right wing radicalism". Today, the Junkers call for help to fight against Communism.

Dark doings are going on behind the scenes of international politics. Dense, black clouds hang over the heads of the peoples of all nations.

What Next?, by Leon Trotsky illuminates this sombre situation with the brilliancy of an acetylene lamp. It penetrates into the deepest background of recent happenings. It supplies the thread that links them with the social developments of the past. It brings out with utmost clarity and sharpness, the staggering implications of the facts we have seen with our own eyes.

This latest pamphlet by the great international revolutionist gives an appraisal of German political life in the incomparably lucid terms of Marxist thought. What are the causes for the rise of Fascism, what is the social composition of the movement, what is its specific role in the capitalist system, what does Fascism mean in so far as the workers are concerned, what are its international connections—all these questions are treated with Trotsky's characteristic incisiveness. The problems, the reactions, the reflections evoked by the German situation are painted on the broad canvass of historical continuity. Each event, every factor is seen as part of an all-embracing whole.

Lessons of the Past

German political developments of the present day are tested on the touchstone of past experiences. No lesson of the past, whether it be connected with the rise of Mussolini in the Italy of 1920-21 or the crushing of the reactionary Kornilov in pre-revolutionary Russia of September 1917 is left out of account. The whole post-war period of world political development, is deftly utilized to set off the struggle of the classes in Hindenburg-Germany, in bold relief.

A scathing analysis of social democratic activity in the last 18 years, beginning with the vote of socialist Reichstag fraction for the war credits in 1914 and coming down to their policy of the lesser evil, serves to lay bare the putrid and decadent character of the reformist movement of our times. Trotsky exposes the inexorable logic of the collapse of the social democracy by voluminous quotations from their press, by citing an abundance of incidents and actions which strike at the very core of this diseased and outlived political organism. But even more convincing than the bare facts—which are enlightening enough—is the Marxian explanation given to them as they are woven into the texture of declining German and European capitalism as a whole. (The puny soul of this withering reformist pillar of backsliding capitalist Germany—the social democratic functionary—shrivels and shrinks into insignificance before the masterful sociological and psychological scrutiny of Trotsky's eye: The question of the struggle against the social democracy is posed on the following premises: "(a) the political responsibility of the social democracy for the strength of Fascism; (b) absolute irreconcilability between Fascism and those workers organizations on which the social democracy itself depends."

A Critique of Stalinism

On the basis of these premises, the Bolshevik leader proceeds to a thoroughgoing criticism of the Stalinist leadership of the German Communist Party and the Communist International. The hopeless blunders of the Stalinist bureaucracy, (Continued on page 4)

All Out on Aug. First

Demonstrate against Imperialist War and the Hitlerist Menace

An entirely new generation has grown to maturity since August 1914, eighteen years ago, when the most murderous imperialist war history has every known burst in Europe and dragged the most important nations of the whole world into its vortex. Yet so deep a gash did the world war leave on the body of the world that the workers and peasants everywhere are still suffering from the effects of it. The anarchy of capitalist competition, the struggle for world power of each imperialist nation, which gave birth to the "war to end all wars", has not only produced again one of its periodic crises, more terrific in its consequences than any which preceded it, but it has also brought closer to reality the danger of a new world war.

At the extremities of the capitalist world the preliminary shots of war already ring in the ears of those who fight them in the interests of their imperialist overlords. Manchuria is occupied by the armed forces of Japanese despotism who have encountered an unlooked for resistance from the Chinese people. In Latin America, one country after another is on the verge of military combat, impelled by the rivalries of the imperialist nations of America and Great Britain who seek to hold their own and gain an advantage by displacing each other from the sources of profit in their respective colonial and semi-colonial empires. In the sorely torn metropolises, the insidious idea is eagerly cultivated that a large-scale war would provide jobs for the millions who now tramp the streets without work.

Imperialism on a Volcano

With the world crisis having drawn all lines taut, with world capitalism sitting on a volcano, each important political event reveals ever more clearly the truth which the Marxists have for decades sought to bring home to the proletariat: capitalism today is sitting on a vast powder deposit which may be blown into consuming flames by the slightest, most unexpected spark!

That is why August 1st of this year becomes an appropriate occasion for the assembling of the proletarian millions in the streets of the capitalist world for an enormous demonstration of opposition to imperialist war. One of the principal forces that has thus far restrained the imperialist war-mongers from an open struggle on the battlefields has been the fear of the answer which an aroused working class will make. The unforgettable lesson taught by the Russian revolution, which brought the imperialist war to an end by the overthrow of the ruling capitalist class, has penetrated the minds of the advanced ranks of the working class. The imperialists know that a new world war would bring with it the revolutionary reply of the world proletariat. But their fears of this eventuality is sometimes dominated by their greed for power and expansion, and driven by the inexorable laws of imperialist society, they are moving towards war in spite of everything.

At the present time, even more than

during the days before 1914, the preparations for war are proceeding at a frenzied pace under the smoke-screen of "disarmament". Out of each conference which the pacifist idiots and scoundrels seek to palm off on the working class as a guarantee against war, the imperialist

OPPOSITIONISTS! ATTENTION!

All members and sympathizers of the Communist League of America (Opposition) are urged to gather at our headquarters on 84 East 10th Street, New York, at 4:30 P. M., August First, so that the Left Opposition may be able to go to the party's demonstration as a unit. Be there on time!

powers emerge with increased and better equipped military and naval forces. The "disarmament" conferences have become an absolute pre-requisite to the imperialists in their preparations for war. The August First demonstrations this year, therefore, will have to become imposing, clear-minded protests against the monstrous swindle which militarists and pacifists are jointly practising against the people. They will have to be aimed at clearing away the fog in the workers' minds, caused by the poisonous gases of pacifism. They must not only be a demonstration of protest against war in general, but a mobilization of the workers for the prohibition of the class war whose triumph really means the end of all war and the commencement of a new epoch for humanity.

The Threat of Hitlerism

The drive towards new imperialist war is inextricably inter-twined with the growing threat of war against the Soviet Union. Japan continues to lie in wait on Russia's Eastern borders, attending the most appropriate moment to fling its legions against the workers' republic in an attempt to exterminate what it failed to crush in the wars of intervention a decade ago. On the Western frontier, an even greater threat is growing against the Soviets. The swelling of the forces of Fascism in Germany, which are being nourished on an implacable hatred for Bolshevism, whose marching songs reveal their fiendish desire to annihilate the Red Army and its Soviet republic, constitutes the most serious menace to Russia in recent years.

No more timely defense of the Soviet Union can be made than the concentration of the world's revolutionary forces to smash the Fascist monster before it comes to power. No more urgent task faces the Communist movement than that of redressing the line of German Communism so that it may be able to tread the right road: the establishment of a genuine united front with the social democratic masses for a mortal struggle against Hitlerism. To shout about war without making the German situation the center of agitation is to convert August First into a meaningless meeting.

The failure to do this up to now reveals one of the sore spots in the pre-

sent Stalinist policy, which results in effect into transforming the August First demonstrations into a ritualistic parade, disconnected from the most vital questions of the day. When the August First demonstrations were first proclaimed by the Comintern in 1929, they were deeply tinged with the spirit of mad adventurism. Three years later, Stalinism has gone through another of its periodical zigzags, and now August First is associated with the opportunistic game they are playing with the Barbusse "Congress against War." The working class could not play into the hands of its enemy more surely than by thus hiding its face behind the mask of confused and pernicious pacifism. Here too, the line of official Communism, turned and twisted into a hopeless knot, must be unraveled. Instantly so that during and after August First a revolutionary position may be presented to the workers.

August First, finally, will be a mere anniversary commemoration if it is not associated with a strengthening of the class movement in this country. To accomplish this without a change in the course of the party, has been proved impossible. It is here that the criticisms of the Left Opposition gain point and timeliness.

On August First, the working class must fill the streets. Join with the Communist party and the revolutionary militants in a demonstration of opposition to imperialist war, loyalty to the Soviet Union, and organization of resistance to the capitalist offensive! Every worker out!

Bullets & Gas for the Vets!

Hoover and Co. Make a Repayment for Soldiers' Services

By order of the arch-reactionary Hoover, amid clouds of tear gas, "gently prodded by bayonets", struck by the flats of sabers, the veterans encamped in Washington have been driven from their billets by infantry, cavalry, tanks and machine gun detachments. Tear gas bombs were hurled into the midst of women and children standing on the sidewalks, booing the misguided soldiers. It was a mopping-up sortier reminiscent of world war days, say the capitalist reporters.

This incident, foreshadowing what capitalism holds in store for the future revolts of its wage slaves, followed a skirmish earlier in the day in which the enraged veterans drove off the police and Treasury agents who attempted to evict them from their makeshift homes. In this affray a veteran lost his life, a number of others were injured, and several policemen received as wounds they gave.

For hundreds of thousands of workers all over the country the true nature of American democracy has been revealed. Before their very eyes the views of the Communists have been proved. Capitalism rules by force. It spares nobody.

The veterans have reaped the only reward their capitalist masters will give them. This is what they get for their defense of "innocent, bleeding Belgium." This is their reward for making the "world safe for democracy". The gas bombs they once hurled at equally misled German workers have now been hurled at them by "their own countrymen". The bayonets which they once used to rip and slash the bodies of "enemy" soldiers have been applied to their own skins by men wearing the same uniforms they wore in the Argonne and Chateau-Thierry. What a bitter education these workers are getting under the driving

The Veterans' Progress

How far they have come on the road to class consciousness can be seen from the fact that these are the men whom the capitalist class had organized into the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars as instruments to smash strikes and working class demonstrations. Now, having learned by their own experience what capitalism is, they will no longer allow themselves to be used for this kind of capitalist dirty work.

But they still have a long way to reach the ranks of the class conscious vanguard. They must learn that the fight for the bonus must be made a part of the class fight for relief from the crisis at the expense of the capitalist class and its government; that their fight must be made a part of a united working class fight embracing with employed and unemployed workers.

It is the task of the Communists to teach them. They must advance the correct slogans, and work in the ranks of the veterans to raise them to class consciousness. The Communists must support the fight for the bonus—as a special measure of relief for a special section of the working class. In this connection it must be noted that the *Daily Worker* has made a profound mistake in relegating the fight for unemployment insurance and relief to a position second to the bonus fight. If the fight for the bonus is to yield results in relief and class consciousness the correct relation between it and the broader fight for unemployment insurance must be observed.

Communist Opportunities

The Communists now have a splendid opportunity to take over the leadership of the bonus fight. In the crucial moment when the veterans needed leadership and direction their commander, Waters, turned out to be, as the Communists foretold, a coward and faker. The tide of battle swept him aside. The men are now leaderless. The prestige of the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League will rise if it steps into the breach and leads. It has in this situation an opportunity to smash through the isolation into which its incorrect tactics led it. It can demonstrate that it is capable under Communist guidance, of leading not only isolated demonstrations of the vanguard, but the masses of the vets.

The Communists must rally the vets, draw for them the lessons of their fight for the bonus and the most recent actions of the Hoover starvation government, and raise the fight for the bonus to the higher plane of the general class fight for relief. If they will do this they will advance the vets toward class consciousness and raise the prestige of Communism in the eyes of the whole working class.

—T. S.

200 at German Meeting

Despite a heavy shower shortly before the meeting, and the intense mid-summer heat, more than 200 workers packed the hall of the Stuyvesant Casino last Wednesday to hear the viewpoint of the Left Opposition on the crisis in Germany. Hugo Oehler introduced the subject with an analysis of the events leading up to the present situation and the significance of the struggle between Fascism and Communism. He was followed by Max Shachtman, who sketched the false course pursued by the official party leaders for the past few years in connection with the social democracy on the one hand, and Fascism on the other. The seriousness of the situation in Germany was emphasized and the standpoint of the Left Opposition revealed to have been vindicated by life itself. The speakers were followed with the strictest attention, and the audience included not only a large number of party and Lovestone group members, but dozens of workers who had never before attended a meeting of the Left Opposition. The Casino meeting was the first in a series of meetings being organized throughout the country by us in an endeavor to arouse the American militants to the vital importance of the situation now developing in Germany.

Eleventh Hour in Germany

Socialists Restrain Workers: Stalinists still Reject United Front

Events in Germany are rushing swiftly towards a climax. Sunday's elections to the now dissolved Reichstag will serve as another milestone on the road which leads Germany to the final decision: the triumph of Fascism or proletarian emancipation.

For those to whom it was not clear at the outset, it should now be plain: the von Papen regime of Junkers and militarists is a stop-gap of no permanence. It cannot be expected to last for any length of time except that required by the Hitlerites to demoralize the working class forces and strengthen their own to the point where Fascism may seize power in its own name. To expect, furthermore, that the Fascists will take power only after they have gained fifty-one percent of the votes is to suffer from the same stupid illusion, turned upside-down, which the social democrats the world over have fostered in the minds of their followers by telling them that they will come to power after they have gained a majority of the ballots. Hitler cannot and will not wait until he has attained that far-off objective. The acuteness of the struggle does not allow time for such a "peaceful" advent to the seat of power for Fascism. Moreover, Hitler realizes as well as anyone else that his social reservoirs are being rapidly exhausted; that the discontented and despairing petty bourgeoisie from which he has hitherto drawn the bulk of his electorate, have been tapped to the utmost; that he is rapidly nearing the height of any possible parliamentary triumph; and that unless power is seized violently—and that is the only way in which the proletariat will allow it to be seized—it will not be seized at all.

The Eleventh Hour Nears

That is why the crucial moment, the eleventh hour, is approaching. That is why the workers must be vigilantly on guard—not only in Germany but throughout the rest of the world: for on the triumph or defeat of Fascism in Germany hangs the fate of the world revolution and the Soviet Union for the entire coming period.

But the vigilance of the working class of Germany is being broken from two directions. The first is from the social democracy, which is dragging the proletariat and paralyzing its limbs while Hitler advances. Its policy of restraining the workers, soothing them with empty, treacherous promises of salvation, is demoralizing the ranks of the workers and sowing the spirit of despair and capitulation. Their attitude is summed up by the pessimistic analysis of the New Leader of July 30, the organ of the American socialists: "If Hitler ascends to power, he will be deflated within a few months, as he is an ignorant and conditions will certainly not improve because a child mind has been heaved into eminence." This curious combination of surrender in advance, ignorance of recent history and the elements of politics, knavery, and an imitation of the vain boasts of the Stalinists in Ger-

many several months ago—would be fatal if it became the general view of the German workers.

Thaelmann's New Theory

It is only after he attains power that Hitler will be able to fortify himself in such a manner that every vestige of labor organization on an independent scale would be exterminated with a fury exceeding anything known in the history of Mussolini and his blackshirts. It is NOW that Hitler must be annihilated, before he comes to power, and not afterwards. The German workers are beginning to realize this elementary truth. Elsewhere in this issue we indicate the growing, spontaneous urge of the German proletariat towards a united front. Under this mighty impulsion from below—to which should be added the stinging criticisms of the Left Opposition—a half turn is being made by the Stalinists. But it is far from enough. In the latest issue of the German party's theoretical organ, Thaelmann advances the theory that a "united front from above" is now permissible provided that the masses have already been convinced of the need for a united front. This stupidly opportunistic idea is still advanced under a leftist cloak! The indisputable facts show that the masses have long since gained this conviction: what has been lacking is the determination and conviction of the Stalinist leaders!

We repeat a hundred times over: Invaluable time has been lost, but it is not yet too late! A mass united front of Communists and social democrats can still crush Hitlerism. To arouse the militants to this idea and to the acuteness of the German situation, is the task of the moment. The criminal silence of the party press here, the failure to take up the situation either inside the party or in mass meetings outside, must be countered by the conscientious party members demanding discussion and action by the party. The Left Opposition is doing its duty. The workers-Communists must join their voices with ours!

New York Branch Starts Important Drive

We're moving again with our activity centering around our latest publication, *What Next?* The New York branch has started out with a bang by launching a Literature and Finance Campaign whose pivot is *What Next?* The details are reported elsewhere in this issue.

As our ad announces, until further notice, we are offering a free paper copy of *What Next?* with each half year sub of twenty-six issues; and a free cloth copy with each year's sub of fifty-two issues. Militant Builders, this is your opportunity! You have in this offer a great inducement to workers to subscribe. We think that this is so great an opportunity that it is possible for every

comrade to get subs. We are therefore throwing out all our old records and starting from scratch. Every comrade now has the same opportunity.

Beginning with the next issue we will record the progress of the staff and our branches. We want to see this record grow by leaps and bounds. There is no reason why it shouldn't.

To the two comrades who stand highest in the list at the end of August we will open our literature closet—they may make their choice of any one of our publications.

Now then to work! We have here an opportunity we may not get again so soon. Action is needed to realize it.

Hoover and the «Relief» Bill

Millions of Unemployed Workers Swindled by New Congress Bill

The press reports that Hoover has at last signed a "relief" bill which releases \$3,800,000,000 to help the country out of its present fix. Just how is this money to be used and whom will it relieve?

With the growing army of unemployed clamoring for aid from the government, it would seem "logical" that this money should immediately go to them. But alas, the father of his country seems to have his own ideas about how to aid his people. Out of this whole enormous sum of close to four billions of dollars, exactly three hundred millions will go to the states for "direct unemployment relief". Three billion, five hundred millions are to be used in the same way as have all the so-called relief schemes that have been adopted up to now. How?

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation gets the biggest chunk—\$1,800,000,000. "Public construction", private loans, and financing of agriculture through credit corporations receive a small donation of \$1,500,000,000. The rest of the kitty goes for various improvements in roads, highways, parks, etc.

What, then, do the starving millions of workers cast on the scrap heap of industry, actually get? The pitiful sum of three hundred millions—and before state agencies of distributing this money get through dishing it out, the bigger part of it will have found its way into their own pockets in the form of salaries! How many times have the workers already seen these "relief" sums loudly announced in headlines of all newspapers—and every time, the same hypocritical praise of these ideas. Always the same end of the

whole rotten bunk—graff that the dispensers of relief, lovely talk and no cash for those who really need it.

At the same time something happened that the unemployed workers of these United States should open their eyes to and learn from. Hoover actually signed an act which will permit 215,000 veterans to receive, after July 25, half the value of their bonus certificates! Why does Hoover do this now after Congress and Herbie himself have time and again refused to help the ex-soldiers out of their misery?

There can be only one answer to that. The demonstrations and growing militancy of the vets at the very doors of the old man in Washington are beginning to have their effect. The increasing threat of the marchers, the picketing on the lawn of the Capital have forced this half-way move of Hoover.

The unemployed and employed workers are seeing before their very eyes a picture of the only way they ever will get real relief—by organizing and fighting for it. Hoover is just about as much concerned about the plight of the unemployed and actual relief, as he is over the scene of misery enacted by the bonus army on the disease-infected banks of Anacostia flats. Hoover and the boss class for which he stands, will continue to turn deaf ears to the pleas of this starving mass of wage slaves until those pleas become mighty, roaring commands of an organized force of employed and unemployed invincibly united.

—HERBERT CAPELIS.

• THE CIVIL WAR IN GERMANY •

The Fascist Terror Is Let Loose!

July 1, at the University of Berlin
Fascist student bandits attacked anti-Fascist students with clubs and knives. Three Communist students, three social democrats and one other, from the S. A. P., were seriously wounded.

At Dresden
June 21, in the suburb of Leubau, a Nazi group attacked two social-democratic workers who were seriously injured. When numbers of workers ran up to protect them the band of Nazi cowards ran away.

At Halle
On June 29, a uniformed assault band provoked some revolutionary workers in a laboring district. When the police arrived they took the side of the Nazis against the Communists. Alleging that they had been attacked with rocks, the police used their arms. Two policemen were wounded, and we cannot ascertain whether there were any losses on the side of the workers.

July 2
At Janowitz Bridge (Berlin) a worker was beaten up by six fascists. Some marble-workers in the vicinity immediately ran to his aid. A section of the League for Struggle and several young socialist comrades interfered, and the Nazis ran away. (On this occasion a permanent committee of defense was organized.)

At two-thirty, the Nazi bandit Trumpeimann, in Schenckberg, fired ten revolver shots on two revolutionary workers out on the street. One was seriously injured by two bullets, and the other by three. These two victims of the Fascist vermin are at present struggling against death in the hospital. . . . This act of aggression took place after a discussion.

Nine Workers Killed in One Day
At Hattlingen (Ruhr) comrade Lubrich was assassinated, and comrade Scholz killed by a revolver bullet in the lungs. At Cologne, a Fascist motorcycleist killed a worker, head of a family. Two other workers were injured. At Berlin a policeman beat up our comrades Gerlicke and Schoneck. At Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, two social democratic workers fell under the fire of Hitler's bandits.

July 3, Hamburg
After their C. P. meeting, in Dittmar-chen, our comrades from Lunden, returning to their homes, were suddenly attacked by a hail of bullets from 300 Nazis. Comrade Frahm was killed by a bullet in the abdomen, and comrades Blesch and Krach were wounded in the arm and head.

In Berlin
A comrade in Berlin was assassinated, seated on motorcycles, a group of Nazis organized an armed attack against the Fischer workers' local (Vogtstrasse). Six or eight shots were fired in the local—another comrade was seriously wounded. At eleven o'clock a group of Nazis in an automobile sped by the Karl Richter local (Berlin N. Gotschedstrasse), and fired six shots, which struck two women, both wounded in the thigh. Twenty minutes later the police appeared. One Fascist was arrested. A short time before this attack the same Fascist automobile drove through Oudenarde Street and passed before the Koch local. Several people were wounded.

At Mariendorf
A private automobile drove very slowly in front of the local which is situated on Kurfurstenstrasse. Fifteen to twenty revolver shots were fired, wounding a few diners. At Steglitz some Fascist bandits on a Fascist motorcycle fired on the workers' local in Albrechtstrasse. Fortunately nobody was wounded. In the Angriff, Goebbels officially boasts of these murderous assaults.

At Wedding
In the night of Friday-Saturday, the Assault Battalions fired revolver shots and used knives in various localities. The black dogs stabbed the worker Zahbel in the back with daggers and sent him to earth with a pistol shot. Comrade O. Zahbel is in the hospital, gravely wounded.

In Neue Hochtoss and in Leuzener-platz the S. A. bands provoked some serious encounters. Seized with bestial sadism a group from the S. A. mistook a crowd of Nazis, who were coming in their direction, for the "Commune", and fired among them. One Nazi was killed by a bullet wound in the neck.

On Friday Fascist provocations started again at about eight-thirty in the evening, in Neue Hochtoss. In front of Lassam workers' local the Nazis injured some workers; but when members of the "home groups for self-defense" arrived immediately, they fled. Suddenly, at eleven o'clock, a motorcycle with an unlighted side-car arrived. In front of the Lassam local, four or five revolver shots were fired from the cycle. The workers withdrew to the local and closed the shutters; by doing so they saved their lives for at that very instant, Nazis

posted in different corners of the street fired from every direction, with the result that 40 or 50 bullets struck the local building. At that same moment another Fascist band arrived coming from the other side of the street. The Nazis who had just fired took them too for Communists and turned on them. Wounded in the neck, the Nazi, Steinberg, fell. Three others were wounded.

The "home group for self-defense" section assembled and the Nazis fled. A policeman ran to meet him, revolver in hand, but allowed the Nazis to pass, although they were obviously armed. The policeman asked some passers-by who had done the firing. He was told that it was the Nazis who had just passed him; in spite of this the policeman continued in the opposite direction. In their flight the Nazi bandits in the Neue Hochtoss knocked down a porter named Kniest and slashed him with knives.

At a quarter of one Goebbels' bands returned. At Lenzenerplatz they tried to enter Neue Hochtoss. Seeing that the street was filled with workers they assembled; in the commotion they fired on each other once more.

The Police Assassins

Berlin—During the night at 1 o'clock, the police took unheard of measures in Rostockerstrasse (Moabit); because of

Hitler's bands are increasing their bloody deeds. Just as in Italy, they are laying a crushing burden of terror on city and countryside. Already acts of aggression and assassinations take place every day. We draw up here a record of Fascist

the beat many of the inhabitants had left their window open. The patrol demanded that the windows be shut immediately. As several of the inhabitants expressed their indignation over this demand, one of the policemen drew his rifle from his shoulders and fired three shots. Another patrol arrived and also fired. An assault-truck and an armored car came up. The porter of the house on 2 Rostockerstrasse was aroused from his bed and forced to turn over the keys of the cellar and store-room. The police ransacked the house from top to bottom. In the middle of the night the inhabitants were rudely aroused from their beds. The bourgeois press claims that there had been firing from the windows.

July 5

At the entrance of the Stadium where the trials of the Spartacus took place in Essen (Ruhr), the fascists and the police provoked the workers. A serious conflict resulted, the police trying to prevent the workers from singing certain songs. Twenty-four workers were wounded and one policeman killed.

aggressions since July 1, taken from the Rote Fahne. May our comrades realize by these few examples that today it is the fate of the whole European proletariat which is being decided in Germany! Let us line up to help them!

In the evening there were new encounters between the workers, who were going home, and the police and Nazis. Allegedly, stones were thrown at the police trucks; the police fired in every direction. A worker was killed by a bullet in the head, another seriously wounded in the abdomen. The Nazis waylaid the youth comrade Werman and stabbed him fatally.

Kassel

On the occasion of the filing off of fascists at Eschwege, near Kassel, yesterday, there occurred some serious conflicts between the entire workers' population and the S. A. provocateurs. By their shouting the masses kept the Fascist orator from speaking in the market place. In league with the S. A. the police used brutal measures against the workers. From a distance of several meters the police fired on the workers. Two workers, a Communist and a social democrat, were killed by the shots of the Sevinger forces.

Minden (Westphalia)

Last night, with no excuse whatsoever,

Spontaneous United Front Developing

Nazi bandits opened fire on a working class street. A worker, coming out of a saloon just at that moment, was so gravely wounded that he died a short time later in the hospital.

Kottbusser (Berlin)

Last night an S. A. bandit fired on a group of workers wounding two slightly, and killing one Reichsbanner worker. The workers punished the cowardly assassin, who had to be taken to the hospital. The workers, forgetting all party considerations, next hastened to the lair of the Nazi assassins in Skalitzerstrasse, and demolished it. The workers decided to organize a joint demonstration in the banquet-hall at Ewald, in order to weld the anti-Fascist united front still more solidly.

July 6, Essen (Ruhr)

The worker Heinrich Steinweg, from Dortmund-Bracke, whom the police wounded in the neck on Sunday with a revolver shot, died this morning.

July 7

Yesterday four young unemployed workers took some food in Diana House, and were pursued and attacked on the Erkener-Neu-Zittar road by a car full of policemen. One of the unemployed youths, seriously wounded by a bullet in his back, fell from his bicycle while riding. He, as well as one other boy,

was arrested. The two others succeeded in escaping.

Tuesday afternoon, a motorboat bearing the Fascist flag went along the Spandau canal (Berlin). The occupants of the boat hurled insults at the unemployed men who were bathing between the Muhertz and Hinkeldey bridges, shooting out at them "Long live Hitler!" One man shouted back, "Down with Hitler!" whereupon the Nazis drew revolvers and fired on the unemployed men. Two youths were wounded, one by a bullet in the arm, the other in the knee. The lathers, bitterly aroused, threw rocks at the boat, wounding one of the assassins.

July 8, Gollnow

In the course of the wood-workers' strike, which has grown more serious during the last few days, some encounters between the strikers and scabs occurred. The manager summoned the police, who fired on the strikers, one of whom was seriously wounded by Sevinger's police.

July 9

Wednesday evening, at a quarter of eleven, a Nazi band fired on the Beckman workers' local, at Pankow, Beritg-strasse, 2. The bandits threw some hand-grenades and rocks and beer-bottles through the windows. One worker was seriously injured and had to be taken to the hospital. The Hitlerites fired three revolver shots at the cafe-proprietor's wife who fortunately escaped their bullets. When the police arrived, the mob had long since disappeared. The next day thirty fascists came out of their barracks to provoke the population. The workers and passers-by demanded that the police search them. A revolver was found on one of them, who was recognized as a participant in the assault against the workers' local the previous evening, and he was arrested.

July 10, Frankfurt-on-the-Main

Last night the bandits of the S. A. passed through the workers' borough of Nied, proceeding towards Hochst. Although the march had been forbidden, the police brutally cleared the street for the passage of the brown plague, knocking down men and women. The alarmed workers assembled in front of the town-hall, where about fifty Nazis were thoroughly thrashed. Intimidated by the unconfident anger of the workers, the police put away their clubs.

Shortly before midnight a police car drove up; it too was greeted with stones thrown by the workers. The police started firing and wounded a worker. Near Niddabrucke the workers threw up barricades to block the road for the fascists. Not until early morning did they dare to return to their homes, under a strong police escort.

Hirschberg (Silesia)

Last night Nazi bandits from the entire region tried to attack a camp of young socialist workers at Schmiedeberg. The S. A. bandits surrounded the camp and bombarded it with rocks. When the workers, who were instantly awakened, ran towards them, they tried to run away. In the melee 16 Nazis and 10 workers were seriously injured. The police searching the Nazi bandits later, found several dozen revolvers, clubs, and brass knuckles.

Assault battalion 33 of Charlottenburg (Berlin), once more attacked and fired upon the workers. Under police protection the Nazis had distributed leaflets in Havelstrasse during the morning, but they finally had to withdraw to their retreat in Hebelstrasse. Along the way they attacked a workers' local in Grunstrasse.

The Nazis threw a worker off his bicycle, crying out, "There's a lesson for the Commune!" The police arrested the worker but had to release him soon. While the Fascist mob, with a strength of about thirty men, was beating the workers with clubs and stones, while Scheffler leading his Nazis, was hitting the workers with shovels and the workers were running away, police car number 1A-45,551 passed up and down Grunstrasse, where the workers local is situated.

Child Killers

The capitalists live in Grunewald (Berlin); the proletariat lives in Fischerkeit. When the assault battalions want to undertake punitive expeditions, where do they go? Not to Grunewald, but to Fischerkeit. There lives Helmut Seiten, a lad of thirteen. He is a puny child, the youngest of eight brothers and sisters.

Thursday evening, June 23, Helmut and his friends were playing in the streets. Suddenly one of the little ones cried out, "Look out for the Nazis!" Before they had a chance to run away, the Nazi rifles swept the street. The wounded were bathed in blood—among them Helmut. The Nazis cried out, "Get out of here, you red curs! This is the Third Empire!" A bullet wounded Helmut in the thigh, severing an artery. The hole where the bullet entered is the size of a five mark piece.

The old mother ran to her son's aid. She was weeping; Helmut tried to console her. "Don't cry, mamma, it's not so serious." His blood was flowing fast. Some firemen carried him to the hospital. In order to save his life it was necessary to give him a blood transfusion. One of the firemen put himself at the surgeon's disposal for this operation. Helmut is still at the hospital. His leg is shattered to fragments. The assassins gleefully make ready for their next cowardly blow.

The German Communist Party and the United Front

Is it Really Possible to Establish a Unified Proletarian Front Against the Growing Danger of Fascism?

ing but an anti-social democratic action! They openly declare that they will not have a united front with the leaders of the social-democracy. All the invitations of the social-democracy to cease first the struggle and to concentrate the forces against the common enemy were disdainfully repulsed. The circular of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany of June 4 confirms clearly that even in the present fights the main attack should be directed against the social democracy.

"This proves that the C. P. of Germany does not really want a united front of the workers, which it recognizes in words. This slogan is to serve only as a means of attracting social-democratic workers and voters. Everyone to whom the idea of a true unit of proletarians is a serious and sacred thing will turn away with indignation from such a disloyal maneuver."

"Had the C. P. of Germany desired it, it could have had enough opportunity to concentrate in the electoral struggles on winning the masses of voters who left it to join the National-Socialists. By such an orientation in the struggle, it could have reduced to a minimum the friction with the social-democracy. But it is not this that they want, since they direct their main attack against us, so that the front of brass as well as the front of defense must also remain firmly against them."

"Therefore, comrades, open your eyes. The one who is educated politically knows that only the central leadership of the parties are in a position to carry on negotiations which can meet with success. Local negotiations, instead of creating unity and clarity, lead only to dissension and confusion. Therefore, they must absolutely be avoided." (Vorwaerts, 6-29-32.)

By persisting along this line, the C. P. of Germany will drive the leadership of the social-democracy to its last retreatment. Without making any concessions on its political program, it will gain the masses of reformist workers, Messrs socialists, why do your friends of

Germany refuse to bring about the united front? This is the question which every worker asks.

ARISE NOW, RED BERLIN!

At the same time the heads of the social-democracy are themselves forced to prohibit the Vorwaerts, that means their newspaper. They are wedged between the light wing of the bourgeoisie which makes them capitulate in every instance and the mass of workers who want to carry them into the struggle. On the eve of the suppression of the Vorwaerts (for five days) it appeared with the following heading in enormous letters:

"NOW, ARISE YOU, RED BERLIN!"

And on the morrow a tremendous demonstration assembled tens of thousands of reformist workers. That is the very reason why we must pursue our action of the united front. This is the only road which will turn the direction of the social-democracy and gather the great masses of workers under the banner of Communism.

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY AND THE UNITED FRONT

If the C. P. has not taken the initiative in this matter, there are other intermediary parties like the S. W. P. (Socialist Workers Party), which try to make use of it. But the leadership of this party does not call for a united front to gather the masses with a view to action, in order to tear away the masses from the leadership of the social-democracy. They want a UNIFICATION OF THE PROGRAM of the working parties. It is the bankruptcy of their party that allows them to write the following:

"That which seemed unimaginable only a few weeks ago, is now being realized in a number of ways: through all the differences, the working class of all parties and of all organizations finds a road to a common struggle against Fascism and social reaction. We can say with pride that these are the fruits of the minutest work, full of sacrifices, of the S. W. P. Already in the heart of the Socialist party, the cadres of the S.

A Letter to a Party Member

A comrade in the party answers my criticism with the reply "I know the party is wrong in important points, but I do good work here, teaching Communism to the workers. That work is my inspiration."

Why cannot you do this fine work, comrade, and at the same time express your opinion on party mistakes? Because you would be expelled. Fear of this makes you choose the work you love even at the sacrifice of two tremendously important issues: First, the working out of a correct strategy in the party, and second, the right of a party member to participate in the clearing up of important problems.

Which is the more important, the education of the masses to Communism or a correct strategy? Both are essentials. Either one is useless without the other. However, the masses are bound to come to us—economic forces are driving them to Communism—but if we are not prepared to offer wise leadership their forces will be smashed on the rocks of mistakes and deceit, and the triumph of Communism is delayed.

The Opposition offers any comrade the opportunity to keep up his A. B. C. educational work. We have our street meetings (often broken up by party members, it is true) but we combine with this elementary work the equally important task of learning to apply correct strategy.

Communism had the masses in China; a strong trade-union movement (3 millions according to Losovsky), a tremen-

dous peasant force, many army regiments ready to support us—but false strategy—working hand in hand with Chiang Kai-Shek—smashed the revolution.

In Germany we have five million voters and the socialists nine million yet this is not preventing the Fascist or Junker dictatorship, which will mean attack upon Soviet Russia. Why? Wrong Stalinist strategy in alienating the socialist workers.

A general must have an army but his army is worse than useless without a correct strategy. A builder must have bricks, but his house will topple, if his plans are incorrect. The Communist party today has no leadership, no correct strategy. In every important historical event where correct action was necessary, it has failed—in England, in China, in Germany and in Russia itself with the peasants.

When the world is in an uproar—Stalin has nothing to say—he is silent at the XVII party conference. In the streets of Moscow it is murmured "He is expecting directions from Trotsky."

—A. K.

BOUND VOLUMES

Like the tide they're still going out. We're almost down to the point where we can announce: Last Call. Let this be a reminder or a warning that comrades who want a copy should lose no time.

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What Is Happening in the Soviet Union

A Letter from Moscow

Behind the scenes of the Stalinist apparatus a deep-going process is at work undermining the "monolithism" of the leading group which is narrowing down ever more threateningly to the personality of Stalin. The official party press naturally maintains a censor-bound silence on what is going on in actuality. The present letter will give our readers an insight into some of the significant events taking place.

(Continued from last issue)

To all sorts of critical remarks and demonstrations of Stalin's ideological insufficiency, the average Stalinist replied, "Yes, all that may be true, but he sure is a sly boots; you won't break your neck following him." Moreover the successes of industrialization and collectivization covered up all sins. The sharp about face came with the aggravation of the situation in necessities. "Hunger is an aunt to none." In deliberations concerning the situation in necessities, general formulas do not suffice. The Vuz nuclei, which as you are aware, are, or are reputed to be, the most reliable, i. e., those in which they swear by Stalin in every other phrase. But here is quite a novel fact, very symptomatic in the present atmosphere. In the nucleus of the Electro-Technical Institute, during a discussion over the foodstuffs situation, one of the petty apparatus retainers made an attempt at an exposition to the effect that "the situation was improving." Then and there one of the students threw in reply, "You, like Stalin, can see nothing." This insolent reply was taken up by the assembly with open sympathy, despite the presence of the members of the nucleus bureau, who pretended to be absent. The winged phrase, "You like Stalin, can see nothing," at once began to circulate about the town.

The forms of declination from Stalin take on a passive and temporizing character. The average functionary adapts himself to the party mass in the sense that he denies Stalin the manifestations of enthusiasm. Many episodes on this subject are circulating. Each one in itself is not very important, but taken together they fill in the picture. I was personally a witness to one of these incidents. On February 23, Stalin attended the Bolshoi Theater. Such visits are, of course, always prepared for, not only from the point of view of security (which is self-evident) but also as regards the proper "reception." In recent years the plaudits of the claque invariably called forth the support of a considerable number of the theater-bureaucrats. On February 23 Stalin's appearance was met, before my own eyes, with an icy silence. Evidently the claque itself, fearful of falling through, did not give the signal for the plaudits. However, what is more significant, is what takes place in this sphere at all kinds of subordinate meetings, at festivals, conferences, etc. At elections of honorary presidiums, or in sending of collective greetings Stalin's name appears obviously first. But while two years ago the pronouncement of this name was met with applause (the more violent, it is true, the more select, i. e., the more official the character of the assembly) now on the contrary the roll call headed by Stalin's name calls forth no "enthusiasm".

The reason for this is to be found in the entire situation and in the bitter experience. At present wide circles in the party and in the Soviets are becoming more and more convinced that what obtains "is a great master on little things". Of course, even three years ago those Communists who at least could put two and two together took stock quite clearly of the fact that after he had consummated the organizational struggle against the Left Opposition, Stalin then grabbed its platform as life-saving anchor. But even this was not debited against him. "Sly-boots"—that was the honorary epithet bestowed upon Stalin by the functionary, and it was often repeated after the functionary by the worker.

Among the academic world, the authority of Stalin as a "theoretician" has fallen greatly. Everyone knows how long and with what persistence he strove to assure his theoretical reputation. Various funkeys, like Milonov, the former theoretician of the Workers' Opposition, have inscribed, it is true, Stalin among the "Marxian Classics" just as Schervnik enrolled him among the geniuses. But amidst our students and our Red professors, notwithstanding how this audience has been depraved by the Stalinist regime, there are still to be found not a few honest and clear young minds, and, in the last analysis, it is they who determine the unofficial public opinion of the proletarian students, and the cream of the working class in general. Stalin's far-famed report in the Society of Agronomists has cost him dearly. Trotsky's criticism has reached few directly, but indirectly, through intermediaries, it has penetrated into rather wide circles. But, indeed, we ourselves, "have grown beards too." There is no lack of people among us who are well acquainted with the Marxian system. No matter how the scandalous Stalinist report was advertised in the press, (Pravda even celebrated in its time the anniversary of the world-historical report) the results obtained were the opposite: the more solid academicians in the apparatus refer to the report with restrained but significant smiles: within the circles of the most advanced youth, it has become the source of numerous jokes and anecdotes.

STALIN'S DISCREET SILENCE

But even Stalin's purely political reputation has suffered exceedingly during the last year. At the XVII party conference Stalin did not utter a word. His silence produced a tremendous effect, and

thereto a fatal one. In the party, this conference was awaited not without agitation. None, of course, presupposed that the assembly of functionaries could change or revive anything. But all were convinced, that at the conference, the long-silent leader of the party, would speak out his thoughts on the contemporary situation. In the course of the winter, I happened more than once to listen in Moscow, as well as in a provincial industrial town, where I chanced to pass a few weeks, to discussions on the theme as to what Stalin thinks of the situation in Germany, of the worldwide crisis, and of the international position of the Soviet Union. "Why does he keep mum?" many asked each other. "Now is time that he should speak out in illytch manner." . . . To this the more solid interlocutor would ordinarily reply, "Just bide your time, he'll come out with it yet; why, the party conference takes place in a few weeks." Thus within the party and around it a firm conviction became established that Stalin was keeping a tight upper lip. In order to speak out all at once at the party conference. The greater was the disenchantment that awaited the party. After each session, the delegates and visitors were pestered by the query: And how about Stalin?—Nothing, so far. . . . How come? Don't know, perhaps he'll speak out yet. . . . the delegates replied more and more wearily. Toward the close of the conference, the delegates themselves began to become upset and began respectfully insisting that "the big-chief" make himself heard. But Stalin refused point blank. This really was quite a shock to many. A few began to speak out, in their circles of course, "Why doesn't he say anything? Because he has nothing to say." It is in such an atmosphere that the words of the student, "You like Stalin, can see nothing" grew their wings with greatest facility.

Those more "informed" in the average bureaucratic circles spoke a great deal with significance after the conference, "Stalin kept quiet because there is a divergence of opinion on top both as regards the spheres of domestic and foreign policies." The Japanese provocations shook up the party and the working class. Some decisive steps on the part of the Soviet government were awaited, but at the same time there was doubt abroad: lest a provocation be instigated. All awaited and sought for courses to take. But no instructions were forthcoming. I personally heard in the course of a single day in several places the jocular phrase, "We must ask L. D. to rush instructions post-haste." Such ironical formulas circulate very rapidly around Moscow, sometimes from above down, at other times upward from below. In a certain sense the course was outlined and received. The 25-26 number of the Bulletin with the article, "Germany—The Key to the International Situation" undoubtedly produced a restraining effect upon the bureaucracy. References to this article penetrated into the party from different sides. If above, on the question of the Far-East policies there were really disagreements, then they were solved obviously to the effect not to fall into Far-Eastern provocation. We consider this to be entirely correct.

Another disagreement among the heads touched evidently the question of restoring the domestic market. Molotov, it would seem, was against it. However, one must add that the upper crust of the party now is such a closed corporation as to almost prevent any penetration of information regarding its inner life into the layers beneath. And thereto the inner fights take place not in official institutions such as the Politbureau, the C. E. C. etc., but within the four walls of the general secretariat, in the innermost recesses of the inner circle.

THE NEED FOR THE BULLETIN

Could we receive at present in the Union a few hundred copies of each number of the Bulletin, the situation in the party would take on another aspect. The need of the critical elucidation of the situation and of perspectives which was submerged in the period of "dizziness" successes, has now reasserted itself and has taken on the character of a thirst. But the Bulletin arrives in isolated and accidental copies. The bureaucratic tops, of course, read it. But the average party member gets a chance at a Bulletin only abroad. Seldom does anyone decide to venture bringing in a new number in his pocket, for on this topic, as it is relayed to us, there have been considerable unpleasantnesses even in the midst of highest dignitaries. But nothing, of course, can interfere with those returning from abroad of transporting the Bulletin in their heads. From them the ideas of the Bulletin circulate into much wider circles. In addition thereto, the official press deems it necessary on all important problems to produce the slogan against "the counter-revolutionary Trotskyism". In Pravda and in the Bolshoi, in the Leningrad Pravda, in the provincial papers, in the Literary Gazette, etc. one can always run across a citation from the Bulletin or a rehash of one or another article. The Oppositionists from this point of view, open a new number of the paper or cut the pages of new issue of a magazine with the thought uppermost, perhaps there is something about us there? The extracts, it is true, are almost always twisted around, the ideas are led about, but after all these years we have learned a great deal, and among other things, how to read between the lines. In nine cases out of ten we unmistakably guess how you ac-

The letter which we publish here may be considered as entirely authoritative being written by a well-informed comrade in Moscow who is in a position to know what is taking place. The present issue of the Militant contains the conclusion of the letter and makes it possible for our readers to be oriented more intimately on such questions as the status of the collectivization movement, the internal party situation, etc.

tually have posed the question in the Bulletin.

Despite the unremitting organizational raids, the Left Opposition lives. Oppositionist units and groups are disseminated everywhere, and in many places considerable Oppositionist nests are uncovered. There was hardly ever in this world at any time or anywhere such difficulty for a genuine Marxist trend to carry on its work, in the technical sense, as there is for as at present in the Soviet Union. This is one of those vicious jokes of history, on which the most expert dialectician can break his teeth. The more respectable part of the captulators motivates its capitulation precisely in this manner, "It is anyway impossible to carry on any illegal activities; at any rate, it is better to serve as an honest functionary of the workers' state." But it appears that the Oppositionist idea finds its channels. As regards this sphere, I, of course, am compelled to be exceedingly careful. I shall enumerate therefore only such facts as have already received a certain publicity, or to put it more exactly, which have reached the ears of the rulers.

THE OPPOSITION IN THE FACTORIES

In the factory "AMO", during the complications mentioned above, placards appeared inscribed, "Hands off the Working Wage" and a portrait of comrade Trotsky was hung up. The portrait was removed by the administration. The import of this fact does not require commentaries. It is to the point to add that the factory "AMO" was not so long ago renamed after Stalin, but here too there is no correspondence between the official name and the actual content. In another factory, the name of which I prefer not to mention, a portrait of Lenin was hung up, but drawn so that when approached from the sides it turned into a portrait of Trotsky.

The authority of those Oppositionists who neither bent nor broke is terrifically great with the party mass, and among the number there are apparatus retainers also. "Now, there are men!" say even the antagonists. Others express themselves even more directly, "Real Bolsheviks!" Individuals like Radek evoke a genuine contempt, even within the bureaucracy. Recently, N. I. Muralov arrived in Moscow, on personal business, with the special permission of the authorities. It is possible that this trip was permitted in order to test his staunchness. One or two of the more respectable captulators were sicked onto Nikolai Ivanovich. He replied, "If you are all set to talk me over, there is no point to our meeting." This phrase immediately made the rounds of Moscow and called forth nothing save praise, "Atta boy, Muralich!" There were no

interviews held. Muralov departed back to Siberia.

In the beginning of March a search was made in the house of V. D. Kasparova and her son; it seems that something or other that was "compromising" was found in the son's possession. Was it Lenin's testament perhaps? Or perhaps a copy of that letter written on his deathbed in which Lenin severed all comradely relations? Not a few "compromising" documents were left behind by Lenin. But whom do they compromise? K. E. Gruenstein and his wife were also searched. They are in Saratov. Stalin will not allow the old, irreproachable revolutionist Bolsheviks like Kasparova and the Gruenstein couple, etc., to draw a carefree breath precisely because he knows how great their authority is, and what respect their names bear.

It is good that such "old-timers" remain who were not rendered impotent and drained by three revolutions, decades of struggle, years in prison and hard labor, and who did not succumb to the bureaucratic milieu. But still the most consoling fact is the new recruitment of the Oppositionist youth. In Sverdlovsk recently was discovered an organization of 75 members, of them eight are already in isolation. Sverdlovsk is not an exception. The arrests are almost unceasing, and serve as a gauge of the influx of new forces to us. In the places of exile are growing up ever newer and newer colonies of Bolshevik-Leninists.

RUMORS ABOUT RAKOVSKY

A few days, a rumor suddenly spread in Moscow about Rakovsky's death and it produced a fearful impression, actually, oppressive. Is Rakovsky really dead? People asked one another with a kind of horror. It's impossible! In these words was expressed the thought that it cannot be that the crime committed by Stalin in relation to Rakovsky has become irreparable. Happily, the rumor was shortly proven unfounded. It is remarkable that three months ago the same kind of rumor was spread about L. S. Sosnovsky and produced approximately the same impression. The memory of Sosnovsky amidst the workers of Leningrad, Moscow and the Urals is very fresh and strong. It was a puzzle to me—whence do these rumors originate? I am of the opinion that they are born of the profound disquietude, the acute alarm of the wide circles of the party for the fate of their honored and loved comrades. Incidentally, the last bulletin we have received from Barnaul is to the effect that both Christian Georgievich and Alexandra Georgievna (Rakovsky's wife) suffer from heart fatigue, a great deal but despite the onerousness of their daily lives and their existence as recluses, their mood is cheerful and optimistic.

The report of Ryazanov's death, this time, unfortunately, was true. It shocked all his friends greatly, and they are not a few throughout the land. He was one of the firmest, purest and immutable of men, despite his grave illness. As a Marxian and an agronomist, he very attentively followed all the processes in rural economy and the collective farms in particular. We shall miss very much indeed his judgments that were so serious and so well grounded both in theory and experience. So it is that life flows on, bringing us sorrow and happiness, we remain and some comrades are lost to us, and others, new and young, step forward and join hands.

—M. M.

Pioneer Publishers Notes

"WHAT NEXT?" OFF THE PRESS!

Well, we've done it. What Next? is off the press. And at reduced prices. When the news of the military dictatorship in Prussia reached us we sat down and went over our figures carefully to see whether we could not reduce the price and thereby make possible a quicker and wider sale. The result is the price announced in our ad.

What is required now is the collective efforts of all our comrades, sympathizers and friends to sell the book. It should be easy to sell this book: it is extremely timely; it is priced low; it is the only Communist publication in this country on the present situation in Germany; it is written by comrade Trotsky whose word is eagerly and attentively read by the workers who have not been convinced and never will be convinced that he is a counter-revolutionist. And on top of all this the book is offered free as a premium with a sub to the Militant.

WHITHER ENGLAND?

Since our announcement last week of the arrival from England of Whither England? by comrade Trotsky we have received orders for a few. We want to remind our readers that our supply is limited (we received only thirty) and comrades who want a copy should order it at once.

GERMANY—THE KEY TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, IN GREEK AND SPANISH

We have been reminded by our Greek and Spanish comrades that in our announcement of comrade Trotsky's writings in foreign languages we omitted mention of the fact that The Key can be had in these languages.

In Russian we still have a number of copies of What Next? In Jewish we have a supply of comrade Trotsky's open letter to the C. E. C. of the U. S. S. R. on the subject of the deprivation of his citizenship. In Italian we have a number of copies of the Spanish Revolution in Danger. In Spanish we have the following titles by L. Trotsky: The Spanish

Organizing the Jobless

The Need for Change of Course in the Official Party Policy

Workers who have serious concern for the interests of their class cannot avoid posing the timely question of what is to become of the unemployment movement. With our advance toward the fourth crisis winter it naturally enters with so much more persistency, pressing for a solution. No actual relief measures have as yet been obtained. The numbers of the unemployed army are mounting higher and but the emergence of a serious movement is still lagging.

Will anybody question the fact that such a movement, to have real meaning, should bring into its sphere of activity the trade unions, the various existing unemployment organizations and the working class political parties. Or, to put it more bluntly, the problem is to secure the necessary unity of action of all of these working class sections to fight for actual relief measures and to advance the movement to a higher plane. This does not at all leave out of account the sharp differences of aims and objectives. Of course, these fundamentally opposing differences remain. There can be no common ground between the aims and objectives of revolution and those of reform. Nor can there be any community of interests whatever between the revolutionary party and the reactionary capitalist lieutenants now in control of the trade union official positions. Nevertheless the united action of the workers from all of these organizations remains the imperative need when obtaining unemployment relief is to be seriously contemplated.

The Various Relief Programs

In surveying these various organizations it is apparent that the pressure of working class need exerts itself everywhere. Hence there is a good deal of identity in the programs of immediate demands. While the objectives differ sharply the immediate needs stand out clearly. The various organizations demand immediate governmental relief. They demand unemployment insurance and the shorter workday. Reformists make these demands to obtain reforms within capitalism and to cater to the working class support, though when the support is obtained, they will without scruples betray their own reforms. The revolutionists advance the demands for the working class needs to obtain them and to advance the struggle toward its revolutionary conclusion.

Even the American Federation of Labor, under pressure of these needs, is now compelled to somewhat change its front. The Executive Council at its recent meeting, in the swell resort of Atlantic City, instructed the meek Baptist, Wm. Green, to draw up a program for unemployment insurance. This reinforces the foundation upon which the revolutionists must put these organizations, including their leaderships, to the actual test. It increases the opportunity for the revolutionary party to forge ahead, initiating a mass movement.

If the party fails to do this it will be on the penalty of the reformist forces assuming uncontested leadership of the unemployment movement which will then develop without it and in spite of it. It is therefore necessary that the party without delay change its course in this respect.

First of all, the party must give up the idea of a separate unemployment movement narrowed by artificial limitations which demand that the party leadership and control be accepted in advance.

Secondly, it should utilize its present position of leadership in the Unemployment Councils to build a much broader unemployment movement. It should officially and genuinely propose to the trade unions, to the workers' unemployment organizations of the various groupings and to the Socialist party to join the united front for unemployment relief. It should particularly appeal to the workers of all these organizations that they put their leaders to the test by demanding that their organizations join the united front fighting for the needs of the unemployed.

Thirdly, the party must maintain its independent position, patiently explaining its objectives to the workers, making its tactics of the united front clear and constantly criticizing the reformist forces in the united front. The party has the duty of clarifying its revolutionary objectives by pushing the actual struggle for relief measures and demonstrating in practical experience that they can be only temporary measures, that the unemployment situation can find its final solution only through the proletarian revolution.

In the Leninist party these elementary requirements used to be accepted as the A B C of the movement. The fact that they have been forgotten, emasculated and pushed aside to give way to false policies makes necessary that they be re-stated again and again until accepted in practice. Mere lip service will not suffice, it is the actual practice which counts and it is the future life of the movement which is at stake.

We could well conceive of a structure for the movement in which the workers, employed and unemployed alike, are organized in the city block councils and centralized on a territorial or city wide basis into delegated bodies where the trade unions and other workers' organizations will send their representatives.

On the Program of Demands

Naturally the program of immediate demands for a genuine united front movement will first of all reflect the pressing needs of the present situation. But it is of the utmost importance that it be so construed as to take into account the identity of interests of the working class as a whole and not only its separate sections. It must particularly harmonize the needs and the objects of both employed and unemployed workers and unite them into one common stream. We must recognize the international aspect of the unemployment problem in such a way that it will strengthen the international class solidarity and help to break down the artificially erected national barriers. It must give articulate expression to the community of interests of the workers of the Soviet Republic and of the capitalist countries. That is why the Left Opposition has long since advanced the slogan of long-term credits to the Soviet Union. This has been rejected by the Stalinist leadership. But the continued failure to adopt this timely and correct slogan may easily play into the hands of reformist demagogues who may grasp it as an opportunity purely and simply to extend the capitalist market and endeavor to take it out of the realms of a working class issue.

In all of this, it is necessary to emphasize again the importance of the demand for the Six Hour Workday Without Reduction of Pay. There could be no objections to its timeliness. Moreover, with the advance of the crisis and the permanency of unemployment, a serious movement for its attainment could above all draw into its orbit and unite in action the employed and the unemployed workers. This demand would become a potent weapon of the united front. It does not in the least, however, obviate nor conflict with the other demands. For example, unemployment insurance still remains as necessary and as pressing as ever. And suffice to add only the fact of the growing misery and destitution bringing to the fore more sharply the need for immediate governmental relief.

The Party's Duty Is Clear

Illusions held of help coming from other sources outside of what the movement itself, by its pressure, can obtain, should soon be completely dispelled. The force of necessity will more positively propel the American working class into motion. The logic of coming developments will emphasize its community of interests and give it expression in the unemployment movement. From this point of view the position of the party assumes ever more importance which its leadership must not dare to fritter away.

Its duty should be clear. It is from the elementary needs and objectives that it must take its starting point. The genuine united front offers such a real starting point. It is a necessary prerequisite for the working class today without which it cannot hope to unify its forces for the greater revolutionary tasks. It is a necessary prerequisite for putting the misleaders of labor to the test and of finally separating them from their control and influence over large sections of the working class. It is the starting point to prevent their designs of sell-out and betrayals and to advance the class struggle to a higher level. The Left Opposition will fight with the party for these objectives.

—ARNE SWABECK.

PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

BY LEON TROTSKY

These 450 pages of analysis and record of the revolution and counter-revolution in China since 1925, offer the first integral Marxian presentation of one of the greatest movements in modern times. The views of the Left Opposition are given here for the first time in systematic, elaborated form, side-by-side with a stinging criticism of the catastrophic course pursued by Stalin and Bucharin. The suppressed writings of Trotsky are found here for the first time in English, together with appendices by Zinoviev, Vuyovitch, Nassunov and others.

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FORGOTTEN WORDS

Lenin and the War Danger

Instructions to the Hague Anti-War Conference Delegation

On the question of combating the danger of war in connection with the Hague Conference, I think that the greatest difficulty is to overcome the preconceived idea that this question is quite simple, clear and comparatively easy to solve. "Our reply to war will be a strike or a revolution," say the reformist leaders when addressing the working class. And very often the apparent radicalism of this statement satisfies and appeases the workers and peasants.

Perhaps the most correct approach to this problem would be to begin with a sharp refutation of all such opinions; to declare that especially now, after the recent war, only the most hopelessly stupid or confirmed hypocrites can believe that such an answer to the question of the struggle against war would have the slightest effect anywhere; to declare that it is impossible to "answer" war with a revolution, in the simplest and most literal meaning of the term.

It is necessary to explain the circumstances and the secrecy in which war is hatched and the helplessness of the ordinary workers' organizations, even though they may call themselves revolutionary, in the face of the actual approach of war.

It is necessary to explain concretely over and over again just what happened during the last war, and why it could not have been otherwise than it did.

"Defense of Fatherland"

Particularly it is necessary to explain the circumstance that the "defense of the fatherland" becomes the inevitable question which the great majority of the workers will inevitably answer to the advantage of the bourgeoisie.

Therefore, the elucidation of the question of "the defense of the fatherland" in the first place, in the second place the explanation in this connection of the question of "defeatism", and finally, the explanation of the only possible means of struggle against war, namely, the formation and conservation of an illegal organization of all revolutionists participating in war—for a prolonged work against war, all these things must be brought to the front.

The "boycott of war"—is a stupid phrase. The Communists must be ready to enter any reactionary war.

It is desirable, through, let us say, examples of German literature before the war, and in particular, through the examples of the Basic Congress of 1912 to point out very concretely that mere theoretical recognition of the fact that war is a crime, that war is not permissible for socialists, etc., means nothing, that these prove to be empty phrases because there is nothing concrete in such a presentation of the question. We give to the masses no really vital presentation of the question as to how war may break out and does break out. On the contrary, the press of the dominating class obscures the issues by spreading lies about it in vast numbers of copies against which the weak socialist press is entirely powerless, the more so, that in the time of peace they maintain a radically wrong attitude toward this very question. The Communist press in the majority of countries also discharges itself.

I think that our delegates at the international conference of co-operators and trade unionists should divide these questions among themselves and examine all those sophisms with which it has attempted to justify war at the present time, in the most careful detail.

It may be that the most effective means of attracting the masses to warfare are just these sophisms with which the bourgeois press operates on them, and the most important circumstance explaining our own powerlessness against war consists in the fact that we either have not examined these sophisms beforehand, or that we ourselves have spent our energy getting off cheap, boastful and empty phrases to the effect that we will not allow war, that we fully understand the criminality of war, etc., in the spirit of the Basic manifesto of 1912.

Task at Congress

It seems to me that if we will have a few people who are able to make speeches against war in various languages at the Hague Conference, then our most important job will be to refute the idea that those participating in the conference are real opponents of war, that they understand how war may and can burst upon them at the most unexpected moment, that they have the least comprehension of the means of combating war, or that they are in any way capable of undertaking an intelligent and effective course in combating war.

In connection with the recent experience of the war we must clear up that great mass of theoretical and practical questions which arose the day after the declaration of war, and which made it impossible for the great majority of those summoned to apply themselves to these problems with clarity of judgment and without prejudice.

I think that the elucidation of this question demands exceptionally detailed consideration, and from two angles:

In the first place, relating and analyzing what happened during the recent war and declaring to all those present that they do not know or that, they pretend to know it, and at the same time shut their eyes to the very core of the question without the knowledge of which there can be no talk of any struggle against war. On this point I think we must examine all the points of view, all the shades of opinion which arose at that time among the Russian socialists in regard to the war. It must be pointed out that these viewpoints arose not by chance, but were generated in the very

nature of war. It must be proved that without an analysis of these opinions, and without an explanation of the inevitability of their arising and of decisive importance in any consideration of the question of the struggle against war, there can be no discussion of preparation for war or even of any intelligent attitude towards it.

In the second place—we must take examples from conflicts now going on even though they may be of the most insignificant nature, and point out from these examples how war may break out on any day from the sport of England and France over some details of the treaty with Turkey, or between America and Japan over some nonsensical disagreement on some question about the Pacific Ocean, or between any of the great powers over some colonial quarrel or from some dispute over their customs or general trade policy, etc., etc. It seems to me, that if there is the slightest doubt as regards the possibility of completing an entire speech against war at the Hague, then it is necessary to invent a whole series of clever devices in order to include at least the most important things in the speech and then to print in brochure form what has not been included in the speech. We must be prepared for being cut short by the president.

I think that for this purpose there must be invited to join the delegation not only capable orators pledged to make speeches, setting forth the entire case against war, that is, developing all the important arguments and all the necessary conditions for the struggle against war—but in addition there must be people speaking all three of the most im-

portant languages who will devote their time to conversations with the delegates clearing up just how far they have understood the basic arguments and, in so far as there is any necessity, in bringing up other arguments or in pointing out the necessary examples.

It may be that in certain questions only actual examples drawn from the last war will have any serious effect. It may be that in certain other questions only the explanation of the present conflicts between the governments and their connection with a possible armed conflict will carry any weight.

Errors of Communists

On the question of the struggle against war, I am reminded that there are a whole series of declarations by our Communist deputies, both in Parliament and in speeches outside of Parliament, which contain the most amazingly mistaken and superficial ideas on the subject. I think that we must take a decisive and relentless stand against all declarations of this nature, especially if they have been made after the war, mentioning the name of every such orator. You may soften all you like, when it is necessary, your denunciation of such an orator, but it is impossible to pass by a single such instance in silence, because a light-minded attitude toward this question is so mischievous that it permeates everything else, and must on no account be treated with indulgence.

There have been a succession of unpardonably stupid and hare-brained decisions of workers' congresses. We must gather at once all the material on this question and consider in the greatest detail every part and particle of this material, and prepare our "strategy" for the congress.

Not only will no mistakes be permissible, but we shall refuse to tolerate any substantial defects in the handling of this question.

December 4, 1922.

—LENIN.

The Stalinists and Barbusse

The invaluable document from the pen of Lenin which we publish above is the most timely contribution of the day to the movement for the struggle against war. When it was first made public several years ago, shortly after the death of Lenin, it was just characterized as a historical document which constituted one of Lenin's last and most mature words to the party. Its timeliness is emphasized particularly by the confusion which prevails at the present moment in the ranks of the revolutionary movement in connection with the anti-war fight. The grossest example of this confusion is the so-called "Congress Against War" which has been called by an international committee of petty-bourgeois pacifists and liberals, together with unofficial representatives of the Communist International, to be held in Geneva on August 28.

The C. I. and Barbusse

The collusion of the Stalinists in this venture—ludicrous at best and pernicious at worst—is beyond dispute to anyone with the slightest knowledge of the apparatus mechanism employed in similar affairs. The mere presence on the Barbusse Committee of Sen Katayama, the Stalinist leader of Japanese Communism and at least formerly a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, is already sufficient indication that the initiative and behind-the-scenes backing for the whole affair comes from the laboratories of Stalinism.

In the United States, this admixture of Communism and petty bourgeois pacifism—or more accurately, this disgraceful subordination of Communism to pacifism—is represented by the so-called "Dreiser Committee", the American section of the Barbusse venture. It has called a conference in the Labor Temple for August 8 which is to elect delegates to the world congress at Geneva.

In the New York Herald-Tribune of July 15, we read the announcement that "the purpose of the world congress, Mr. Cowley (the secretary of the Dreiser Committee) said yesterday, was not merely to arouse articulate opinion but to 'try to get some definite, practical, realistic methods of stopping the war which seems imminent in the next year.'" The composition of the American Committee is already sufficient for an understanding of what is understood by "definite, practical, realistic methods of stopping the war." On the Committee are to be found not merely confused Communist sympathizers like Dreiser and Lamont, but ex-war patriots and reformists like Upton Sinclair, out-and-out bourgeois reformers like Lillian D. Wald, of the Henry Street Settlement; petty bourgeois liberals like Harry Elmer Barnes, Robert Lovett and Franz Boas, plus a number of sars from the world of art and letters. What the vast majority of these people have in common with a struggle against imperialism war, except to contribute a dose of erroneous ideas and confusion, is an enigma that must remain unsolved to all but those who understand the policy of the Stalinist faction.

For the latter, the struggle against war is some special task disconnected from the general struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. With this treacherous approach to the problem, Stalin and Bukharin conceived the notorious Anglo-Russian Committee as the "organizing center of the struggle against war and imperialism" only to have it fall with a crash that inflicted a series of deep wounds upon the Soviet Union and the Communist International. The hope that the petty bourgeois labor leaders like Purcell and Cook would conduct a "definite, practical, realistic" struggle against war, was shattered upon the rocks of the class struggle. The similar hope entertained for the "world

League against Imperialism", which became a stamping ground for every discredited and disreputable political adventurer who needed a momentary protective coat of "revolutionary" coloration, suffered a like fate. By fostering the Barbusse adventure, the Comintern is preparing another debacle this time perhaps more disastrous in view of the growing need for clarity and action in the struggle against war and reaction.

Lenin's brilliant contribution to the subject of the struggle against the danger of war, in connection with the periodic conferences of pacifists and their allies, demands the widest popularization at the present moment. The Left Opposition, true to its duty, will carry on a fight for the victory of these revolutionary views even inside of the Barbusse Congress movement, both in Europe and the United States. That our readers will take as a foregone conclusion, for the past of the Left Opposition is an index of its stand in the present case.

The question is: WHAT POSITION WILL THE OFFICIAL PARTY TAKE? WILL IT SUPPORT THE VIEWS OF BARBUSSE OR THE VIEWS OF LENIN?

«The Foundations of Socialism»

by LEON TROTSKY

The German liberal newspaper *Berliner Tageblatt*, dedicated a special number, in May, to the economic construction in U. S. S. R. The political article was written by Radek. To the question as to which direction the development of the Union is taking, Radek answers as follows, "In the fourteen years, which separate us from the October revolution, in Russia have been created the foundations of socialism. In monstrous struggles, in unceasing labor, a new society is being born." In such a general form these words, of course, can evoke no objections, particularly since they are published in the columns of a bourgeois paper. But Radek does not confine himself to this. Spurred on by an insatiable need to prove the sincerity of his repentance, he goes on to write, "This situation is denied not only by outright enemies of the Soviet Union, but it is also impugned by Leon Trotsky; as he puts it, at such a time when in Russia there is a scarcity of milk, he who talks about the creation of the foundation of socialism compromises socialism." This remark shows only, continues Radek, "that the author has lost those scales which formerly he was capable of applying to evaluate historical events." Radek, who renounced his own platform, is accusing others of losing their historical scales! However, of what should these consist? We quote the answer verbatim, "Milk is the produce of cows, and not of socialism and in truth, one must really confuse socialism with the picture of that land where flow rivers of milk in order not to comprehend that a country may rise to the highest stage of development without temporarily there, raising materially the condition of the national masses."

WHAT IS THE MEANING OF "FOUNDATIONS"?

For the moment let us put aside the clownish tone of the discussion. And let us try to extract from it the serious kernel. There is, first of all, in Radek's answer the theoretical subterfuge, to which, in truth, Stalin resorted more than once when he was pressed to the wall. The matter concerns the tiny word, "the foundation" of Socialism. The present leaders of the Soviet Union have officially proclaimed that the country "has entered into socialism." This assertion we called and continue to call criminal bureaucratic charlatanism. Radek keeps mum on the entry into socialism. Instead he advises us that in the Soviet Union there have been created the foundations of the foundation of Socialism. One can agree with this or disagree, depending upon what one understands by "foundation."

Radek does not leave us without an answer on this point, "If we are convinced—says he—that the foundation of Socialism has already been laid in Russia, it is because our judgment rests, in the first place, upon the fact that the possessing classes have disappeared and that the means of production are concentrated in the hands of the proletariat state." In this sense the foundation has been indubitably laid. But in such a formulation the subject of the dispute disappears altogether. Radek reduces his proof to the fact that Russia has passed through the proletarian overturn. There is no harm in reminding

the honored readers of *Berliner Tageblatt* about it. Unfortunately, however, the proletarian overturn and the expropriation of the possessing classes took place as early as 1917-1918. And in the meantime the entry into socialism was made public in 1930-1931. We were advised about it not on the basis of the expropriation of the expropriators (we knew about this fact even formerly) but on the basis of the 100 percent collectivization, and the elimination of the kulak as a class. Why then, does Radek surrender without a blow the first line of trenches, "the Stalin line"? Why, while so bravely assuming military activities against Trotsky, does he immediately retreat far, far to the rear, and intrench himself in the line of 1918 that is threatened by nobody?

There is no gainsaying it, in the first years after the October overturn, all of us said tens and hundreds of times, "the foundation of socialist construction is laid with us." And that was correct. But this meant only that the political, and the legal property pre-requisites for the socialist transformation were created. And that is all!

SOCIALIST FOUNDATION IN 1921

If it were possible to speak in any manner seriously with Radek on serious subjects, we would have made an attempt to explain to him that it is impossible, in 1932, in answer to the question whether does the development of U. S. S. R. lead to refer to the political "foundation" of the socialist construction. The insufficiency of this reference alone was exposed for the first time on a major scale in 1921 when the question of the reciprocal relations with the peasantry was posed point blank. The creation of the economic jointure between the city and the village was then proclaimed to be the creation of the genuine foundation of socialist construction. Of such nature was the basic task of the N. E. P. The theoretical formula of the jointure is very simple: the nationalized industry must provide the peasantry with products indispensable to it, in such quantity, of such quality and at such prices as would entirely eliminate or reduce to a minimum, in the reciprocal relations between the state and the basic mass of the peasantry, the factor of extra-economic force, that is, the administrative seizure of peasant labor. The discussion concerns of course not the kulaks, in relation to whom a special task is posed; to limit their exploiting activities and not to allow them to turn into the dominant power in the village. The establishment of a reciprocal relationship of voluntary "barter" between industry and rural economy, between the city and village would impart an immutable firmness to the political interrelation between the proletariat and the peasantry. To socialism, of course, in such a case, there would still remain a long and a difficult road. But on this foundation—the foundation of a jointure between the city and the village acceptable to the moujik, the economic work could be confidently pushed ahead, without rushing space or dropping back, by maneuvering on the world market and in accordance with the tempo of the development of the revolution in the Occident and the Orient. Not only would the road not have lead to national

socialism, but it would have been of use to nobody. It would suffice, if the still isolated economy of the Soviet Union became one of the proprietary elements of the future international socialist society.

He who talks about "the foundation of socialism" in 1932 has no right to retreat to the line of 1918, without even making an attempt to hold to the line of 1921; i. e., without giving an answer to the question: Did we succeed, during the 12 years that elapsed since the introduction of the N. E. P. to realize the jointure, in the Leninist sense of the word? Did the 100 percent collectivization assure such reciprocal relations between the city and the village as would reduce the extra-economic force, if not to zero, then extra approximately to it? In this is the whole question. And to this fundamental question one is still compelled to give a negative answer. The 100 per cent collectivization has come about not as the crowning and the fruition of an achieved jointure, but as an administrative screening of its absence. To keep mum on this question, to circumvent it, to beat around the bush with words, is to call the greatest dangers upon the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . . But of course, it is not from Radek that one should expect an analysis of the problem of the jointure.

LENIN ON RADEK

From Radek one can only expect journalistic pirouettes. One cannot without some squeamishness observe those capers, let me say in conclusion, that Radek cuts on the question of the substance of socialism in the pages of a liberal paper. Socialism is not the land of rivers of milk. Do not demand milk from socialism. "Milk is the produce of cows." If one takes into consideration that precisely around cows in the Soviet Union at present a battle is occurring, which takes on at times tragic forms, then Radek's grimaces become utterly unbearable. One cannot but recall the merciless, reserved as it is, evaluation which Lenin placed on Radek at the VII party Congress, at the time of the controversy over the Brest-Litovsk peace. In reference to a remark of Radek that Lenin "conceded space in order to gain time," Lenin remarked, "I take notice of comrade Radek, and I want to make note here that he has succeeded accidentally to say a serious thing. This time, it has so happened that comrade Radek has come out with an entirely serious statement."

Lenin meant unequivocally to make clear that serious statements could emanate from Radek only accidentally, and in the guise of the rarest exceptions. With the years, matters on this score have no whit improved. There is less half outside, and more light-mindedness within. Stalin proclaimed, "We have made entry into Socialism." Don't boast prematurely, objected the Opposition, for the babes still lack milk. A jester takes the spotlight, and jingling his bells announces that milk is the produce of cows and not of socialism. In Radek's tone, one might answer with the Russian proverb, "Bide a day, bide till you're gray, you can't get milk from a buck-goat." Even a buck-goat grown bald is capable only of prancing, not more. That is why we prefer to return to serious questions on more serious occasions.

«WHAT NEXT?»—the Book of the Hour

(Continued from page 1)

their theoretical confusion—"social Fascism"; their disastrous slogans—"For National and Social Emancipation of the German People", "People's Revolution", "Down With Versailles"; their self-discrediting actions—the support of the Fascist referendum in Prussia during July of last year; their hapless policy of the "Red United Front" under the leadership of the Communist party—all of which have kept the German Communists from measuring up to the tasks imposed by the needs and possibilities of the hour, from uniting the working class for a victorious struggle against Fascism—all these are traced through the zigzag course of the post-Leninist Comintern to their roots, to the principle political character of the Stalin faction and its basic tenet: socialism in one country. The why and the wherefore of the Stalinist policies, their flesh and blood expression stands out as clear as daylight after a reading of *What Next?* These sharp and penetrating lenses of historical research and theoretical analysis are all focussed on the present German scene:

"The contradictions within German capitalism have at present reached such a state of tension that an explosion is inevitable. The adaptability of the social democracy has reached that limit beyond which lies self-annihilation. The mistakes of the Stalinist bureaucracy have reached that limit beyond which lies catastrophe. Such is the threefold formula that characterizes the situation in Germany. Everything is now poised on the razor edge of a knife."

The Leninist Program Unfolded In this poignant, epigrammatic rhythm, the leader of the International Opposition unfolds the Communist program for the German crisis in full. His criticism is as positive as well as negative. There is not a trace of pessimism in his words. Every line breathes an inspiring, optimism. And if his negative criticisms have the effect of stinging needle points, his positive proposals react like hammer blows. We read:

"... Involuntarily the question arises: Won't it be altogether too late? And each time one answers oneself: No! The armies that are drawn up for battle are too colossal that one need fear a simultaneous settlement of the issues at the speed of greased lightning. The strength

of the German proletariat has not been drained. Its powers have not been brought into play. The logic of facts will make itself heard more imperiously with every passing day."

The propositions are put forward. The manner of correcting the mistakes of the Communist party leadership. The methods of establishing the united front of the entire German working class. The role of the Communists to leadership and control of the class. The ways of international revolutionary cooperation in the proletarian solution of the epoch-shaping social crisis in Germany. We have before us an outline of Communist action as precise, as concrete, as complete as a military campaign plan.

What Next? is the book of the hour. No other work on the German events exists, as informative as instructive, as thought-provoking as this masterpiece by Leon Trotsky. For the Communists everywhere it is an indispensable source of education and training, a guide to Leninist action. For the world at large, it is a clarion call to rally against the inevitable relapse into barbarism that is a prolongation of the capitalist system entails. It is the voice of historical truth speaking.

—S. G.

Luzerne Hears Opposition

A meeting of the Left Opposition was held in Luzerne, Penn., on Sunday July 24, with over 40 miners present. The party and the Lovestonites were well represented. The majority of the workers present were sympathizers and former members of the Communist party. Prior to the meeting the Stalinists informed the comrades that they would break up the meeting. However, all the miners who attended wanted to hear what the Left Opposition had to say and prevented the carrying out of the threat.

Hugo Oehler presented the position of the Left Opposition. The miners showed great interest in the program of the Left Opposition and the present situation in Germany. The question and discussion period was sharp but very orderly. The Marxian teachings of the Left Opposition and comrade Trotsky are being planted in this mine region and return meetings are assured.

LEON TROTSKY

WHAT NEXT?

Vital Questions for the German Proletariat

BRANDLER? NATIONAL SOCIALISM? HINDENBURG? LEFT OPPOSITION? ADOLF HITLER? THAEIEMANN? COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL? DEMOCRACY?

RED STRATEGY? SEYDEWITZ? CENTRISM? FASCISM? STALIN? BOLSHEVISM? DICTATORSHIP? ULTIMATISM? RED ARMY? HILFENDECK? LENIN? PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION? SOCIAL DEMOCRACY? BRUENING?

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NEXT ISSUE

Leon Trotsky

HANDS OFF ROSA LUXEMBURG!

A Smashing Reply to Stalin!



Mooney Case Now 16 Years Old

July 26 was the date of the close of the sixteenth year of Mooney's imprisonment. It closed another chapter of the roughest frame-up in the long and black record of American capitalism. It marked another milestone on the longest road a man has ever trod. After sixteen years of agony Mooney still stands forth as the dauntless symbol of working class militancy. His spirit is unconquerable. In spirit he stands in the ranks of the revolutionary vanguard. He has never said in so many words that he is a Communist but his spirit matches ours and of late he has begun to talk our language, and think as we do. He is ours.

This places on us all the more directly the great task of forcing his release from the prison in which capitalism is determined he shall end his days. This places squarely on the shoulders of Communism the task of removing from the banner of the working class the stain of its failure to free Mooney. For our success or failure in this task we shall have to answer to the working class.

Again we say, that as we have said so many times in the past, that the workers the world over no longer have to be convinced of Mooney's innocence. They are profoundly convinced of that. Not out of doubt did they fight in demonstration after demonstration to demand that capitalism open its ravenous maw and let Mooney go.

If today they are not to be found in the streets battling for Mooney's freedom, it is not because doubt of his innocence has entered their minds. Their conviction is as firm as ever.

Lull in Fight Is Temporary

The lull in the fight is temporary. Tomorrow the agitation and the fight will rise to new heights. Great battles are on the order of the day for the American working class. Not the least of these will be the fight to free Mooney.

Will the fight to free Mooney be conducted as an isolated struggle and thereby insure its own defeat? Or will it follow Mooney's and our advice and be made an integral part of the class fight for relief, and the fight to free all class war prisoners with which it is inseparably bound? That depends on us. We must teach the workers that only such a fight as we project can free Mooney. And we must convince the workers by our deeds that they should follow our leadership.

This requires of us that we break through our isolation and in doing so unite the working class on this issue. For this we need the tactic of the united front of working class organizations. We cannot look to the labor fakers who betrayed Mooney, the Socialists who hate us more than they do capitalism, the liberals, the numerous sects that dot the movement like weeds in a garden—to take the initiative in organizing the united front of the working class. While they speak of unity they live on the division of the working class. Unity will never come from them. They will do all they can to oppose and sabotage it.

The initiative must come from us. In projecting this united front we appear before the workers as the spokesmen for the unity of the whole class. And by our deeds we must prove that we not only advance the idea of unity but fight for it.

That is in the best case. Unfortunately a cancer is eating at the vitals of Communism—Stalinism. Today it is the chief obstacle the Communists have to overcome to take the first step toward unity of the working class. Stalinism has divided the ranks of the Communists. It stands in the way of their unity, the essential prerequisite to unity of the working class. Its record in the Mooney case is all too clear. We have recorded it in previous issues. Stalinism has done much to discredit Communism in the eyes of the workers and is primarily responsible for the failure of the Communists to win the leadership of the fight to free Mooney.

Opposition's Task
The fight to free Mooney must be fought against the labor fakers, against the Socialists, against the Stalinist policy of our party. That is the special task of the Left Opposition in this fight. It must open the eyes of the party rank and file to the crime being committed by the Stalinist leadership. This it has done and will continue to do. With its success are bound up the hopes and future of the whole class and its fight to free Mooney.

So now in the seventeenth year of Mooney's imprisonment we pledge the Left Opposition to renewed struggle, to greater efforts and sacrifices in the fight against capitalism—for the release of Mooney and all class war prisoners.

Whither England?

BY LEON TROTSKY

We have on hand a limited number of this striking analysis of the social forces at work in old England. If you want a copy order it at once.

Paper Cover 75

MILITANT IN DANGER

Immediate Aid Must Be Sent if We Are not to Suspend

The issue of the Militant was printed only as a result of the most desperate measures undertaken by the office. We were able to get it out by over-exhausting our credit in every field and by a last-minute scraping together of every spare nickel we could squeeze. To allow such a situation to exist for even the briefest length of time makes the danger of suspending the Weekly Militant a matter to be dealt with immediately. Without exaggerating the situation in the least, we must tell our readers that unless prompt and generous aid is sent us from every part of the country, we shall not be able to bring out the next issue of the Militant and in general, the Weekly publication of our paper will be seriously crippled.

The cumulative effects of the crisis upon our comrades and supporters, plus the general let-down that occurs in the summer period, have struck the Militant heavy blows. We have deliberately refrained from making alarmist appeals based upon momentary difficulties. But now we are compelled to appeal—urgently.

A Sham Turn On Barbusse

The hammerings of the Opposition on the character of the "World Congress Against War" organized under the direction of Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, H. G. Wells, Upton Sinclair and other muddled pacifists, have finally compelled the Stalinists behind the scenes to break their silence. For months since the announcement that the Congress would be held, the International Stalinist press has either been silent, or has given an unreserved endorsement to the Congress without uttering a solitary word of criticism. So far as the working class readers of the official party papers are concerned, the Communist International has given a blanket support to the pernicious confusion on the question of fighting Imperialist war which is inevitably associated with such typically pacifist, petty bourgeois movements as that of Barbusse.

The criticisms made since the inception of this movement, and the Communist position presented by us, the Left Opposition, has finally driven the Stalinists out of their retreat. In the latest issue of the "International Press Correspondence", Maurice Thorez, one of the leading French Stalinists, ventures (for the first time to our knowledge) into a mild criticism of one of the lesser pacifist lights of the Barbusse Congress, Victor Marguerite. As far as it goes, the criticism is, of course, entirely valid. For the proletarian millions to follow the course advocated by such pacifists as Marguerite, who know nothing about the revolutionary struggle against Imperialist war, or who oppose it to the extent that they do know about it, would mean to render themselves impotent in the face of a new world slaughter.

But this very article by Thorez shows how the Stalinists are playing an opportunistic game of hide and seek with the whole question. Marguerite is submitted to a gentle criticism, but Barbusse and the other, more prominent spokesmen for the movement, get away unscathed, with the implication left that aside from this or that individual in the "Congress", the movement as a whole is impeccable from the revolutionary standpoint. An article by Barbusse of recent date shows how baseless is such a view. In a "Message to England" (reprinted by the Socialist Industrial Democrat of Louisiana, under date of July 2, 1932), he writes: "I thank you and gladly avail myself of the opportunity of confirming to the representatives of a great and noble nation my belief in pacifism and anti-militarism."

The other "leaders" of this movement are generally worthy of this Barbusse. They would not constitute such a dangerous source of befuddlement were it not for the initiative taken by the Communist International in promoting them, in supporting them, and in presenting their pacifist movement as an organizational center for the struggle against Imperialist war.

When a similar congress was held under the auspices of the Amsterdam and Second Internationals at the Hague on December 10, 1922, the Communist representatives of the Russian trade unions—the only revolutionary organization invited—made plain from the tribune of the congress the Communist standpoint in clear contrast to that of the pacifists and social democrats. They did not play at opportunist politics, as is being done now. The Left Opposition will seek to fulfill a similar task with the Barbusse Congress. The Communist League has already notified the American Committee that it is sending three delegates to the August 8 conference in the Labor Temple, New York. The revolutionary forces there must unite to present the Communist standpoint against the muddle-headedness of pacifism!

ly and strongly—for the fate of our Militant, into which so much sacrifice and energy have gone, is immediately involved.

The suspension of the Weekly Militant at the present time would bring with it a stiff set-back to the whole movement. The sharpening of the struggle in the United States and elsewhere in the world, demand the systematic, frequent appearance of the organ of the Left Opposition. Above all, the developments of the civil war in Germany, where the Left wing alone has made a Marxist analysis and advanced the correct revolutionary program, make it imperative that every week the Militant shall appear with information and its viewpoint on what is going on.

But for this, a prodigious effort is required. It means that every comrade, every sympathizer, every friend of the Militant must immediately raise as much money as possible, from his own resources and those of his fellow-workers, and send it by air mail to the Militant.

We are in a crucial position—make no mistake about it. Our financial progress has not kept pace with our political advances. We need aid right away. We need a great deal of it. We are counting upon YOU to send the urgently required assistance. Act now!

Send all funds to the Militant, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

Martial Law for Indiana Strike

The Governor of Indiana has declared martial law in the vicinity of the Dixie Bee Mine, in Vigo County. He has sent 1,000 National Guardsmen to enforce this order. For what purpose is all this display of martial strength?

Is the governor driving out the gangsters or the bootleggers? No! The National Guard is seldom used in that capacity. As was to be expected the N. G. is used against the workers of the district. 4,000 union miners have been engaged in an attempt to keep scabs from working in the mine. With arms in hand the union miners have driven the scabs from the colliery. In one of the encounters between the union miners and the deputy thugs, one of the union men was murdered and several injured.

The standard of living of the miners has been ground down to the starvation level. Throughout the country, even in the midst of this crisis no section of the American workers are more poverty-stricken than the miners. Every class conscious action on their part is nothing short of a revolt against hunger. The capitalist class counters with bullets, martial law and armed troops. In these small skirmishes of today can be seen the fierce battles of the not far-off future. All support to the fighting miners of Vigo County, Indiana. Down with martial law! Withdraw the National Guards!

All Eyes on Germany!

The Hitler Danger is a Danger to the Working Class of the Whole World

The working class of Germany is today facing the most serious menace in its history. Preparations are going ahead with lightning rapidity to bring the Fascist heel down upon our German class brothers.

The acts performed by the reactionary Junker government of Colonel Von Papen, the establishment of the military dictatorship over Prussia and its rule by martial law are the grand rehearsal for the bloodcurdling regime of Hitler and his Nazi hordes.

The powerful black forces arrayed for this nefarious objective can be defeated in but one way—by a solid, fighting working class united front.

It is time for thinking workers, for the Communist militants to awaken to a realization of the enormous, catastrophic danger before us. It is time to demand from the Communist party that it sound the alarm. The threat of Fascism in Germany is a threat to the existence of the Soviet Union, the threat of the mailed fist of world imperialism in the face of the international working class.

The events in Germany are a serious warning to the workers everywhere, they are of grave concern to the American workers as well. The alarm must resound throughout the ranks of the party, the party of the revolutionary proletariat. It must resound with tremendous force. It is our task to reach out our hands in solidarity to the German workers in their hour of trial.

Already the military is tramping with hobnails upon the backs of the German toilers. Their elementary political rights are being flouted, their meetings prohibited, their papers suppressed, the Communist party headquarters raided. The threat of illegality is already hanging over the head of the revolutionary party.

Workers are attacked, beaten and killed in the streets by armed Fascist bands, unemployment is constantly on the increase and misery and poverty are mounting to appalling proportions.

It is to this that the German prole-

tariat has come since 1918, when the leaders of the yellow social democracy took over the government after the fall of the Kaiser. Step by step they have allowed capitalism to regain its foothold. They have ruled for capitalism. They have permitted the rats' nests of bourgeois reaction—the Hitlerist pest—to spread out, to take root, to infest the nation and to endanger the very life of the organized working class. They have paved the road for Fascism by reformist treachery, by their betrayal of the revolution.

Even today these despicable social reformers are surrendering without a struggle the mandates, which despite all, they have held in the name of the workers, before whom their true character had not yet been revealed. Severing, Braun, Grzesinsky—all the social democratic wretches, are dispersed from their posts like so many flies by the military agents of Von Hindenburg—their erstwhile savior.

Not one word of working class unity against Fascism comes from the mouths of the yellow traitors. They still do all in their power to sabotage the proletarian united front. They are like a trapped mouse standing between the menace of Fascism and the increasing pressure for a common workers' front. Both mean destruction for this decayed and degenerated, for this outlived social reformist organism.

Where is the German Communist Party in this fateful moment? Is it discharging its duty to its class? Has it leadership taken the necessary step to unite the workers for the decisive struggles?

It must be said in all frankness: It has not. And it must be added: It has no time to lose.

Wheeled down by the blundering policy of the Stalin regime in the whole Communist International, committing mistakes after mistake, its erroneous course has served only to isolate the Communist workers and to weaken their position by the thoroughly false and confusing theories of "social Fascism" and

Communists Gain in Reichstag Elections

Leninist United Front Tactics Vindicated

The Reichstag elections of July 31 were a reflection of the unstable and extremely precarious position of the present German state. They resulted in a political stalemate in so far as government power is concerned and definitely proved that no durable solution can be found for the political crisis of the country on the parliamentary plane. No single party, no bloc of parties exists, capable of ruling along the lines of the Weimar constitution.

The Fascists, of course, rose to the crest of their wave, but showed no appreciable increase in their vote over the amount Hitler received in the runoff elections in April. Both votes stand around the 13,000,000 mark. The resources of popular support for Fascism have thereby been drained. National Socialism, the party of Hitler, if it is not to disintegrate piece-meal, if it is to utilize the following it has amassed by volleys of promises, by tall talk about a radical transformation of the economic

and social life—has but one way out: The immediate and forcible seizure of power.

On the Eve of a Coup d'Etat

When we remember that the Hitler movement is in a very specific sense indispensable to the further existence of German capitalism we can draw the necessary conclusion? Germany is standing this very day before a Fascist coup d'Etat.

The social democracy fared badly, as was to be expected, in last Sunday's poll. The S. D. P. G. of all parties lost the largest number of votes. This fact is fully consistent with the general decline of this party. Based on a platform of reforms—which have been shorn to shreds from day to day in the past few years; and of kowtowing to bourgeois democracy—which the bourgeoisie itself considers outlived, the social democratic betrayers of the working class cannot be expected to continue very long to hold on to the huge mass following which is growing constantly more dissatisfied with it, ever more suspicious of the reformist leaders.

Communist Gains

The Communist party alone made definite gains in the elections, receiving the highest vote yet cast for Communism in Germany—5,278,094. The small but very significant and heartening parliamentary victory of the C. P. G. is full of lessons, full of indications. According to an International Press Correspondence dispatch to the New York Daily Worker, the largest increase in the Communist vote took place in Berlin and the area around it. It must be remembered that it was specifically in the province of Berlin-Brandenburg that the Communist party leadership recently made offers of united front action to the heads of the local social democracy. The S. D. P. leaders rejected the united front proposals of the Communists and it was in Berlin-Brandenburg that the Communists in this manner began to expose the treacherous, splitting character of the social democracy before the workers. The big increase of the Communist vote in Berlin-Brandenburg is a victory for the application of the Leninist united front policy, hitherto disregarded and trampled under foot by the Stalinist leadership of the C. P. G.

"The Defeat of the Trotskyists"

When the Daily Worker (August 1, 1932), greeting editorially the election advance of our German brother party, calls it "a defeat . . . for the followers of Trotsky . . .", it is lying miserably, it is consciously deceiving the Communist workers. The election advance was, on the contrary, nothing more clearly than a confirmation of the correctness of the line of the International Left Opposition headed by comrade Trotsky. For it was the Left Opposition, which by its tireless propagation of the Leninist united front tactic against Fascism, by its unremitting criticism of the harmful, confusing and stupid theory of "social Fascism", by its timely evaluation of the political factors involved in the German scene—it was the Left Opposition, we repeat, which more than anything else contributed to the happy change in the course of the Communist Party of Germany, reflected in the united front actions at Berlin. This, at a time when it was slandered for its criticisms as "counter-revolutionary", when the Stalinists taught everywhere that the social democracy were "social Fascists" and that united fronts cannot be offered to "social Fascists"; when the Stalinists (Remmele-Thaelmann) proclaimed everywhere that Fascism was not really a menace, that the Hitler movement would rapidly fall apart and collapse—But the Left Opposition does not content itself with pointing out the correctness of its policies in the past. Our chief task

(Continued on page 3)

Police, Troops and Vets

Eye-Witness Account of the Wash. Massacre of the Bonuseers

On the morning of Thursday, July 28 about a hundred policemen gathered in Pennsylvania Ave. and 3rd St. (Washington proper) to evict the bonuseers from Federal property comprising four old, moldy, half-torn down, buildings and several adjacent "wreckage lots".

About noon-time there were 800 blue-coats still trying to evict the "squatters" now numbering over 5000, over 2000 of whom came over from Anacostia to help resist the eviction.

The tension between veterans and police reached the breaking point about 1:30 P. M., when several fights broke out. One officer, panicky before the rage of the veterans, fired his gun.

The brawl was on. Fists were pounding, flesh, bricks came flying at the heads of police. In the turmoil six or seven shots were fired by the police. Police Cavalry, Infantry and Tanks

The crowds along the walks heckled and jeered the military who proceeded to order the ex-soldiers out of their "dwellings". They were greeted by the bonuseers with a barrage of bricks. Cavalry and infantry quickly adjusted their gas masks, and with little or no warning, cut across the lot, throwing gas bombs in and about the buildings and shacks. The vets were taken by surprise. They scurried to a nearby lot, another bonus encampment, where they stood their ground.

Gas bombs were thrown into their midst, but the men caught them and threw them back at the approaching cavalry so that many of the horses, without gas masks, reared and bolted. A number of the horses came prancing right up on the men. The vets grabbed the reins and jerked the horses around. Several men were pulled off their horses. The cavalry swung their sabres at the vets. Scores were cut about the face, neck, arms and back.

When the soldiers at Camp Marks (Anacostia) received word in the afternoon (Continued on page 3)

A Manifesto of the Communist League of America (Opposition)

The "Red United Front"—which posed the leadership of the Communists as an ultimatum before the workers pressing for united action and thus has kept them divided. By its opportunist slogan of the "people's revolution" (Volksrevolution) which mimicked the nationalists, it sowed confusion where clarity and decisiveness were necessary. The continuation of such a policy today becomes a heinous crime against the German and the international proletariat.

This is why we are sounding the alarm. It must resound throughout the ranks of the Communist Party of the United States and the parties everywhere.

Fascism is at the gates! It aims to crush the German working class, to smash its organizations, to destroy its institutions, to become the spearhead of world imperialism in the struggle against the Soviet Union—the fatherland of the international proletariat.

Fascism will seek allies and find them among all the capitalist powers, the Wall Street imperialists, the Washington government.

The imperialist vultures are already now nodding their approval. The seizure of power by Fascism, if it comes to pass, will be the signal for a world-wide mobilization against the U. S. S. R. and the international working class movement. This course will proceed unhampered if the German workers are crushed. A victory for Fascism in Germany would inaugurate a period of the darkest reaction throughout the entire world!

Shall it come to this? We of the International Left Opposition say: NO! A thousand times: NO! We have demanded time and again that the Communist International recognize this danger and change its fatal course, so that it will be able to meet it effectively.

The Stalin regime, however, continues to remain silent. The Communist International, in the hands of the Stalinist faction, leaves the working class of the world without a message in this most critical hour in Germany.

We call upon all militant workers to join with us in our demand that the leadership of the Communist International speak up. The Stalinist faction must not be allowed to maintain its cowardly silence. The fate of the world revolution is hanging in the balance!

The hour of decisive struggle is close at hand. To play with a situation like the present is to play with disaster. A bold step is required of the Communist Party of Germany in order not to crash into an abyss.

The Communist Party of Germany must tell the working class in all frankness that its policies of the recent past were wrong. The party must show the workers that it is sincere and earnest in the attempt to correct, in the race to make up for lost time. Only in that way can the C. P. prove to the masses that it is their genuine leader, their trusted revolutionary vanguard.

The Communist party must hammer away persistently at an appeal to the followers of the social democracy and the reformist trade unions to put their leaders to the test, by demanding of them that they join in a united front of all the proletarian organizations in the fight against Fascism. This alone will reveal the truly treacherous face of the socialist misleaders before their adherents. The masses can only learn through the tests of struggle.

Already the demands of the Left Op- (Continued on page 3)

The New York Picnic

This Sunday, August 7th, the New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will hold a picnic at Tibbetts Brook Park. As at the last picnic a large group of comrades and sympathizers are expected to attend. Readers of the Militant who have attended the previous picnics of the organization do not have to be agitated to come to this one.

Attend the picnic this Sunday (August 7). Bring your friends and fellow-workers. Food, refreshments, and games will be on hand. Here is a chance to meet the members and sympathizers of the Left Opposition.

The place is Tibbetts Brook Park, Plot 2. Take the I. R. T.—Woodlawn-Jerome Ave. train to the last stop, Woodlawn. At 10:30 A. M., comrades will meet there and walk to Plot 2. You can take a street-car or bus to the park.

Letters From the Militants

A Scandal in the Red Food Workers' Union

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Last week, the Left wing workers of New York witnessed a sorry spectacle. There was a "picket line" formed in front of the Foodworkers Industrial Union on 28th Street. The men were picketing their own collective organization! Placards, slogans appeared along the line.

An investigation of the whole matter shows, as we suspected, that the initiative for this action came from shady elements within the union, men with a doubtful record like Kenessey. It is also more or less established as a fact that these people sought and got the aid of the yellow fakers from the S. P.—types as notorious as Augie Claessens. The latter, of course, did his darndest to turn the affair into a campaign of vilification and calumny against the Left wing as a whole and against Communism.

The "picket line" of the dissatisfied and restless workers within the Foodworkers Industrial Union was an ill-starred attempt, an action which only drives water to the mill of the disreputable "socialist" racketeers and which, in the last analysis, can only harm their own cause—the interests of the working class. As class conscious workers, who know the treacherous role of the S. P. and who realize how eager and anxious these bosses' lackeys are to take advantage of disagreements between militant unionists for purposes of betrayal, we must categorically condemn the "picketing" of the union headquarters as an act detrimental to the working class. The militant industrial unionist rejects and disdains such methods.

At the same time, we must take into account that there were sincere if misled militants participating in this anti-union action. It is necessary patiently to explain to them how false, how harmful their conduct was. They have to be made clear, that no matter what their grievances against the industrial union leadership may be, no matter how wrong this leadership may act, a fight against them must be confined to the limits of the union itself, if it is to be effective, if it is not to play into the hands of the bosses and their yellow agents.

And we must admit that the food clerks who took the altogether false road of "picketing" the F. W. I. U. headquarters did have genuine grievances. Much as we have to condemn their hasty and thoughtless behavior, we cannot overlook the fact that the Stalinist leadership of the union bears a good share of the responsibility for this disgraceful incident.

We have time and again pointed out in *The Militant* that the bureaucratic and high-handed manner in which the F. W. I. U. functionaries deal with the membership, in the distribution of jobs, in the suppression of the elementary rights of union democracy, in overriding the decisions of the rank and file can only lead to such uncontrollable and disastrous outbreaks on the part of the workers.

The "picket line" incident has its roots in the past. It is a direct result of the non-Leninist policies of the Stalinist leadership in the union. Mechanical control, the subordination of the elementary interests of the workers—which caused the workers to join the union—to the needs of the party and the T. U. U. apparatus (as was the case in the Con-Cops, in the Cooperative Camps, etc.) can only stir up dissatisfaction and unrest among the rank and file. These facts cannot be dismissed by the Stalinists merely by calling those who raise them—stool-pigeons and counter-revolutionary Trotskyists. This method of the Stalinists only helps the real stool-pigeons, the real disrupters in our midst to cover themselves up and to strike a blow against the union at the critical moment—as was the case with the "picket line". It only confuses the rank and file workers and makes them unable to distinguish between the actual disrupters and those sincere militants who oppose the leadership on matters of policy because they want to help their union make progress.

The "picket line" is a dangerous symptom. It should be a warning to the leadership of the union and to the Stalinists in control of the party. If they look at it objectively, they will see the grave dangers it indicates.

It is high time now for the Communist workers in the F. W. I. U. to wake up, if they have the interests of the union at heart, if they want to fulfill their tasks as revolutionists. We must prevent the recurrence of such "picket lines" in the future.

There is only one way in which to do this: By demanding the restoration of workers' democracy within the union. By fighting for an open and frank correction of the party line of mechanical control in the union, by making the union a genuine class struggle union, devoted to the broader interests of the class. A

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turn must be made in the policy within the union, not by picking out scapegoats, not merely by a lot of talk about "cliques"—but by admitting openly the mistakes of the past and by steering the course of the union back to the Leninist trade union line.

—FOODWORKER.

A Run-in With the Party in Duluth

DULUTH, MINN.

A rousing open air meeting was held Sunday night by the Communist League on the Court House Square. Listening attentively to an excellent speaking program, 600 workers applauded vigorously the fight of the Left Opposition for the unity of the Communist movement on the basis of Leninism. For the first time on the streets of Duluth the truth about the Chinese revolution and the crisis in Germany was told. Comrades Dunne and Skoglund, respectively, clarified these questions and demonstrated the international basis for the struggle of the Left Opposition, especially the menace of Fascism in Germany, which now constitutes the main danger to the Soviet Union.

Comrade Bloomberg's analytical report of the four national conventions of the political parties held in Chicago was frequently interrupted by stormy applause. In a speech filled with fighting exposure of the Republican and Democratic platforms, and satire and scorn for the Stalinist party platform, he called on the workers to rally behind the Communist party candidates in the coming elections.

It was not until the collection that the party bureaucrats became concerned. Some minor functionary called out to the audience that the money collected was not going to the Communist party.

We can sympathize with the anxiety of one who makes a living from such collections on the street, but, as comrade Bloomberg immediately pointed out, the chairman, Miles Dunne, had openly announced the meeting under the auspices of the Communist League. All funds are to be used for our publication and organization work. The audience responded splendidly.

Comrade Cowl then made an appeal for the unity of the Communists in the name of the Communist League. He urged all class-conscious workers to demand of the party bureaucrats a cessation of their splitting tactics concealed under pseudo-revolutionary slogans of social Fascism and their slander against the Left Opposition. He challenged the hecklers to debate the disputed questions then and there or any other time or place they might designate. Workers who accept our program for reform of the party should not hesitate to support our press and join our ranks.

Instead of rushing to the defense of the position of the party as self-respecting Communists should, the Stalinists proceeded to start another meeting in the center of the crowd, amidst boos and angry shouts of the workers, who saw that the issue at stake in this instance was clearly the attempt of the party to break up the meeting, after they had been invited to participate.

One Stalinist bureaucrat, with the bureaucrat's contempt for the wishes of the working class, sneeringly launched a tirade of mud-slinging and personal slander against the character of Trotsky and the record of Bloomberg and Cowl. All of which, as is to be expected, left the audience cold. So that it was not difficult, in the midst of comrade Sara Avrin's speech on the "Washington Massacre" to bring the entire audience, with the exception of the few faithful, to the other side of the monument which served as our platform. Here our meeting continued with greatly increased interest and closed with a number of questions and discussion. We called on all the workers present to participate in the anti-war demonstration the following night.

As these lines are written for the current issue of the *Militant*, a public challenge to the Communist party to debate the proposition: "That Trotsky is an Enemy of the Working Class" has been issued in the capitalist press by the Communist League for Tuesday night on Court House Square. The results of this meeting and other organization work in Duluth will be reported in the next issue of the *Militant*.

—C. C.

Extracts from Earl Browder's Autobiography

Discerning readers of the official party press will have noticed that Earl Browder, the present leader of the party, has been presenting us his autobiography (or his confessions, if you like) in the guise of this or that political report. Shyness alone has prevented him from naming himself, but even the dullest reader can see whom he means when he talks. One extract from a recent confession will show what we mean:

"I have noted a widespread opinion that if a party or trade union functionary speaks in a loud, sharp tone, this is bureaucratic, but if he speaks gently and softly then this is a good, non-bureaucratic approach. As for myself I am all for the soft voice as opposed to harsh speaking, but I object to this being put forward as the essence of the question of bureaucracy. In fact, some of the worst bureaucrats that I have bumped into in my life were the softest speakers." (*The Communist*, July 1932, page 305.)

Always boasting about his gentle tongue!

Opposition Progress in Africa

Dear Comrade:

Your letter of the 30th May last and the 50 *Militants* has provoked some life amongst the Stalinist bureaucrats of the Communist Party of So. Africa. Private meetings are now being held to discuss the best methods for killing the Trotskyist views, before penetrating into the minds of the oppressed people of Africa, to these meetings only those who are known to be anti-L. Trotsky have been privately invited. Expelled and unexpelled anti-Trotskyists are now united on an anti-Trotsky campaign. Some of our members (of the group, I sent you the names) have also been privately invited and since then the man that acted as chairman and treasurer of our meeting held on the 22 April last, has now completely taken quite a different attitude towards the Communist League of Africa (Opposition). They sing to the tune of anti-Trotskyism, and the first two lots of the *Militants* have been purposely held up, not to be sold, better to be returned to your League, but the last lot has been disseminated amongst the African Negro workers with good results.

Stalinist Threats

It is perfectly clear to us that those who oppose the formation of the Communist League of Africa (Opposition) do so with a specific object that the Stalinists in So. Africa might value them so as to be reinstated into the C. P. S. A. Since I started this Opposition I am told of various things that would happen to me if I was in U. S. S. R. That I have committed an unpardonable crime by propagating the views of the International Left Opposition. I am asked why do you write to a group of men who oppose the leadership of the Communist Party of U. S. S. R.? Then they give as a kind of reasoning that L. Trotsky has tried to oppose the leadership of the party and has completely failed. You, too, will fail and you shall be condemned for life never to be reinstated into the C. P. S. A. Again I replied to all this talk that I do not see any mistake in the views expressed in the *Militant*. I see no crime that L. Trotsky has committed. I see nothing that might be styled a blunder but as to Stalin I can only come to the conclusion that he is an opportunist of the worst type the world has ever produced. In support of this conclusion let me say Stalin is the stumbling block of the world revolution. He should not have expelled and exiled comrade L. Trotsky from the C. P. S. U. and from the U. S. S. R. He knows quite well that if Trotsky is given complete freedom in the U. S. S. R. he (Stalin) would no longer be at the head of the Soviet Union; some one else would be. The International Left Opposition must see that comrade L. Trotsky is given the necessary freedom and returned to the U. S. S. R.

On the 2nd of July I was taken by surprise. The chairman and treasurer referred to above threatened to hand me over to the police for having sent their names to the Communist League of America (Opposition) applying for membership, and I was dragged at about 8 P. M. of the same day to Doornfontein Police Station but no charge has as yet been laid against me, so they threatened to murder me in the street. Comrades, this is just the beginning. I expect quite a lot of trouble from the Centrists, but we must not be down-hearted. The International Left Opposition must penetrate into the minds of the mine, town, and agricultural workers of Africa whether the Stalinists like it or not.

In following the instructions of the Stalinist bureaucrats there are serious blunders that have been and are being committed in the Communist Party of So. Africa and I have not doubt that it shall be the duty of the Communist League of Africa (Opposition) to induce the C. P. S. A. to follow the correct line and never ignore their mistakes.

The African Opposition

In reply to your question. The Communist League of Africa (Opposition) is newly constituted. It is not a section of the Communist Party of So. Africa and has not been in touch with the Communist International. It is organized by an expelled Negro foundation member of the Communist Party of So. Africa (T. W. Thibedi). Although many of the expelled members expressed sympathy with the formation of the Opposition there is quite a lot of hesitation on their part to come forward like real revolutionists. They are in the main afraid that if they join the Opposition they would be condemned and never again be reinstated into the Party. We have been carrying on open air meetings and nuclei have been formed at these places: Krugersdorp, Vrededorp, Prospect Township, and Pretoria and we are also reorganizing the trade unions of native workers which in 1928 had 10,000 membership but has since 1930 been left by the Stalinist bureaucrats of the Communist Party of So. Africa to collapse.

We have behind us the "Laundry Workers Union", 1,000 members strong, and the "Baking Employees Association" is speedily coming up. Amongst the Negro miners, nuclei have been set up at these mines: "City Deep Mine" and "Crown Mines." I must say this is the first time in the history of the revolutionary party in So. Africa that Negro miners are seriously being taken up. Again, a nucleus has been set up against the "Municipal Employees" at the "Doornfontein City Power Compound."

For many years T. N. Thibedi was the only Negro member of the C. P. S. A. and during this time succeeded in organizing the following branches of the

C. P. S. A. most of which were left to collapse after his expulsion from the party: Vereeniging, Potchefstroom, Pretoria, Paardskop, Evaton, Bloemfontein, Ndbelen Location, etc., etc. At present the only branch that still survives is the last mentioned.

The Party Slogan

In 1928 the Centrists forced this slogan on the C. P. S. A.: "Native Republic" as a stage towards the "Workers' Republic". Almost all the Negro members opposed this slogan as it tended to create a racial feeling and national hatred. I believe in "Workers' Republic", not in the native or European Republic, but I do not mind any one to come to the same conclusions. After that slogan was adopted at the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International no one tried to propagate it with the exception of those who opposed it. The Stalinists were silent on this slogan in all public meetings. All the history of the C. P. S. A. is full of blunders that have been made particularly since comrade Lenin died.

There is not a single white or black trade union at this present time that the C. P. S. A. can boast of. One thousand members of the Laundry Workers Union left the C. P. S. A. in disgust; so did even the "Clothing Workers Union". These were the only two Trade Unions which constituted the Federation of Trade Unions (A. F. T. U.).

We desire to have a complete set of the literature published by you but you should also not lose sight of the fact that we are a much poorer lot than you are, and do not forget sending also complete volumes of the *Militant* from No. 1 to the latest. From now onward I shall be writing you fortnightly.

Non-Europeans are the most unorganized of the South African Trade Unions.

Yours for a speedy Revolt.

—T. W. T.

Johannesburg, So. Africa

July 6, 1932.

German Left Will Issue Weekly

The latest issue of *Die Permanente Revolution*, official semi-monthly organ of the Left Opposition in Germany announces that beginning with its next number our German brother organ will appear as a weekly. The terrific poverty existing throughout the German working class, and particularly among the revolutionary militants, has for some time stood in way of imperatively needed advance. Now, the growth of the ideas, influence and strength of our German section has succeeded in surmounting even this great obstacle. The appearance of *Die Permanente Revolution* as a weekly paper will enable our comrades to intervene more frequently and powerfully in the struggles of the German proletariat, bringing to them the ideas and teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky which the Stalinists throughout the world have so violently prevented or ignored and the Left Oppositionists have borne aloft.

The American Oppositionists send their German comrades warmest wishes in the success they have already attained and are convinced that the immediate future is rich with even greater progress for our cause.

The advance of *Die Permanente Revolution* comes a few weeks after the similar success obtained by our Bulgarian comrades who have been battling mightily not only against the stream of Stalinist abuse and violence, but the persecutions of the Bulgarian reaction. Their organ, *Osvobodhenye*, (Emancipation), which commenced as a monthly paper, is now appearing every week.

Our Swiss comrades, with the great traditions of internationalism associated with their land, have succeeded in a brief span of time in converting their mimeographed organ, *Bolshevik*, into a well-printed, well-edited monthly.

Finally, our Spanish comrades have just issued the first number of *Joven Espartaco* (Young Spartacus), a 16-page monthly magazine of the Opposition Youth. This step forward is a reflection of the gratifying progress our Spanish comrades have been making among the young revolutionists of the country, increasing numbers of whom are being organized into the ranks of the Left Opposition. *Joven Espartaco* makes the second paper in the International Left Opposition devoted to the youth, the first having been *Young Spartacus*, our own youth paper in the United States.

To *Osvobodhenye*, *Bolshevik*, *Joven Espartaco*, go our heartiest revolutionary salutations. The International Left Opposition is invincible!

MILITANT BUILDERS

We're under way. Subs are coming in. They're not exactly rolling in but they are coming in a little bit faster than in the past month. And that's something. But seriously! A real effort must be made on the basis of the great timeliness and importance of our literature to bring in even more subs.

All the articles by comrade Trotsky and the other leaders of the International Left that we print in the *Militant* will not sell the paper. We must do that by getting subs and placing it on newsstands. Right now we must place a great emphasis on getting subs. You see, comrades, we need money, desperately. One of the best ways of getting it is by getting subs.

Now, who is going to come out on top at the end of the month? Will it be that neader from Minneapolis, com-

American Foreign Trade and the Question of Credits to the Soviet Union

Some figures on the decline in the foreign trade of the United States since the crisis set in, published in the New York Times of July 31, tell heavily in support of the slogan of the International Left for large scale, long term credits to the Soviet Union. According to the Times the decline in volume has been drastic. It arrives at this conclusion on the basis of the facts that the decline in the wholesale price level of commodities since June 1929, is 33.7 per cent; while the decline in value is 67.8 per cent. "These heavy losses," says the Times, "amounting in several cases to more than 80 per cent, are not the result merely of a decline in prices, but also, of a sharp contraction in volume."

MACHINERY DECLINE

Among the commodities which the United States is exporting in diminishing quantities are plows, which declined from 105,958 in 1929 to 8,204; and grain harvesters, which declined from 11,871 to 213. In the first five months of 1932 the United States exported 60 million dollars of agricultural machinery; whereas in the first five months of 1932 this figure fell to four million seven hundred thousand. Similar figures obtain for industrial machinery. Included in this decline is a precipitate decline in Soviet purchases of agricultural and industrial machinery. In a statement issued by the Amtorg in October of last year the value of Soviet purchases was shown to have declined by 51 per cent.

But the years 1929-32 are the period of the great growth and expansion of Soviet industry; of the growth of its interrelation with the world market. From August 1930 to June 1931, to take but one example, the Soviet Union doubled its exports to Italy and increased its imports sevenfold. So said Commissar of Foreign Trade, P. Rosengoltz to a delegation of 32 Italian industrialists, who visited the Soviet Union in June a year ago.

What is the cause for the decline in the purchase of what the Soviet needs to build its growing industry? The Amtorg statement of last October says, "The drastic decline in purchases is due to the lack of favorable credit facilities in this country as contrasted with long term credits extended to Soviet organizations by European countries." (Our emphasis.)

Credits are what the Soviet Union needs, long-term credits. But the Stalinized Comintern, hamstrung by the fatal theory of socialism in one country, dares not call on the working masses to demand credits from their capitalist governments for the workers' fatherland. It would be an open admission of the impossibility of building a socialist society in the Soviet Union with the efforts of the Soviet Union alone. And this admission Stalin cannot make.

He seeks to attain the same end—not through the class struggle; but by diplomatic maneuvers. That the Soviet Union has made diplomatic approaches to various capitalist governments for credits is no secret. The Times of July 15, 1931 reported the discussion between the Soviet delegation to Paris and the French negotiators in the following words: "The discussions center around a plan by which the Russians would obtain two to four year credits from France."

In fact trade treaties have been signed. One was signed with Italy last June. Duranty reported it from Paris. "The chief Soviet benefits from the trade agreement are credit for buying Italian machinery, aid from Italian specialists, use of the Italian merchant marine for shipping exports and a convenient market for grain, oil and coal." (N. Y. Times, June 20, 1931.)

But, the Stalinists have argued, the Soviet Union gets its credits by treaty. What need is there of making a mass fight of it? As comrade Trotsky pointed out in his *World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan*, the interest of the workers all over the world, in the Soviet Union and its socialist construction remains an abstraction unless it is concretized, in the present situation of world unemployment, by mobilizing the masses to fight for long term credits upon the basis of their understanding that the resulting orders would go some way toward relieving unemployment by opening up a number of factories.

In the United States it would mean that the index of employment in the agricultural machinery industry, for example, would rise from 22.1 at which it stood in June of this year. A similar rise would take place in every branch of industry with which the Soviet would place orders. An identical result would be achieved in all capitalist countries in which the Soviet was able to place orders. The volume of imports the Soviet would be able to command would be many

times in excess of its present volume, including the volume embraced by its present trade treaties. The result in the construction of socialist industry is too apparent to need elaboration. As one result the volume of exports could be increased with a further increase in imports. So the whole cycle of imports and exports could be increased.

The prestige of the Soviet Union would be increased in the eyes of the workers by its ability to work out large scale plans pivoted on its export and import relations with the world market, and its ability to meet its obligations. An organized fight for credits is a lever to set the masses in motion against their class enemies. It creates the basis for a united front with the socialist workers against their leaders should they, as is most likely, oppose the united front.

The opportunities such a struggle affords to Communism to appear before the class as the leader in the fight for relief, and the opportunities for class education are enormous. To pass them by and call the slogan counter-revolutionary, as the Stalinists have done, is not the least of their crimes.

The Stalinist idea of diplomatic maneuvering for credits without calling on the masses who are vitally interested in the question rests upon a lack of faith in the masses. But the masses, learning from the Left Opposition, will force the Comintern to place this slogan in the forefront of the fight for relief. In the United States the workers under the pressure of the deepening crisis will force the party to translate its paper turn of half a year ago into a real class fight for long-term, large scale credits to the Soviet Union.

—T. S.

New York's Aug. First Meet

Between 13,000 and 15,000 workers answered the call of the Communist party in a demonstration on Union Sq. against imperialist war. In comparison with the two previous "Red Day" demonstrations, this year's meeting was one of the best—but only numerically.

The intensification of the economic crisis and the more recent attack on the veterans in Washington has served to awaken thousands of workers from passivity. But if the N. Y. demonstration was large in numbers, it was low in spirit. The meeting followed a stereotyped plan. The speakers were poor. The speeches of Sheppard, Trumbull and Amter in no way made the impending world slaughter clear to the assembled workers. They rambled on incoherently, discussing practically everything else. The war danger came in for the usual cut-and-dried slogans.

Germany—the key to the whole international situation, scarcely a mention. Only in the speech of Amter, did he make some vanguardist boasts about the large vote of the C. P. G. in the recent elections. Only one placard carried by the Y. C. L. called for the smashing of Hitler's Fascist hordes. But this was obscured by the multitudinous slogans which helped to confuse and mask the importance of the war danger.

If the placards of the 1929 demonstration against the war danger reflected the mad adventurism of the "third period", those carried in this year's meeting bore witness to the opportunism of the "new turn". One of the slogans read: "Hoover is responsible for the riot in Washington. We demand his impeachment". The S. P. must have turned green with envy when they saw this placard.

Amter, of course, did not fail to attack the "renegades from Communism"—the Lovestonettes and the Trotskyists. While the crowd boomed and jeered any mention of Hoover, Roosevelt and the socialists, they greeted this attack on the L. O. with an icy silence. Apparently they did not see its connection with the war danger. If words can't do it perhaps silence might penetrate Amter's thick bureaucratic skull. We have our doubts.

The struggle against the war danger must not end with this demonstration, which is only a small beginning. The party must awaken the masses to the dangers awaiting the Soviet Union if Hitler seizes power. Only in this way will it fulfill its duty to the American and international proletariat. The L. O. has sounded the alarm. What is your answer, party members?

Pioneer Publishers Notes

MARXIST CLASSICS

Through an exchange arrangement with a local bookseller we have got a number of copies of the *Communist Manifesto*; *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*; *Wage Labor and Capital*; and *Value Price and Profit*. In the past we have received requests for this literature. In the course of our propaganda work among workers we frequently find it necessary to begin at rock bottom. This is all the more necessary today because of the terribly low ideological level that obtains in the party ranks under Stalinist leadership.

Unfortunately because of the terms of our exchange arrangement we are unable to offer any discount on this literature. The selling prices in the order in which they are listed above are: 10 cents; 25 cents; 10 cents; 25 cents.

rade Hedlund? Or will some other comrade take his laurels away from him? And what branch will come out on top? Will it be the old stand-bys, New York and Minneapolis? Or will our younger branches dispute the title with them?

It is too early to say. All we can do is point to the record of the staff to date which we give below:

A. Weaver	1 1-2
L. Goodman	1
H. Schwartz	1
J. Edwards	1
W. Wynne	1
The record by branches is as follows:	
New York	4 1-2
Minneapolis	2 1-2
Chicago	1
Philadelphia	1

THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMINTERN is out of print and is available only in the BOUND VOLUMES of comrade TROTSKY'S pamphlets.

Great Britain and the U. S. at Ottawa

The Imperial Economic Conference held in Ottawa, Canada, for the past few weeks is of the deepest significance. Gathered here are the representatives of the dominions comprising the British empire. The ostensible purpose of the gathering is to unite in closer bond the King's "minions". But as the conference progresses its object becomes clearer and all the more decisive. It is necessary to seek the driving force of the conference and for this we will divert for a moment from the actual proceedings.

The post-war period witnessed profound changes in the world economic and political situation. Upon the debris of the war arose unforeseen a new power, fresh and vigorous, unexhausted by the conflict. The United States of America became transformed then from a debtor into a creditor nation to whom the entire capitalist world is today indebted. In the course of a few years she dominated the European scene and opened war upon the world markets. Today America is the dominant world power.

America's Rise to Power

American capitalism, through her own enormous resources, without experiencing the long winding road from feudalism to capitalism but building fresh upon a capitalist structure, her industries the most modern in the world, her technique of the highest, drove ahead to the top-most pinnacle of capitalist development. She displaced England as the financial baron of the world. In the field of militarism she has also surpassed the Empire. World politics is now dominated by the United States. And most important of all, in the field of foreign trade she has also displaced Great Britain. It is only necessary to cite the relative changes in the world market to understand fully what this displacement has meant. Prior to the World War the United States had 12% of the world export trade and Great Britain 18%. Toward the close of the past decade the figure was reversed with America in England's place and England where America once stood.

Great Britain has not kept pace with this development of America. Her industrial technique for years remained unchanged. 19th century England could not keep abreast of the industrial apparatus of Uncle Sam. Her markets were grasped from her. Even her own dominions cast loving eyes to the United States. America invaded her South American markets seizing them one by one. Europe was already under the heel of Wall Street. In Asia the dollar penetrated deeply, ripping big holes in the British trade structure. And as has already been cited, in her dominions this same process took place.

It must be borne in mind, that the tremendous rise of American capitalism comes at a time when world capitalism is in decline. The hegemony of the United States exists at the expense of the rest of the world. Only by crushing Europe and putting her on nations has she been able to dominate there. By carrying on an intense assault upon the world market she was able to replace England. And there the conflict rages. The United States, seeks to perpetuate itself in power on the basis of domination of the world markets, made all the more necessary through her huge productive apparatus and by the contraction of the home market. England stands ready to defend her fortresses of world trade. Jarred and groggy she cannot stand many more steady blows.

Britain's Demands

The stage is set; the play goes on. Great Britain is seeking closer ties with the dominions. The industrialization of the dominions brought them in constant conflict with the mother country. They

The Struggle Between the Two Imperialisms

challenged the seniority rights of England. To avoid open rifts, the Imperial Conference in 1926 established and recognized full equality of the dominions. That conference diminished their subordination to Great Britain. But it hardly solved anything. While politically holding the Empire together, it could not and did not solve the hard economic problems. They exist today. Represented by Stanley Baldwin, Britain demands that the dominions establish greater trade within the Empire. It demands that the dominions give preference to British-made goods for which in turn preference will be given theirs. Britain will charge no duties on dominion goods if the dominions will likewise remove all tariffs on British goods. They plan to solve the crisis in that manner. But more than that the Imperial Economic conference is a direct challenge to the United States.

To establish a balance of trade within the Empire means to strike a blow against American capitalism. At present Canada is principally involved. The same condition however exists in the other dominions and in discussing Canada we speak for the general trends elsewhere. Of foreign capital in Canada, the share of Great Britain fell from 77% to 39% while that of the United States rose from 16% to 57%. The U. S. finds an outlet market here for 40% of her exports. On the reverse side of the picture 68% of Canadian imports come from the United States, as against 15.2% from Great Britain. Of 100 principle import items in 1930, Canada was supplied in the following ratio: The United States 79%, Great Britain 14%, and the rest of the world 7%. The following table of Canadian imports supplied by the United States is of extreme importance because of the key character of the industries:

Ratio of imports supplied by the United States to Canada in 1930:

91% Electrical products
90% Steel and Iron.
90% Machinery.
99% Automobile parts.
98% Automobiles.
90% Coal.
88% Farm implements
78% Crude petroleum
99% Gasoline.
98% Raw cotton.

Great Britain exceeded only in textiles. In money values the relative import trade in 1930 was as follows:

Total Imports:	\$1,248,273,582
United States	\$847,442,037
Great Britain	\$189,178,738
Dominions	\$63,525,066
Foreign	\$148,127,841

In addition it must be stated that of Canadian exports, 45% went to the United States. The aims of the conference become clear now. The conference aims at a general diminution of American trade within the Empire so as to allow for a general increase of Great Britain's trade as one of the steps leading out of her severe crisis. The steps already taken to curb American products such as steel, machinery, electric will fall however from reaching their mark. There are 1400 branch factories of American concerns in Canada. Any encroachments upon American trade will result in increased production of the Canadian plants to offset such restrictions as result from the conference. Almost the entire electrical industry in Canada is dominated or influenced by the United States. As soon as the announcement was made of an increase in the steel

trade between Canada and Great Britain, which would necessarily result in a fall of American steel trade, the U. S. Steel Corporation declared its intention of expanding its Canadian mills at Ojibwa. Similarly this would take place with the automobile industry, electrical supplies and machinery.

Effects of Crisis

Thus Britain's attempt to offset American trade in the dominions will be met with a powerful opposition. The crisis has had terrific effects on both nations. While America is adjusting herself for a big drive, Great Britain has already girded itself for battle. She is driving her first blow through the Empire. In the midst of the present crisis Canadian imports declined 27%. In this general decline American imports receded to 64.5% while that of Great Britain rose to 16.5%. The figures themselves while expressing the general effects of the crisis show the efforts of Britain to pull itself up by its bootstraps while the United States is acutely involved in the worst crisis of her history.

The loss of the immense Canadian market comprising 40% of American exports would indeed be a severe blow to the United States. While heretofore foreign markets absorbed only 10% of the surplus production in the United States, the present crisis has established this all-important fact: Imperialist America will open a planned and concerted drive upon the foreign markets of an immense character reinforced by the greatest military activity heretofore witnessed. There is no other way out for her. Her huge industrial apparatus which during the "prosperity days" functioned at only 60% of capacity, needs a far greater outlet than the shrinking home market. The absorption of surplus production must be sought elsewhere. It can find no place except in the field of foreign trade. The world markets continuing in a state of contraction are already divided. The United States arrived on the scene late: the division of the earth had already taken place. She must now win these from the other imperialist powers. And foremost of these is England.

In Europe she has already replaced her to a vast extent. She is dominant in Britain's own dominions. In South America the trend is toward the United States. During the years 1913-27, the U. S. share of South American imports showed an increase from 24% to 39%, while that of Great Britain declined from 25% to 16%. In the rest of the world the same trend. At the expense of Great Britain the United States has gained hegemony. To maintain this it will be necessary for her to expand even more. But further expansion can come only in continued struggle with Great Britain. That involves a deep conflict. It has been raging for almost a decade. It will become more tense now. The Imperial Economic Conference is an example of this fierce antagonism. Here lies its significance.

To transform this into the language of politics is the task of the Communists. Even today the Stalinized Communist International, warped by its nationalist orientation, fails to grasp and fully understand the changes in post-war capitalism. In 1923 L. D. Trotsky, already established this fundamental change. In his brochure *Europe and America*, a few years later, he explained these new factors, tracing the decline of Great Britain's power and its replacement by the United States. He pointed out that this significant change demanded the application of a policy on the part of the Communists concentrating specifically and orientating around this new situation. Had this been understood, it would perhaps in part have prevented such a mis-

erable debacle in recent Comintern history as we have seen.

The dollar displaces the pound. America versus Britain. That is the tune of the world struggle. And therein lies the importance of the Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

The Vets in Washington

(Continued from page 1)

noon, of the fighting with the Hoover army on Pennsylvania Ave., they started in a body to the scene of trouble. But they were cut off when the bridge over the Potomac was raised.

But if they were impatient to meet their enemy, the enemy was still more impatient to meet them.

At 11 P. M. cavalry and infantry, a thousand strong, hove into sight. Several army planes zoomed above the camp. In the camp, the women and children had already "retired"; the vets themselves were "tired in"; when Federal planes and soldiers came to disturb their peace, it took them by surprise. It was a day of surprises.

Whistles were blown as an alarm. "Victorious" officers ordered immediate evacuation from Government property. The vets didn't move fast enough. They were baptized with a shower of gas bombs. The sweet-smelling, smarting, blinding gas put the vets on the move. Women and children ran screaming and weeping; the men followed cursing.

"Victorious" General MacArthur was weeping—from the gas. The whole field was covered with gas fumes. Soldiers lit torches and were applying them to the shacks.

The next morning you could see a charred and ashy field, filled with twisted and crushed-in sheets of tin, burnt-down autos, broken, soot-black bottles of glass, broken, burned beds, sooty pots, pans, black heaps of tin cans, unburned heaps of stinking garbage, several half-burned dolls and even a plaster bust of Geo. Washington, "Father of his country," lying in the ashes with his nose, lips and chin knocked off.

The work was done against defenseless half-starved workers in the name of law and order, in the name of private property, so that Hoover and the bosses could continue their work of receiving "fair and legitimate return on their money."

Some "Strange" Facts

The work was done. But there were strange facts which cannot be overlooked.

Why could not the police, of whom there are 1400 in Washington, cope with the situation? Was there a shortage of tear gas bombs for them?

It is a fact that of the 1400 policemen, 1200 are ex-servicemen. They did not cure for the dirty work. They passed the buck.

Not only the police. About 800 sailors were ordered to be ready for duty. They replied that they were sea fighters; if the authorities would get a warship alongside of the camp, (which was out of the question), they would carry out the orders. In this way they passed the buck.

The sentiment of the marines at Quantico was similar.

One more thing. Why were the troops ordered to the main camp at night? Here it is a question of psychology. It was feared that if the vets and soldiers met in the daytime face to face, eye to eye, there might result a serious breach of discipline.

Here we see indications of the coming breach in the strongholds of the bourgeoisie. Hoover and the bosses have something to be uneasy about!

—JERDICK.

Opposition Delegates for United Front at Party's Anti-Injunction Conference

The Anti-Injunction Conference called by the Provisional Committee of which John Steuben is secretary (appointed), held its first meeting at the Manhattan Lyceum, July 28. The new "turn" in the party's method of approaching the masses was much in evidence. Neither the Communist party nor the Young Communist League sent a single delegate to the conference! This was indeed to be a broad conference including particularly A. F. of L. locals and general working class organizations. Yea, the chairman (appointed) introduced the main reporter as BROTHER Steuben. All through the conference it was "fellow workers and friends," "brother so and so" and "I tell you, friends, and fellow workers". A most disgusting and nauseating spectacle of attempts to fool oneself into believing that this was actually a mass conference.

The comrades of the N. Y. Branch of the Communist League, Saul and Weber, and Ruth Cannon and Herbert Capellis of the Spartacus Youth Club attended the Conference as delegates. They were unable to get the floor and make concrete proposals of work such as (1) immediate printing of 50,000 leaflets to be distributed by the organizations represented; (2) immediate sending of speakers to trade unions, political and fraternal organizations in a real attempt to broaden the conference through the united front tactic; (3) each organization to send delegates to assist the strikers on the picket line; (4) each organization to hold at least one open air meeting per week and popularize the fight against the injunction.

The meeting and discussion turned out to be, as usual, organized beforehand. The chairman seemed to know every speaker, even motioning to them individually to come to the fore as he called their names. When the report of the Credentials Comm. (appointed) came in, it was announced that there were 267 delegates representing 12 A. F. of L. locals, numerous trade unions and fraternal and mass organizations. All the organizations were read off, a long list of them; but when it came to reading the list of thirty "mass" organizations the reporter said it was too long and unnecessary. In this way they spared themselves the embarrassment of announcing that the Communist League (Left Opposition) and the Spartacus Youth Club had their delegates and were ready to support the conference with all the means at their disposal.

Then came the election of a Permanent Committee to build the Conference. To "facilitate" matters, the Provisional Comm. already had its list of thirty recommendations to compose the Permanent Comm. The chairman asked for additional nominees from the floor, and comrades Weber and Capellis were nominated. A vote was taken and many hands went up for their being added to the committee. Steuben, somewhat nonplussed at this showing, took the floor and said this would invalidate the committee of thirty, which was already proposed and elected. Comrades from the floor objected and pointed out that this merely meant adding two.

Although we are not on the official committee, the Opposition and the Spartacus Youth Club intend to support fully the activities of the Conference. The proposals enumerated above will be carried out and plans are already under way. The club will send as many members as possible down to the picket line and there demonstrate our solidarity with the striking workers. We hope the near future will witness a real unity of our forces with the fighting Left wing workers and the advanced revolutionary

workers of the party and its auxiliary organizations.

—HERBERT CAPELIS.

League Manifesto on the German Crisis

(Continued from page 1)

position have brought positive results. In the province of Berlin-Brandenburg, the Committee of the C. P. G. after months of pressure from the ranks, made offers of united front demonstrations and action to the leadership, the Social Democratic Party there. The yellow socialists refused to accept the offers. The result was a tremendous increase of the Communist vote in Berlin-Brandenburg at the expense of the social democracy in the Reichstag elections of July 31.

Now is not the time to gloat over election gains. The struggle is proceeding in the streets. The lessons of Berlin-Brandenburg show the absolute correctness of the Left Opposition's demands. The Communists must repeatedly and constantly put the social democratic leaders on the carpet. They must push them to the wall on every available occasion. Their masks must be torn from their faces at every new step! The Communist Party of Germany must concentrate all its attention upon this task, it must speak out loudly in correction of the past mistakes. It must gain the full confidence of the workers by a frank and open change in policy from the top to the bottom. That is the way to establish the fighting, united front of the class for revolutionary action.

The silence of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International, of the American party must be broken. Workers, revolutionists, bombard your Communist party and revolutionary organizations with demands that the Comintern speak out, that the Soviet leadership give its message in this hour of need to the working class of the world that the Communist Party of Germany act decisively!

Demand the complete and open adoption of the Leninist United Front! Demand that the Communist Party of Germany put the reformist leaders to the test in action! The day of big battles is right at hand.

United working class action of the Communist and social democratic organizations must be posited in an international manner: a most intimate and concrete collaboration between the German working class and the U. S. S. R.

Upon such a basis the working class of the world will be rallied against reaction. Unity in action will make the workers' front invincible. There is the way to defeat Fascism. There lies the road to proletarian victory.

Workers, show your international solidarity!

Long live the World Revolution!

Communist League of America (Section of the International Left Opposition)
NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

After the German Elections

(Continued from page 1)

still lies ahead of us.

The Fascist bands are murdering workers, revolutionists in the streets of Germany. Raiders are taking place on the Communist headquarters in town and hamlet. The leading proletarian militants are massacred by Hitler's Brown Shirt assassins (remember Koenigsberg!). The white terror is in full swing. From his Munich citadel, the German Mussolini is planning the march on Berlin.

The economic crisis tears on unabated. The ranks of the unemployed are still swelling. The productive apparatus of German capitalism is choking in its own vise. Utter subjugation of the wage slaves—that is the slogan of the German bourgeoisie. That is why capitalism in Germany depends for its life on the daggers of Fascism, directed against the German proletariat.

Fascist Demands

The Fascists are demanding the suppression of the Communist party already. Von Schleicher, the de facto dictator of the Reich, the man who controls its military, is reaching out a hand to his Fascist friends, to help them into power. Civil war, war against the working class is on already. Fascism in power can and will only legalize it, unfurl it in full and extend it to the borders of the Soviet Union with the aid of the world imperialists.

The Hitlerite coup d'Etat—the form, whether "legal" or open, is of secondary importance—is the threat of the hour. The establishment of the fighting unity of the German proletariat is a question of do or die. United working class action against Fascism can and must be achieved. The task of achieving it rests upon the shoulders of the German Communist Party alone.

The lesson of Berlin-Brandenburg forbodes success for the Communists in the application of the Leninist united front tactic. The Leninist tactic must be carried out in full. Not partially, not in isolated cases, but all over and everywhere. Not only in Berlin-Brandenburg, but on a national scale. Not once, but at every step and stage. The social democratic betrayers only last week urged "order and discipline" upon their followers, urged them to "concentrate upon the elections". The elections have solved nothing for the workers and they know it. The influence of social democracy in the German working class has been shaken as never before. For the workers realize that determined class action, militant and forceful, is the demand of the hour.

—S. G.

Nine Years of Struggle of the Left Opposition

The Burning Questions of Bonapartism and Thermidor

History is rich in analogy and analogy is rich in instruction. The events of the day have their roots in the events of yesterday and the one can best be understood by understanding the other and making comparisons. And while events do not repeat themselves in the same manner, but under new conditions and with new social forces and people working to produce them, it is nevertheless true that only by knowing how to utilize the method of analogy can the processes of historical development be best understood.

In utilizing this method, one must of course know not only its great scope but also its limits. That it is sometimes abused is an argument only against the abuse of it. If it is rejected out of hand, then history has only the most narrowly academic significance. Every event must then be approached as if it were entirely unique, entirely dissimilar from anything that ever went before it, entirely disconnected from our yesterday, approached as if we were blind men groping for something without the benefit of the light thrown upon out of the past. Not only does such an approach make today unnecessarily difficult to understand, but it renders impossible an analysis of what tomorrow will bring.

Two Great Revolutions

An analogy, invaluable for an understanding of the powerful forces at work in the Soviet Union, is offered us when the Russian revolution is compared to the great French revolution of the eighteenth century. It is true that we live in a different epoch, that the Russian revolution is proletarian, that it has at its disposal far more vigorous and substantial forces to maintain its victory to the end than did the revolution of 1789-1794. But history, observed Lenin, shows degenerations of all sorts, and

there is no mystic, automatic guarantee that the Russian revolution cannot meet with the same tragic defeat that was suffered by the Jacobins in France. To proclaim such a religious doctrine, which is foreign to the objective Marxist spirit, is in reality to drug the revolution into a spirit of false security and to facilitate the operation of the forces inimical to its preservation.

The Ninth of Thermidor (July 27, 1794) was the day on which the revolutionary Jacobins, Robespierre, Saint-Just, Couthon, Lebas—"the Bolsheviks of the French revolution"—were overthrown by a combination of the Right wing Jacobins, the vacillators and the royalist reaction. The guillotine which sent the 21 Jacobin intrinsigents to their death the next morning amid the insulting cries of the counter-revolutionary mob, thenceforth hit no longer into the reaction. On the contrary, the epoch of the Thermidorian Reaction was opened up, climaxed five and a half years later by the triumphant ascension to power of Bonapartism, the Eighteenth Brumaire of the ex-sansculotte, Napoleon.

The whole Thermidorian epoch is one of such sterility, such degeneration, such shame, that it is generally skipped over by historians, both revolutionary and conservative. Michelet as well as Kropotkin bring their histories of the revolution to an end with the Ninth of Thermidor. Yet this epoch of degradation is replete with illuminating lessons.

Thermidor is not the counter-revolution as it is ordinarily referred to—the naked, open counter-revolution of Napoleon, of Chiang Kai-Shek, of Kornilov. The Thermidorian transference of power to another class was accomplished by Jacobins, in the name of "true" Jacobinism, of the true revolution, presumably to save the revolution from its foes,

It was accomplished to all external appearances virtually under the same old flag, with the old watchwords scarcely altered. No claim was laid by the renegade Jacobins to any fundamental change; they pretended only—and many of them, no doubt, in all sincerity—that they were purging the revolution of a "few isolated individuals", of a "few aristocrats" who were undermining the united fatherland. In fact, the wretched Jacobins who had moved far away to the Right, ever closer to the Gironde, to the "Marsh", continued to write on the morning after the execution of Robespierre that "we have exterminated a handful of individuals who disturbed the tranquility of the party; now that they are dead, the revolution will finally triumph!"

In its manifesto to the people of the revolutionary fatherland, issued after the execution of Robespierre, the Convention declared: "Citizens, in the midst of the brilliant victories gained over the foreign foe, a new peril threatens the Republic. . . . The work of the Convention will remain fruitless, the valor of the army will lose all its meaning, if the citizens hesitate to choose between the fatherland and a few isolated individuals. Hearken to the voice of the fatherland, do not take your place in the ranks of the malevolent aristocrats and the enemies of the people, and you shall once more save the fatherland!"

The "isolated individuals" to whom they referred were those who sought to preserve the real essence of the revolution, who responded the interests of the poorest social classes against the onslaught of the bourgeoisie, the royalists, the counter-revolution.

"Their enemies," writes the historian, Aulard, "were not content with having killed Robespierre and his friends; they culminated them by depicting them to the eyes of France as royalists as people who had sold out to the foreigners."

The unwitting Thermidorians, the Right wing Jacobins who were blazing the trail for the genuinely counter-revolutionary Bonapartist dictatorship, denounced the men they executed, impris-

oned and banished, as "counter-revolutionists". Could an analogy be more startling? In a report he made on the Convention which condemned the Left wing Jacobins, Brival, one of the Right wingers, said:

"The intrigues, the counter-revolutionists who covered themselves with the toga of patriotism, sought to destroy liberty, the Convention has decided to put them under arrest; these representatives are Robespierre, Couthon, Saint-Just, Lebas, Robespierre the Younger."

Do not all these one hundred and fifty year-old words and acts have an astounding modern ring? The "counter-revolutionists" the "few individuals", the "malevolent aristocrats", the "royalist agents" (in those days they were the "agents of Pitt" just as they are today the "agents of Chamberlain")—do these designations require much change to become identical with the slanders directed against the Left Opposition today?

Reasons for Thermidor

The Thermidorian reaction in France was made possible by a degeneration and corruption of the revolutionary party of that time—the Jacobin clubs. It was facilitated by the yearning for "peace and tranquility" of certain sections of the people and above all the politicians, wearied of revolutionary struggle, who were moving away to the Right. It gained impulsion from the pressure of royalists and reactionaries who had adapted themselves to revolutionary customs and speech to just the extent required by the times to save their hides from the wrath of the rising classes. The weak-kneed among the revolutionists yielded to the social pressure of the cunning among the reactionaries. The latter staked their cards upon the Right wing of the Jacobins to destroy the Left wing, and in the period of reaction which followed, all that remained of Jacobinism was destroyed and the Directory gave way to the naked and frank dictatorship of Napoleon.

Such a process has been at work in the Soviet Union for many years now. The pedant who seeks an analogy of personalities, who identifies the execu-

tion of Robespierre with, let us say, the killing of Trotsky, who hunts for identical occurrences and individuals in the two revolutions, will not only hunt in vain but will have missed the point entirely. At the head of the Russian revolution stands a proletariat, not a petty bourgeoisie mixed with artisans and a still amorphous working class. In the leadership stands a revolutionary Marxist party, steeped in proletarian revolutionary traditions, not an immature motley of Jacobin clubs. After the French revolution, a counter-revolutionary class took power which was able to rise and even to play a progressive role. The Russian revolution takes place in an epoch of the decay of world capitalism, when the leadership of the proletariat alone is progressive and can bring humanity forward. Factors like these form the limits of the analogy. But they do not eliminate it.

The Bolshevik party today is not the party which took power in October 1917. It has experienced a period of social and political reaction since the revolutionary wave broke on the defeat of the German October in 1923. Its doctrine has been sapped at the foundation, distorted and corroded. It has been swollen into a vast, shapeless mass by having hundreds of thousands of indiscriminately commanded workers and peasants poured into its ranks until it lost that distinctness and independence essential to a revolutionary party. It has been deprived of its principal functions by a usurpatory, bureaucratic apparatus, which raised itself above it and replaced it. Its revolutionary wing has been torn from it violently by the Thermidorian expulsions of the Left Opposition. For the free interplay of forces which can be controlled and checked by a trained party mass, has been substituted the manipulations of the apparatus which is itself manipulated, helplessly at times, by alien social forces pursuing their reactionary class aims through the channels of this apparatus. A Thermidorian corrosion has been eating away the vital organs of the party, and paralyzed it. (To be continued)

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

Hands off Rosa Luxemburg

by LEON TROTSKY

Stalin's article, "On Some Questions in the History of Bolshevism" reached me after much delay. After receiving it, for a long time I could not force myself to read it, for such literature sticks in one's throat like saw-dust or mashed bristles. But still having finally read it, I came to the conclusion that one cannot ignore this performance, if only because there is included in it a vile and barefaced calumny about Rosa Luxemburg. This great revolutionist is enrolled by Stalin into the camp of Centristism! He proves—not proves, of course, but asserts—that Bolshevism from the day of its inception held to the line of a split with the Kautsky Center, while Rosa Luxemburg during the time sustained Kautsky from the Left. I quote his own words, "Long before the war, from about 1903-1904, when the Bolshevik group had formed in Russia and when Lefts first made themselves heard in the German social democracy, Lenin took the course toward a break, a split with the opportunists both at home, in the Russian social democratic party, and abroad in the II International, and the German Social Democracy in particular." That this, however, could not be achieved was due entirely to the fact that "the Left social democrats in the II International, and first of all, in the German social democracy composed a weak and impotent group . . . that was fearful even of uttering aloud the word, break, split." Such is the basic formulation of the article. Beginning with 1903, the Bolsheviks stood for a break not only with the Right but also with the Kautsky Center; while Rosa was afraid even to mention openly the word "split".

STALIN'S IGNORANCE OF PARTY HISTORY

To put forward such an assertion, one must be absolutely ignorant of the history of one's own party, and first of all, of Lenin's ideological course. There is not a single word of truth in Stalin's point of departure. In 1903-1904, Lenin was, indeed, an irreconcilable foe of opportunism in the German social democracy. But he considered as opportunism only the revisionist trend, which was led theoretically by Bernstein.

Kautsky at the time was to be found fighting against Bernstein. Lenin considered Kautsky as his teacher and stressed this everywhere he could. In Lenin's work of that period, as well as for a number of years following, one must find even a trace of criticism in principle directed against the trend of Bebel-Kautsky. Instead one finds a series of declarations to the effect that Bolshevism is not some sort of an independent trend, but is only a translation into the language of Russian conditions of the trend of Bebel-Kautsky. Here is what Lenin wrote in his famous pamphlet, "Two Tactics", in the middle of 1905, "When and where did I call the revolutionism of Bebel and Kautsky 'opportunism'?"

When and where did any divergences come out into the open between me on the one hand and Bebel and Kautsky? . . . The complete solidarity of the international revolutionary social-democracy in all major questions of program and tactic is an incontrovertible fact." Lenin's words are so clear, precise, and categorical as to exhaust the question.

A year and a half later, on December 7, 1906 Lenin wrote, in the article "The Crisis of Menshevism", ". . . From the very first (see 'One Step Forward, Two Steps Backwards') we affirmed that we are not creating any special sort of Bolshevik tendency; we only take our stand everywhere and at all times in defense of the point of view of the revolutionary social democracy, right up to the social revolution, there will inevitably be an opportunistic and a revolutionary wing."

Speaking of Menshevism, as the opportunistic wing of the social democracy, Lenin compared the Mensheviks not with Kautskyism but with revisionism. Moreover he looked upon Bolshevism as the Russian form of Kautskyism, which in his eyes was in that period identical with Marxism. The passage we have just quoted shows, incidentally, that Lenin did not at all stand absolutely for a split with the opportunists; he not only admitted but also considered "inevitable" the existence of the revisionists in the social democracy right up to the social revolution.

Two weeks later, on December 20, 1906, Lenin greeted enthusiastically Kautsky's answer to Plekhanov's questionnaire on the character of the Russian revolution. "What we have claimed—that our fight for the position of revolutionary social democracy against opportunism, is in no manner whatsoever the creation of some 'original' Bolshevik tendency—has been completely confirmed by Kautsky. . . . Within these limits, I trust, the question is absolutely clear. According to Stalin, Lenin, even from 1903, had demanded a break in Germany with the opportunists, not only of the Right wing (Bernstein) but also of the Left (Kautsky). Whereas in December, 1906, Lenin as we see was proudly pointing out to Plekhanov and the Mensheviks that the trend of Bolshevism in Russia were identical. Such is part one of Stalin's excursion into the ideological history of Bolshevism. Our investigator's scrupulousness and his knowledge rest on the same plane!

LENIN AND LUXEMBURG

Directly after his assertion regarding 1903-1904, Stalin makes a leap to 1916 and refers to Lenin's sharp criticism of the war pamphlet by Junius, i. e., Rosa Luxemburg. To be sure, in that period Lenin had already declared war to the finish against Kautskyism, having drawn from his criticism all the neces-

Reply to the Slandering of a Revolutionist

sary organizational conclusions. It is not to be gainsaid that Rosa Luxemburg did not pose the question of the struggle against Centristism with the requisite completeness, in this advantage were entirely on Lenin's side. But between October 1916, when Lenin wrote about Junius's pamphlet, and 1903, when Bolshevism had its inception, there is a lapse of thirteen years; in the course of the major part of this period Rosa Luxemburg was to be found in the Opposition to the Kautsky and Bebel C. C., and her fight against the formal, pedantic, and rotten-at-the-core "radicalism" of Kautsky took on an ever increasingly sharp character.

Lenin did not participate in this fight and did not support Rosa Luxemburg up to 1914. Passionately absorbed in Russian affairs, he preserved extreme caution in international matters. In Lenin's eyes Bebel and Kautsky stood immeasurably higher as revolutionists than in the eyes of Rosa Luxemburg, who observed them at closer range, in action, and who was much more directly subjected to the atmosphere of German politics.

The capitulation of the German social democracy on August 4 was entirely unexpected by Lenin. It is well known that the issue of the Vorwärts with the patriotic declaration of the social democratic faction was taken by Lenin to be a forgery by the German staff. Only after he was absolutely convinced of the awful truth, did he subject to revision his evaluation of the basic tendencies of the German social democracy, and while so doing, he performed that task in the Leninist manner, i. e., he finished it off once for all.

On October 27, 1914, Lenin wrote to A. Schlapnikov, ". . . I hate and despise Kautsky now more than all the rest, the filthy, vile and self-satisfied brood of hypocrites. . . . R. Luxemburg was right, she long ago understood that Kautsky had the highly developed 'servility of a theoretician'—to put it more plainly, he was ever a flunkey, a flunkey to the majority of the party, a flunkey to opportunism." (Leninist Anthology, Vol. II, page 200, (my emphases).

Were there no other documents (and there are hundreds), these few lines alone could not unmistakably clarify the history of the question. Lenin deemed it necessary at the end of 1914 to inform one of the colleagues closest to him at the time, that "now", at the present moment, today, in contradistinction to the past, he "hates and despises" Kautsky. The sharpness of the phrase is an unmistakable indication of the extent to which Kautsky betrayed Lenin's hopes and expectations. No less vivid is the second phrase "R. Luxemburg was right,

she long ago understood that Kautsky had the highly developed 'servility of a theoretician' . . . " Lenin hastens here to recognize that "servility" which he did not see formerly, or which, at least, he did not recognize fully on Rosa Luxemburg's side.

Such are the chief chronological guide-posts of the questions, which are at the same time important guide-posts of Lenin's political biography. The fact is indubitable that his ideological orbit is represented by a continually rising curve. But this only means that Lenin was not born Lenin full-fledged, as he is pictured by the slavering daubers of the "divine", but that he made himself Lenin. Lenin over extended his horizons, he learned from others and daily drew himself to a higher plane than was his own yesterday. In this perseverance, in this stubborn resolution of a continual spiritual growth over his own self did his heroic spirit find its expression. If Lenin in 1903 had understood and formulated everything that was required for the coming times, then the remainder of his life would have consisted only of reiterations. In reality this was not at all the case. Stalin simply stamps the Stalinist imprint on Lenin and coins him into the petty small-change of numbered adages.

LUXEMBURG'S STRUGGLE AGAINST KAUTSKY

In Rosa Luxemburg's struggle against Kautsky, especially in 1910-1914, an important place was occupied by the questions of war, militarism and pacifism. Kautsky defended the reformist program, limitations of armaments, international court, etc. Rosa Luxemburg fought decisively against this program as illusory. On this question, Lenin was in some doubt, but at a certain period he stood closer to Kautsky than to Rosa Luxemburg. From conversations at the time, with Lenin I recall that the following:

argument of Kautsky made a great impression upon him: just as in domestic questions, reforms are products of the revolutionary class struggle, so in international relationships it is possible to fight for and to gain certain guarantees ("reforms") by means of the international class struggle. Lenin considered it entirely possible to support this position of Kautsky, provided that he, after the polemic with Rosa Luxemburg, turned upon the Rights (Noske and Co.). I do not undertake now to say from memory to what extent this circle of ideas found its expression in Lenin's articles: the question would require a particularly careful analysis. Neither can I take upon myself to assert from memory how soon Lenin's doubts on this question were settled. In any case they found their expression not only in conversations but also in correspondence. One of these letters is in the possession of Karl Radek.

I deem it necessary to supply on this question evidence as a witness in order to attempt in this manner to save an exceptionally valuable document for the

franchise on election day.

When, in the history of the labor movement in this or any country, has the capitalist class granted the workers one single thing except where they have been forced into it by mass pressure? The ballot box did not get even one iota of consideration. Why, the very right to vote for the expropriated masses was achieved through the force of working class power. The eight hour day was not attained by voting one party in and another out. The struggles that finally secured the eight hour day for the American workers, (one of the brightest pages in U. S. labor history) constitute the greatest denial of this fake teaching.

Meaning of Ballot Box

The capitalist class well understands the significance of the ballot box. Votes are a clue to the strength of a party, but they do not indicate that the voters are anything else but a discontented, passive mass. It is strikes, demonstrations and huge movements that make the capitalist class sit up and take notice. The S. P. fears to embark upon this course. Thus, as an avowed party of reform, it can never gain any reforms at all.

But, if one wants further proof as to the real meaning of the promise of the S. P. for unemployment insurance and relief, he has only to look to Europe. There the Socialist parties have already had the honor to serve the bourgeoisie, in governmental capacity.

In Great Britain the last act of the late "labor" government is indicative of this fact. Faced by a growing deficit in the budget, the MacDonald-Henderson cabinet decided to save the capitalists from bankruptcy. How? By eliminating the allowance to the parasitic royal family? Oh, no! The Labour party leaders are the 'umble servants of his Majesty George V. No, their method was to place this burden on the shoulder of the proletariat, by cutting their already paltry dole.

We have even a more glaring instance in Germany. There the criminal leaders of the German S. D., on pretext that Brüning was preventing the advent of Fascism slashed the unemployment insurance several times, in the notorious emergency decrees. Thomas is shouting aloud about Fascism being prepared for America today. This is laughable. But the workers can rest assured that when Fascism actually threatens, he will bow his knee before the American Brüning.

But the Socialist party says that capitalism is the cause of unemployment. They propose the abolition of the system—by the ballot box. No forcible confiscation of property—they promise to the fearful petty bourgeoisie. When will they "abolish" the capitalist system?

theoretical biography of Lenin. In the autumn of 1928, at the time of our collective work over the platform of the Left Opposition, Radek showed Kamenev, Zinoviev and myself—a letter of Lenin to him (1911?) which consisted of the defence of Kautsky's position against the criticism of the German Leftists. In accordance with the regulation passed by the C. C. Radek, like all others, should have delivered this letter to the Lenin Institute. But fearful lest it be hidden, if not destroyed in the Stalinist factory of fabrications, Radek decided on preserving the letter till some more opportune time. One cannot deny that there was some foundation to Radek's attitude. At present, however, Radek himself has—though not very responsible still quite an active—part in the work of producing political forgeries. Suffice it to recall that Radek, who in distinction to Stalin is acquainted with the history of Marxism, and who, at any rate, knows this letter of Lenin, found it possible to make a public statement of his solidarity with the insolent evaluation placed by Stalin on Rosa Luxemburg. The circumstance that Radek acted thereupon under Yaroslavsky's rod does not mitigate his guilt, for only despicable slaves can renounce the principles of Marxism in the name of the principles of the rod.

However the matter we are concerned with relates not to the personal characterization of Radek but to the fate of Lenin's letter. What happened to it? Is Radek hiding it even now from the Lenin Institute? Hardly. Most probably, he entrusted it, where it should be entrusted, as a tangible proof of an intangible devotion. And what lay in store for the letter thereafter? Is it preserved in Stalin's personal archives alongside with the documents that compromise his closest colleagues? Or is it destroyed as many other most precious documents of the party's past have been destroyed?

WHERE IS LENIN'S LETTER TO RADEK?

In any case there cannot be even the shadow of a political reason for the concealment of a letter written two decades ago on a question that holds now only an historical interest. But it is precisely the historical value of the letter that is exceptionally great. It shows Lenin as he really was, and not as he is being recreated in their own semblance and image by the bureaucratic underheads, who pretend to infallibility. We ask, where is Lenin's letter to Radek? Lenin's letter must be where it belongs! Put it on the table of the party and of the Comintern!

If one were to take the disagreements between Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg in their entirety, then the historical correctness is unconditionally on Lenin's side. But this does not exclude the fact that in certain questions, and during definite periods Rosa Luxemburg was correct as against Lenin. In any case, the disagreements despite their importance, and at times—their extreme sharpness, developed on the bases of revolutionary proletarian policies common to them both. (To be concluded).

Fascism-U. S. & German

It Was Discovered in U. S. and Ignored Where It Really Was

It is not correct to assume that the petty bourgeoisie, which formed the bulk of the troops of Fascism in Italy and Germany at its inception, are automatically guaranteed to support such a movement elsewhere, always and from the very outset. Fascism, attaining power in Italy, very swiftly demonstrated that the desperate hopes placed in it by the petty bourgeoisie as a defense against the big bourgeoisie, were grounded in nothing substantial. Mussolini very soon revealed the elementary political truth of the present epoch in particular: the petty bourgeoisie can play no independent role; it follows either the big bourgeoisie or the proletariat. In Italy, Fascism is the instrument of naked rule by the sword of the industrialists and the large landowners. Nor could it be otherwise. This disappointment of the illusions of the petty bourgeoisie causes many of them, particularly in other countries, to develop a certain hostility towards Fascism, which they envisage, and with a certain justification as the betrayer of their hopes for relief from the upper and nether millstones of the class struggle.

This hostility we see manifested in a small measure by the cries of fear uttered in this country by typical spokesmen for the petty bourgeoisie. In the United States, so thoroughly dominated by monopolist capitalism, the crisis has been extremely severe for the middle class citizen. The gloth of bureaucratic government, arch-representative of big capital, looms before him like some monstrous nightmare. At every repressive measure taken by the executive committee of the sovereign class, our petty bourgeois burgher utters a shriek of terror: "Fascism is growing in the United States! The government is turning Fascist! There is a Mussolini in the White House!"

Dewey's Theory

The extent to which this "mistake in identity" has unfolded is surprising. John Dewey, the pathetic figure who is seeking to organize a third party of liberalism, rarely misses an opportunity to give vent to his theory about the growing movement of American Fascism. The Nation and the New Republic echo him along the whole scale of their feeble tones. The plagiarist par-excellence from the ideas of liberalism, social democracy and Stalinism, A. J. Muste, sings the same song of dread. Norman Thomas and the other member of the American socialist priesthood are of course also found in this motley chorus.

But this inability to make a distinction between the growth of repressive measures against the working class, violence and brutality used against it, on the one hand, and on the other hand Fascism, that is, the naked rule of the bourgeois dictatorship in which every fragment of the democratic raiment of capitalism has been ripped off completely, including the most elementary rights of the working class movement—does not originate with Dewey, Muste and Thomas. In this country, it is the contribution to political science made by the Daily Worker and its party directors. The announcement that there is not merely a powerful Fascist movement already in existence in this country, but that it has virtually taken over the government, is an extravaganza originally displayed for the instruction of the American workers by Stalinism. In the light of the uninterrupted series of blunders made by the German party leaders in relation to Hitlerism in Germany, the theory of the American party leaders stands out in all the bolder stupidity—a striking revelation of the studied incompetency of the present-day leadership (save the mark) of the International.

Almost three years ago, with the outbreak of the crisis which was immedi-

ately followed by the futile conferences held by Hoover, the big industrialists and labor leaders, the Daily Worker suddenly announced that "the Communist Party and the most conscious sections of the working class—which more and more recognize the Communist party as their leader in all present-day struggles—accept the challenge of Hoover's National Fascist Council" (November 23, 1929). This in the leading editorial. And to make clear the extent to which the Stalinists considered that Fascism had already established its sway in this country, it was announced four days later, under the headline "Big Fascist Body Aimed at Workers—Act as Government", that "Out of the White House crisis conferences has grown a powerful Fascist organization. . . . Hoover and his cohorts find the usual 'democratic' machinery of the capitalist state inadequate to meet the onrush of the growing crisis and have created this new, more facile machine to take over the most important functions of the capitalist government at the present time. . . . The Fascist nature of the agrarian-imperialist-labor body makes it more useful to the capitalists than their existing state machinery" (November 30, 1929).

Fascism is the Government in U. S.!

If the English language has any meaning at all, the Daily Worker was seeking to convey to its readers the idea that the "ordinary democratic" state machinery of the bourgeoisie was no longer serviceable to it and that a Fascist council was now acting as the government.

Another few days later, a headline announced that "Congress Takes Back Seat For Fascist Council", and the article read: "Congress, which meets next week, will be merely an appendage to the new Fascist, capitalist grouping. Hoover will act as the executive of the Fascist economic council, and attempt very little through Congress in the present crisis" (December 2, 1929). "Organization is rapidly growing," boasted the Worker on December 5, "to meet the threatened drives of Hoover's Fascist state apparatus."

Plainer speech could not be asked for. A Fascist council had been organized in America. It was already the state apparatus. The "usual democratic" Congress was "merely an appendage to the new Fascist, capitalist grouping". Tri-umphant Italian Fascism has not achieved very much more than this in order to establish the dictatorship of the Black Shirts.

In England Too!

But not merely in the United States. With the boldness of conception and sweep that characterizes genius and insanity alike, the Daily Worker proceeded to overrun Great Britain as well with its brand of Fascism-turned-out-on-the-editorial-typewriter-while-you-wait. On December 5, 1929, a news story announced "the swift transformation of MacDonald's government into Fascism thinly disguised as a 'Council of State' to meet the economic emergency". The editorial writer on the first page of the same issue (about three years ago, remember! What foresight! What prophetic gifts!): "Following the example of its world-rival, the United States, the British capitalist class has begun organizing for an open Fascist dictatorship to replace the famous British 'democracy' . . . Ramsay MacDonald's and the 'Labor' Party's function is precisely to prepare the way for the open Fascist dictatorship in England."

But enough is enough. Even an ordinary doctor, not to speak of an intelligent Communist, knows that the stomach can stand just so much and no more. In November-December 1929, the American Stalinist crystal-gazers had hoisted Fascism into power in the United States and were swinging it into the same seat in England. Outstripping the wildest phantasmagorias of fear which possess the frightened soul of John Dewey, they saw the monster of Fascism (to say nothing of "social Fascism") in the United States, in England, in Abyssinia, in Iceland, everywhere, in short, except where it really was: Germany!

And Germany?

In Germany, where Fascism was on the march, where it was growing stronger by leaps and bounds, where it was unfolding into a hideous menace to the working class—the Stalinists at first denied it altogether, then they ignored it with a wave of the hand, then they proclaimed that it had reached the heights of its strength, then they entered into a vulgar competition-in-nationalism with it—to the present day, when they are still ignorant about how to crush it, after having allowed it to assume the proportions it has. Fascism was not a danger in Germany; no, only in the United States and England. Fascism was not the danger in Germany; no, only "social Fascism", the "specific form", according to the gifted Bela Kun at the 10th Plenum, which Fascism assumes in the highly developed industrial countries.

Isn't this little contrast a dazzling tribute to the wisdom, the foresight, the perspicacity, the discrimination, the infallibility of the present Stalinist leadership, nationally and internationally? A meteorologist who persistently predicted snowstorms in the Sahara Desert and hot spells at the North Pole, who announced squalls for a sunny Tuesday and sunshine for a rain-drenched Friday—has a place set aside for him as a member of the Political Bureau of the party. He will fit it like a glove. —S.

LEON TROTSKY WHAT NEXT? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat



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THE TURN IN THE C. I. AND THE SITUATION IN GERMANY is out of print and is available only in the BOUND VOLUMES of comrade TROTSKY's pamphlets.

Read carefully the resolution presented by the Left Opposition to the New York Conference Against War at the Labor Temple on August 8. It is printed on page 3 of this issue. The resolution contains Lenin's revolutionary views on the struggle against war. It is Lenin's language, in letter and spirit! It is the language of Bolshevism which every Communist and militant worker must agree with. Why did the Stalinist leaders force the 300 Party members, delegates to the New York Conference, to vote against it? Why were Lenin's views rejected by the bureaucrats in favor of a petty bourgeois pacifist resolution? Why was the "Christian pacifist" Barbusse hailed while Lenin was howled down?

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Left Opposition Alone Raises the Voice of Lenin at N. Y. Congress Against War

Stalinists Unite with Liberal Pacifists to Reject Resolution of League Delegation on Fight Against the War Danger

A conference composed of more than 200 Communist workers at which a resolution giving Lenin's views on how to combat imperialist war, is jeered at and voted down. A conference to discuss the war danger at which only a small handful of Opposition delegates, representing

an expelled faction of the Communist party, defends the standpoint of Bolshevism. A conference at which the representatives of official Communism take upon themselves a stubborn defense of pacifists, advertise them, praise them, and at the same time seek to gag the

voice of the revolutionary followers of Lenin. A conference which not only turns down a Lenin resolution, but gives a thunderous vote of endorsement to a resolution presented in the name of a committee of pacifists and petty bourgeois liberals.

That was the Conference on August 8 at the Labor Temple in New York called by the American Committee of the World Congress Against War organized by Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, H. G. Wells, Albert Einstein, Upton Sinclair, Theodore Dreiser, Maxim Gorky and others.

We intend to present here an extensive report on all the important phases of this conference, not only in order that the misleading and deliberately inadequate report in the official Communist party press may be rectified, but to enable the militant, class conscious workers to have a complete picture of the depths of opportunism to which the Stalinist bureaucracy has sunk in the crucial question of working class politics: the question of war.

The Petty Bourgeois Liberals Set the Tone

The conference, as the report of the credentials committee showed beyond argument was composed overwhelmingly of Communist workers and the closest sympathizers of Communism. The Committee at the door, the committee on the platform, the chairman of the conference, and its real managers, were all Communists, taking painful precautions to conceal their political identity. Yet, it was left to the outstanding liberal at the Conference to strike the keynote—pacifistic through and through.

With a repulsively unctuous parade of studied respectability—the polite introductions of "Mister So-and-so" and "Miss So-and-so"—Roger Baldwin, the director of the American Civil Liberties Union, was called on to open the Conference in the name of the absent Theodore Dreiser, in an introduction by a Communist secretary whose party press only yesterday catalogued the same Baldwin as a "social Fascist". Baldwin purchased immunity from a similar attack by per-

mitting the use of his name as a screen for the organizational manipulations of the Conference behind the scenes by the Stalinists. But for this, he received in return an infinitely greater concession from his opponents: the uncritical adoption by them of his pacifist program.

With Baldwin's speech, from one standpoint at least, there can be no quarrel. He adhered rigidly to the aims of the Congress as expounded by its initiators and directors, and repeated them faithfully. Need his speech be given here? It is better to present it in the form of a quotation from the Anti-War Congress call sent throughout the world from Paris:

"We make an appeal to all peoples, to all parties, to all men and women of good will. It is not a question of the interest of one nation, of one class, of one party. All are concerned. All are in danger... We do not have to make a plan of action in advance. That would mean hampering the liberty of those we are summoning, and it is they who in the Congress will freely present their different plans and finally try to come to a decision as to common action. What we want is to raise an immense wave of opinion against war whatever war it may be, wherever it may come from, whenever it may menace."

This call was signed not only by such social patriots as H. G. Wells and Upton Sinclair, who have the right to sign it because it really corresponds to their confused petty bourgeois pacifism, but by Sen Katayama, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, that is, by the real organizer of the whole enterprise!

Baldwin expressed his support for civil liberties and his opposition to war. He pledged the support of the Left wing intellectuals to a movement against war. He had no idea to present as to what the program of such a movement should be to deal effectively with the problem, nor could he be expected to have. He was in favor of revolutionists being in the movement. "The Communists must be in this movement," he said, "Not as a party, because no political parties are to participate." In this he was only partly correct; more accurately, he was correct up to forty-eight hours before he

spoke. For, as we shall see, the original plan to hide the face of the Communist party was changed and by a forced march the party sent its delegates at the last minute.

Baldwin delivered the speech of a sincere liberal opponent to war, to war in

general, to war as something beyond the realm of classes and the class struggle. But that is the limit of the criticism that may be leveled against him. He spoke according to his lights.

But Baldwin not only was allowed to (Continued on page 2)

The Hitlerites at the Gates!

Alarm Signal!

On the anniversary of the German republic, Hitler stretches out his hand for power. The bloodthirsty Storm-Troops of Fascism are mobbing outside of Berlin. The social democratic hero of the "Iron Front", Hindenburg, is negotiating directly with the Fascist chieftain concerning participation or leadership in the government. It is now no more a question of months and weeks; it is a question of days and hours. The blindest of the blind must now see the imminence of a Fascist coup d'Etat. Shall Hitler come to power without the most furious resistance of the proletarian masses? From the social democratic leadership, we expect nothing but the playing of the last act of treachery. But what is the Communist party doing? Dreadful, menacing, fatal silence! With Hitler on the threshold of power, we say openly to the working class:

If the Communist party allows Fascism to take the helm in Germany without organizing the broadest and most violent movement of mass resistance, it will have committed an act of betrayal which will brand it eternally in the history of the proletariat!

If the Communist party does not fight to the bitter end against the Fascist triumph, its betrayal will stand at the same abyssal depths as the social democratic treachery on August 4, 1914!

A terrible, historical responsibility rests upon the shoulders of Stalinism. It is being tried before the masses of the world. A greater responsibility rests upon the party members and Communist workers in general. Speak out, workers, speak out before it is too late! The knife of Fascism descends upon our throats! !

Fascism Must Not Take Power Without Armed Resistance

All dispatches confirm—the news of the Fascists' concentration of forces around Berlin. Hitler himself is right on the scene, but remains incognito. There are well-founded rumors of pressure from the Brown Shirt ranks for a march on the capital, for a coup d'Etat. Hitler is said to utilize the threat of this pressure in his bargaining for a "legal" seizure of power with the Junkers in control. Constitution Day also brings with it, ironically enough, the information that President Von Hindenburg is to offer Hitler the portfolio of Chancellor.

But most ironical of all is the proclamation of the new decree "against rioting." This decree provides for nothing more nor less than a counter-revolutionary tribunal. The chief provision in the establishment of the bloody tribunal which is to mete out capital punishment to "Whoever commits homicide on an assailant from political motives (that is, in the struggle with the Fascist assassins) or on a policeman or any person summoned to his aid (read: the Brown Shirt auxiliaries) is: "a special court which can refuse to take evidence for the defense." All of this is proclaimed in the name of Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution—the ingenious handiwork of Hilferding, Weis, Kautsky and Co.

The Governmental Manipulations of the Bourgeoisie

Hindenburg's offer of the Chancellorship to Hitler is accompanied by several "conditions":

- "1. The Constitution is to be respected.
- "2. The Fascist militia must not be employed as auxiliary police.
- "3. There must be no equality between the Fascist militia and the Reichswehr, or regular army.
- "4. There must be no party government relying on storm detachments for support."

The sham of these conditions is all too apparent. Hitler is to be asked to respect a constitution which the spokesman of the present government itself declares "does not unite but divides the nation." These are the words of Von Gayl's, the Minister of the Interior in the Von Papen cabinet, at the Reichstag celebration.

The "conditions" and the proposal of Von Hindenburg are the farce behind the scenes of which the Junkers are handing over the reins of power to the logical heir of a capitalism seized by the throes of social agony. The apparatus for the "legal" extermination of the workers' organizations has been rigged into shape. Only the finishing touches are still to be applied to the Nazi coup d'Etat. Whether this will be done with the official sanction of Hindenburg's Field Marshal or by a march on

Berlin is of secondary importance, Germany stands before the deluge.

Social Democracy—Personal Betrayal

Most wretched of all, clinging on as if to a last straw, is the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Driven from its Prussian government posts by a little band of 13 infantry soldiers, dispersed by Von Papen, who rules by the grace of the Hindenburg dictatorship, it nevertheless still stuck to its democratic popguns. It appealed to the Reich Supreme Court for a decision against Von Papen! The Supreme Court knew its class task and told the social democracy in so many words that it does not give a fig about the democratic forms. But the last defenders of bourgeois legality are not to be outdone. After dragging the German working class from debacle to debacle, from Weimar down to Von Schleicher, they now resort to a pure declaration of faith: "Hitler will perish, democracy is eternal!"

The social democracy is even today holding back the proletariat of Germany from establishing the united front of the class, from open and determined action against the murderer clutching at its throat. The social democratic funkies are scared for their own skins, they know that working class action will sweep them away with one blow and clear the road for the proletarian revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are ready to sell out the workers of Germany on a last and desperate speculation on saving their hides. They would still rather trust the bourgeoisie which is kicking them down with both feet than break the inaction of the working class.

Where is the C. P. G.?

Where is the German Communist Party, the revolutionary party of the proletariat? After a half-turn in the direction of the Leninist united front on June 20, when it proposed to the leadership of the Berlin district of the S. D. P. G. common action against the suppression of the social democratic Vorwaerts, after participating together with the socialist workers in demonstrations conducted by the S. P. D. G. fakery and in spite of them and their rejection of the Communist proposals—after reaping profit therefrom by an appreciable increase in the C. P. vote at the Reichstag elections of July 31, the Stalinist leadership of the German Communist Party has slunk back into its old, catastrophic error, content to rest upon its meager parliamentary laurels at a time when the class struggle is about to be decided on the arena of brutal, open combat. The latest reports reaching us from Germany bring the information that (Continued on page 4)

Monarchist Putsch in Spain

Militarist Coup in Seville and Madrid is Quickly Crushed

The military cabal headed by general Sanjurjo which sought to overthrow the republican regime in Spain and raise again the banner of the degenerate Bourbon dynasty, has been crushed by the governmental forces without great difficulty. In Seville itself, where the monarchists had concentrated about 6,000 troops, they were swept out of control within 24 hours. In Madrid, where a putsch was attempted by a smaller group, the monarchists received even shorter shrift. Their whole movement now appears to be thoroughly dissolved.

Significant in the whole affair is the prompt popular response to the monarchist challenge. The hatred accumulated in the breasts of the masses under the bloody regime of Alfonso, Primo de Rivera and the Jesuits, was given furious vent again on this occasion, just as last year when the threat of a monarchist plot in Madrid brought the whole city to its feet in militant reprisals which took the form of burning to the ground several of the ecclesiastical and lay centers of the black reaction. Immediately upon learning of Sanjurjo's attempt, a similar popular storm burst upon Madrid, Seville and other centers, with the people emphasizing their hostility to the reaction, which has been watered down systematically by the republican-socialist governmental coalition, by razing numerous monarchist and militarist clubs and centers, destroying their press and demonstrating in every spontaneous form a relentless opposition to the return of the dynasty and all the things associated with it.

That the monarchists should choose the present day—scarcely more than a year after the proclamation of the republic—for an attempted comeback, is itself a reflection on the present regime, which, the leaders of the uprising hoped, had created sufficient discontentment with itself among the masses to make possible a monarchist victory. The discontentment of the masses is indubitable, only the militarists gauged its temper incorrectly. The opposition to them has not been altered in the minds of the mass.

The government of Azana, supported by the socialists, has remorselessly robbed the masses of every achievement that was looked forward to when the republic was proclaimed. Not one of the problems confronting the country has since been solved satisfactorily. The land-hungry peasantry, still groaning under the exploitation of the large landowners, the agricultural laborers whose lives are a monotonous permanency of misery, have not received an iota of assistance from the Madrid government. The sole "advance" written into the statutes for the workers, the eight-hour day, remains a dead letter; for the suffering masses of the unemployed it is a cruel mockery. The expectations of the Catalonians have been traduced, and they are as far away from independence as they ever were. The civil rights promised the people have been ruthlessly torn from them by the law for the "Defense of the Republic", which contains Draconic measures of suppression and despotism directed exclusively at the working people. Strike movements have been suppressed with Bourbon cynicism.

In all this, the working class and peasantry has groped blindly for a way out, deprived of leadership. The socialists have betrayed them into the hands of the bourgeois republicans. The anarcho-syndicalists, themselves leaderless and utopian, have only brought confusion into the ranks. The official Communist party has made a terrible debacle since the beginning of the revolutionary events in Spain. That is why the recent proletarian rising in Alto Lobregat, instead of becoming a new point of departure for progress, marked a high point in

producing a wave of depression among the masses.

The emergence of the monarchist pestilence may have the effect of re-invigorating the proletarian movement, and thus offer increased opportunities for the Communist movement. It is notable that in Seville the aroused populace released the imprisoned Communists and syndicalists from jail and bore them on their shoulders. A Leninist—not a Stalinist course—could make this symbolic gesture a national revolutionary reality in the not distant future.

Lessons of the Bonus March

With their dispersal following their forceful eviction from Johnstown, the worker-vets have rung down the curtain on the first act of the fight for the bonus. It is the close of the first act but it is not the final scene. The fight they put up against the iron fist of "democracy" was too dramatic, too fraught with forebodings of the treatment the capitalist class holds in store for its wage slaves for the working class to forget it.

Under the remorseless pressure of the steadily deepening crisis, goaded to action by the cynical indifference of "their" government to their misery, and still permeated by illusions about the institutions of democracy, the vets spontaneously marched on Washington from all parts of the country to demand their "back wages". The outstanding aspect of that march was its spontaneity. It was not prepared for. It was not organized in advance. In this sense it may be said that the vets were thrown up by the flux of the class struggle.

Waters Leadership

During the six weeks they were encamped in Washington they tolerated the leadership of the Oregon cannery ex-superintendent who watched their fight with the police and their heroic resistance to the military from the side lines. This individual organized a military police which beat up the Reds, and worked with the secret service men to terrorize and intimidate the men. He conferred regularly with chief of police, Glassford and together with him arranged for the segregation of the vets who followed the leadership of the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League.

Under Waters' leadership the fight assumed a narrow character, limiting itself to a demand for relief without any class content or class issues. No attempt was made by the vets to link up their fight with the broader fight for class relief led by the Communists. By this policy the vets were condemned to fight an isolated struggle without the active support of the masses of the working class who watched their fight with the greatest interest.

By all this the vets gave abundant evidence of their lack of class consciousness. Perhaps this was to be expected. The average age of the vets was somewhere between thirty-five and forty. They had come through the years of "prosperity" with profound illusions about the "difference" of American capitalism from the old world imperialism. They were deeply impregnated with the democratic nature of "our republic". The tactics of the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League in denouncing everybody not a faithful follower of the one true Bolshevik, Stalin, alienated them from the masses of the vets and made their isolated demonstrations easy for the police to break up. They failed in their elementary Communist duty of raising the class consciousness of the vets. For this (Continued on page 4)

Trotsky Elected to Anti-War Meet

On June 27, 1932, the Fourth National Congress of the League of War Invalids and Victims of Greece met in Athens. Fifty-seven delegates from all parts of the country participated in the deliberations. The years of existence of this militant organization have been filled with heroic struggles against the bourgeoisie and militarism, and the report rendered the delegates by the National Committee was not only accepted but the complete confidence of the membership was expressed in the leadership it had presented. The National Committee of the League is composed entirely of mem-

bers of the Greek Left Opposition, Bolshevik-Leninists (Archie-Marxists), and it was unanimously re-elected at the end of the sessions. The Congress decided to send delegates to take part in the international "Congress Against War" organized under the names of Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland. As an indication of the sentiments of the former soldiers of the Greek bourgeoisie, the Congress elected as its first delegate the leader of international Bolshevism, comrade Leon Trotsky!

Mass Meeting

THE COMMUNISTS AND THE WORLD ANTI-WAR CONGRESS

LENINISM VS. PACIFISM

- HOW SHOULD THE COMMUNISTS FIGHT AGAINST WAR?
- WHAT RELATIONS HAS STALINISM WITH PACIFISM?
- HOW SHALL WORKERS DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION?

Hear the Opposition Delegates to the New York Anti-War Conference Deliver the Speeches Suppressed by the Bureaucrats

JAMES P. CANNON MAX SHACHTMAN
HUGO OEHLER, Chairman
on WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1932, at 8 P. M.
at STUYVESANT CAFE, 2nd Avenue and 9th Street
Admission 10 Cents

Auspices: N. Y. Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

Report of the New York Anti-War Conference

(Continued from page 1)
set the official tone of the conference by his speech, but it was enthusiastically applauded by the assembled Communist workers disoriented and intellectually demoralized by their leaders who, all during the conference, did not utter a single word of criticism of the speech, did not make a single reservation, did not indicate in any way that the Communists would not identify themselves with the point of petty bourgeois pacifism. It is at them, that the criticism should be directed!

Left Opposition Makes Itself Heard

If the party spokesmen maintained an oyster's silence on the role of pacifism at the conference, they made amends by their vociferous attacks upon the Left Opposition. It is no exaggeration to say that the real center of attention at the Conference was the Left Opposition and the standpoint it presented.

All the preliminary arrangements went off smoothly, in accordance with the previous decisions of the party. As an innovation in the party's "united front" conferences, the chairman and committees were not appointed this time, but formally at least elected from the floor. Let nobody be deceived about this change of heart. It was not dictated by any concern with elementary principles of workers' democracy, but rather as a concession to the "prejudices on fairness" entertained by the liberal partners of the party in the movement. What constant protests from Left Opposition delegates and other non-Stalinist forces at similar conferences failed to gain from the party bureaucracy, the petty bourgeois pacifists and men of letters were able to gain with little difficulty, if only as a formality without real meaning! There was only one slight slip-up in the party's plans: the selection of the credentials committee. One non-Stalinist delegate, I. Dryar, who represented a branch of the International Workers' Order, was elected on the committee as the fourth member in addition to the three already chosen for the posts in advance. Their report will come up later on.

The delegates of the Communist League of America (Opposition) were comrades James P. Cannon, Hugo Oehler and Max Shachtman. Despite the presence at the door of the Argus-eyed Ludwig Landy, the professional Stalinist manager of such projects, the Opposition delegates were permitted to enter the hall without being challenged. As other delegates came in, they invariably had in their hand either a copy of the *Militant*, or a mimeographed copy of the resolution we had prepared in advance for submission to the Conference, or both. To prevent in advance the complete suppression of our point of view, we had made adequate arrangements for the distribution in the lobby of our resolution so that, in any case, the bulk of the delegates would at least have a written memorandum of the standpoint of the Opposition.

In contrast to our resolution, printed elsewhere in this issue, the chairman, Jackson, a party member in the Marine Workers' Industrial Union, presented a resolution in the name of the American Committee. A more wretched piece of hollow pacifist literature could hardly have been read by a Communist without gagging. The tone set by the liberal "keynote" was to be consecrated in the form of a resolution, undoubtedly drawn up by the party fraction in the American Committee for the purpose of satisfying the totally disparate elements collected as the directors of the struggle against war, ranging from Harry Elmer Barnes and Upton Sinclair to . . . Moissaye J. Olgin, and presented by a Communist chairman for adoption by a Communist audience.

The resolution, which we challenge the party press to reprint as it was read at the Conference, endorsed the whole enterprise without reserve, endorsed the call sent out by Romain Rolland. In other words, the chairman called upon the Communist workers present to endorse a call which declares that war is not a "question of interest of one nation, of one class". To endorse a movement to "raise an immense wave of opinion against war, whatever war it may be, wherever it may come from, whomever it may menace", that is, to oppose a war—if the words have any meaning at all—of the working class against the bourgeoisie, to oppose a war of national liberation of an oppressed colonial people against an automatic imperialist oppressor, to oppose a revolutionary war of a victorious proletariat against a bourgeois enemy—to oppose all those wars which Lenin tried to teach the exploited of the earth to carry on unrelentingly.

By this resolution, the Communist workers were to commit themselves, for example, against the idea symbolized by the war of the Russian workers and peasants against their bourgeoisie in 1917-1918, the war of the Chinese people against the imperialists in 1925-1927 or their war against Japan in Manchuria today, against the war conducted by the Soviets against Pilsudsky's Poland in 1920 or against the Menshevik agency of imperialism in Georgia more than a decade ago, concerning this reactionary document, the Communist stage-managers of the Conference had only words of praise. They sewed their condemnations for something else.

No sooner had the chairman announced that there would now be discussion from the delegates, than comrade Shachtman of the C. L. O. (O.) delegation, jumped up to request the floor to read a substitute resolution. Taken aback, the chairman replied that there would be "adequate

opportunity for everybody" to speak! If the names of the speakers and their organizations would be sent up to the platform on slips of paper. We have never had any illusions about this procedure. It is employed for the purpose of enabling the chairman to make an arbitrary selection of speakers, for the audience is left in the dark as to who has asked for the floor until the chairman announces his name and place. However, immediately upon this announcement, a slip of paper was speeded to the platform in so ostentatious a manner that the whole audience could see that we had been the first to make the request. After a hurried consultation on the platform with the Central Committee promoter in charge of the party arrangements for the party, Joseph Brodsky, the chairman gave the floor to Shachtman.

By a snap vote, it had already been decided that on the burning question of war, the speakers from the floor would be limited to five minutes each. In view of the delays in getting started, this left less than an hour for discussion on the most important Conference question: the resolution of opinion and policy. Comrade Shachtman was therefore able only to read our resolution. It was heard in an intense silence throughout the hall and when, at the end of the first five minutes, a few zealots began shouting that his time was up, the chairman, with half an eye to his liberal partners, announced that the speaker would be permitted to finish his reading.

The Opposition's resolution is printed on the third page. Let every worker read it and see for himself if it isn't almost a word for word transcription in condensed form of all that Bolshevism has taught on the question of the war struggle, which every Communist worker should be duty-bound to support.

But instead of fulfilling their revolutionary responsibility of mobilizing the Communists in support of such a resolution as against the pacifist resolution, of supporting Lenin as against Barbusse and Sinclair, the party spokesmen at the conference did two significant things

The Stalinists Reply to Us

First, they felt compelled, for the first time in years at such conferences attended by them and the Opposition, to discuss the two points of view: the Stalinist and the Leninist. At previous conferences, where comparatively secondary questions of dispute were involved, they felt their mechanical strength to be sufficient to settle the question in the usual manner, i. e., by merely ignoring our standpoint or by shouting us down with infamous slanders or by ridding themselves of the problem by expelling us forthwith. At this conference, where a fundamental question of principle was involved, where the party leaders had worked themselves into a position where they had to defend pacifism as against Bolshevism, the mechanical majority apparently did not suffice and the principle objections to the party line had to be met, at least to outward appearances, by an open discussion of the merits of the respective standpoints. In this lies the greatest victory for the revolutionists: the fact that for the first time on any extensive and public scale, in the presence of hundreds of Communist workers, the views of the Opposition were presented in head-on collision with the views of Centrism with the latter compelled to defend themselves from the criticisms of the Left wing.

Second, in defending themselves, the Stalinists not only made an elaborate apology for pacifism and pacifists, but a demagogic attack upon Leninism. This was the only significance of the speech delivered by Olgin.

As soon as Shachtman concluded the reading of our resolution, the chairman introduced Moissaye J. Olgin for the job of replying to the Opposition was highly characteristic. The only thing for which Olgin is "well-known" to any degree in connection with war and the defense of the Soviet Union, is his ardent support during the last world war of Wilson and his Fourteen Points, and, after the Russian revolution, his faithful services as a scribbler on the yellow Jewish *Daily Forward*, where he tried to convince the readers that Lenin and Trotsky were not only German spies but that they were strangling the Russian democracy in the blood of the people. But if Upton Sinclair, another hero of the "war to end all wars", and H. G. Wells, who played a similar role, are fit to lead a movement now against the danger of imperialist war, there is no reason why Olgin should be excluded. Only, one should retain at least a slight sense of proportion and values. Of all the people available in the party to "fight" imperialist war and defend the Soviet Union in the course of a vicious attack upon the spokesmen at the Conference for Lenin's standpoint the selection of the man with the least rights of anyone to speak on the question, was a

Because of the importance of the "Congress Against War", this issue of the *Militant* is being devoted largely to the New York Conference and other aspects of this movement. Consequently, we have been compelled to omit a number of other articles and other material which was intended for publication in this week, including the next article in the series on "Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition". We ask the indulgence of our readers for a week, since the next issue of the *Militant* will publish the important articles we have been forced to hold over.

little too much. Discretion alone should have dictated another choice.

Olgin feebly and half-heartedly mumbled a repetition of the vulgar drivel with which the *Daily Worker* of that morning had greeted the conference—tenderness for the pacifists and calumny and rudeness for the Opposition—sought in vain to put some "revolutionary spirit" into his remarks against the "Trotskyists". At the same time, he introduced a new idea into Communist politics: the substitution of moral standards for political and class criteria. "Men like Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland are at least sincere in their opposition to war. They will defend the Soviet Union. The 'radical' phrases of this Trotskyist resolution," he continued, "criticize the Communists for uniting with Barbusse and Rolland. And what do they propose in their place? That the Communist International shall make a united front with the Second International and the Amsterdam International! They propose," cried this maestro of irony and revolutionary intransigence, "that we shall unite with Norman Thomas and Morris Hillquit to defend the Soviet Union!" The indignant sarcasm almost robs us of reply. However that may be, the fact remains that we never sat down with Hillquit and Abe Cahan to attack the Soviet Union, whereas Olgin did. His conversion to irreconcilability towards Hillquit is very gratifying, but it lacks the humility of the neophyte that should accompany it.

In any case, the manner in which Olgin posed the question is both ludicrous and unworthy of a revolutionist. The problem of fighting war and defending the Soviet Union is not exhausted or even approached by moral considerations. Sincerity and honesty of this or that individual is a great virtue, but it is not decisive in politics. The defense of the Soviet Union is a political question which is decided by the process of the class struggle. Not Barbusse's sincerity or Sinclair's repentance is of great consequence, but the masses. Barbusse, Rolland, Einstein, Alla Nazimova, and even Michael Gold, do not have nor will they ever have the masses following them.

The masses, that is, the majority of them, still follow the social democrats. Without the support of these masses, the struggle against war and for Russia will, at best, limp along on one foot. The problem is to mobilize these masses. But this can not be done by a Venetian carnival where the Communists hide behind "respectable" petty bourgeois masks. It can only be done by a correct policy, the policy of the united front as adopted by the Comintern under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

Olgin's Irony—at the Expense of Lenin

Olgin was followed several speakers later by his fellow party delegate, Dr. A. Markoff, who has been equally successful in the professions of dental surgery and Stalinist officialdom. Both of them worked up considerable merriment in the audience with their principal observation on our resolution: "Just look," they jeered, "in one sentence they call the social democrats traitors and social patriots. And in the very next sentence they propose that we should make a united front with these same traitors and patriots to fight against the war danger!" The fact that the scores of party members present joined in the laughter, is a deplorable, but quite comprehensible, commentary on the low level of understanding to which their leaders have driven them. We shall be unrelenting in our endeavors to change that situation.

But Olgin and Markoff, who have the responsibilities of the leadership, even if it was obtained by dismembering themselves, who know that our resolution, far from being a subject for mockery among Communists, is merely a simple statement of established Bolshevik ideas, displayed a demagogic scoundrelism which is unforgivable. Their labored irony was exclusively at the expense of Lenin. More, it was at the expense of the revolutionary training indispensable to the workers present. Were the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" the "danger" at the Conference, or was the danger constituted by the stifling pacifist vapors which rose to drug the senses of the workers? Obviously, the latter, for the pacifists are the outstanding leaders of the movement, it is their resolutions which are presented . . . and adopted with Stalinist assistance. The duty of a Communist leader was to center his criticism on the pacifists and not on Lenin.

In deriding our resolution, the Stalinists not only took up the cudgels for pacifism, but brought out the graveyard of the Communist International those sorry remnants of sham radicalism against which Lenin and Trotsky fought such a terrific battle at the Third Congress of the Communist International, and in the event of whose victory at the Congress, Lenin said, the International in February 1922, on the question of the conference of the three Internationals proposed by the Vienna (Two-and-a-Half) International, the "ultra-Leftist" opposition was represented by the Spanish, French and Italian delegations. In their name, Cachen, the progenitor of Olgin and Co., moved:

"The enlarged Executive, after discussing the invitation addressed to the Communist International by the Vienna International for the participation in a common conference of the Second, Two-and-a-Half, and Amsterdam Internationals, decides not to accept." And after this motion was defeated, the 1922 Olgin and Manulsky's declared: "It

seems to us that the reformists of all countries are putting more and more with the working class and that they follow a policy contrary to the daily defense and welfare of the proletariat. We do not doubt that they will be, under any conditions, the adversaries and saboteurs of the real united front of the working masses."

Like Olgin at the Conference, and like his masters in the Politbureau, they could not understand how the Comintern could denounce the reformists as traitors and at the same time join in a united front "from the top" (Horror of horrors!) with the same traitors. They could not understand it, because they simply neglected to notice that the reformists had millions of workers behind them, just as they have today—the social democratic parties, and not the Sinclairs and Barbusse and Wells!

Lenin's Comintern in 1922

What was the Comintern resolution adopted against the standpoint of Cachen? What was its attitude towards the International headed by such proven traitors and social patriots as Vandervelde, Henderson, Wells and Co.? It declared:

"The Enlarged Executive of the C. I., taking note of the proposition of the Vienna International declares for the participation of the parties of the Communist International in the projected Conference. The Enlarged Executive of the Communist International also proposes the participation in the Conference of all the industrial federations and associations, both national and international; of the Red International of Labor Unions; of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam International); of the C. G. T. U. of France; of the Italian Syndicalist Union; of the American Federation of Labor (even Gompers you see!) and of other autonomous industrial associations. The Communist International also considers it necessary to invite the principal anarcho-syndicalist organizations; the I. W. W., the Shop Stewards, etc. . . . The Communist International accepts the agenda of the Conference as proposed by the Vienna International, viz., a defensive fight against the capitalist offensive and a struggle against reaction, as an addition it proposes to complete the agenda with the following items:

"1. Preparations of the fight against new imperialist wars.

"2. Relief action for the reconstruction of the economic life of Soviet Russia." Etc., etc., to the permanent discomfiture of all past, present and future Cachen and Olgin!

We can still hear, ten years after wards, the echo of the words of a Markoff of those days: "How? You denounce Vandervelde as Belgian imperialist-war minister, Henderson as His Majesty's war minister, Wells and Scheide-mann as the Kaiser's war ministers, the Georgian Mensheviks as the armed counter-revolutionary agents of Allied imperialism—and yet you propose to sit around one table with them to discuss as point 1 on the Agenda 'Preparations of the fight against new imperialist wars'! Down with the Executive Committee of the Communist International! Down with Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev and all the other Trotskyist renegades! How! then down, workers of the world!"

And yet, on April 2, 1922, comrades Radek, Bucharin, Zetkin, Rosmer, Katayama, Vuyovich and the rest of the delegation of the Communist International literally sat down in Berlin with such confirmed and tested social patriots as Hlysmans, Vandervelde, Stauning, Otto Wels, Ramsay MacDonald, Tseretelli (the Georgian Menshevik, whose party had shot down scores and hundreds of revolutionary workers and peasants of Georgia), for the Second International, and Crispin Longuet, Martov, Abramovitch, Adler and Baner of the Two-and-a-Half International to discuss a united front against war and the capitalist offensive. Isn't it strange, Dr. A. Markoff, D. D. S.?

And do you know, Messrs Olgin, Browder and Markoff, what Mr. Emile Vandervelde said at the Conference to the Communists? "Whilst we are being told, for example, that men like Jouhaux, Merheim, and Henderson, Vandervelde or Longuet are serving the interests of the bourgeoisie, it is, to say the least of it, strange that these same men should be invited to take part in the defense of proletarian interests." Now, Citizen Olgin, do you see who is the originator of this argument? Is such flagrant plagiarism from a social democrat, a social-Fascist, so to speak, permissible for a "leader in the struggle against war"? And further do you know what reply Vandervelde and Conferees received from the Communist representative? Radek declared:

"But then you say: 'If this is so, what do you want of this Conference, what tactical maneuvers are you after?' And I will tell you boldly and clearly to your face what you want. You came to this Conference because you had to; you were the instruments of world reaction, and now, whether you want it or not, you must be the instruments of the struggle for the interests of the proletariat. And without confidence we say to you: we sit down at the same table with you, we will fight with you, and this fight will decide whether it is a maneuver, as you say, in favor of the Communist International or a stream which will unite the working class. What you do will decide the meaning of our action. If you fight with us and with the proletariat of all lands—not fight for dictatorship, we do not expect so much, but fight for a crust of bread, fight against

further world ruin—then in this struggle the proletariat will come closer together, and then we shall judge you not on the ground of this terrible past, but on the ground of fresh facts. So long as these are not present, we go with cold hearts into these negotiations, and into this common action with deep mistrust that you may fail us ten times in this battle. But we will try to fight together, not for love of you, but because of the unprecedented need of the hour which drives us and compels you to confer in this hall with the very Communists you have treated as criminals." (Conference Minutes, pp. 32-33.)

Our readers will pardon our extensive quotations from the past. The Stalinist marauders have brought such de-education to the movement, they have so violently obliterated the past, the Leninist past, that the very foundations of our movement have become obscured and remain unknown to the new generation of Communist workers. The marauders compel us each time to dig up A B C truths out of the past, to elucidate them with painfully elaborate simplicity, not merely for the prematurely senile bureaucrats but primarily for the new Communist forces whom they are so cruelly miseducating.

In any case, the quotations we have cited—a few out of thousands—are enough to show that when Olgin and Markoff played upon the emotions and ignorance of the workers present, when they sought to whip up a mob spirit against the Left Opposition, they were actually jeering at—Lenin!

Cheer Confusionists -Gag Oppositionists

Olgin and Markoff were not the only speakers, although they spoke officially in the name of the Communist party. The floor was also given freely to various other representatives. The terrible confusion existing among party members who spoke on this fundamental question of the struggle against war, could only leave a saddening impression upon Communists acquainted with the elements of Marxism. Few indeed spoke on the question from the standpoint of the class struggle and revolutionary policy. One was opposed to the war because a relative was killed in the last war. Another, an engineer who had been to the Soviet Union, and who continued to emphasize that he represented nobody but himself (and isn't that the case with the rest of the respectable window-dressing behind which the Stalinists are practising their opportunistic policy?) delivered a speech which was a disgrace, not so much to himself, but to the conference of Communist workers who cheered him. One of his relatives, too, had been wounded in a war and he demanded (and how militantly!) that we shall no longer petition our governments against war, but demand that they do not unleash the dogs of war. Is the distinction plain to you? Furthermore, proposed this ingenious representative-of-nobody-but-himself, this movement should carry on a campaign to enlighten the "soldiers, the police, the government spies" (we quote literally) to "humanitarian ideas against war." He was thickly applauded, but not one party member in his speech had a word to say about his standpoint—they were too occupied with defending the pacifists against the Left Opposition.

Another speaker was Roth, a member of the Socialist party from Ithaca, New York. The discovery of this or that isolated socialist worker who supports the Soviet Union, and his decorative presentation by the Communist party at its "united front" conferences, is the substitute which Stalinism offers today in place of winning the masses of reformist workers in a genuine united front. Roth's speech was also widely applauded and exempted from a word of comradely criticism by the party speakers. After having heard the sharp Communist criticism we made of the social democracy in our resolution, not only consonant with participation in a united front but quintessential, this Socialist declared: "I am glad to see that the fratricidal war in the Left wing movement of labor is confined to a few factions in the Communist and Socialist movements." By "fratricidal war," he evidently meant our revolutionary criticism. His gratification, too, was justified. He met with no such revolutionary criticism from the Stalinists; nor did the pacifists who have been imposed upon the "Anti-War Congress" as its leadership.

But if every well-intentioned muddle-head could get both the floor and acclamation of the Stalinists, a different attitude was adopted towards the delegation of the Left Opposition. Towards the end of the meeting, Brodsky, who manipulated the conference of the party with the skill and cynicism common to the legal profession, suddenly made a motion to bring the discussion to a close. Why? Because comrade Cannon had sent up his name to the chairman to speak in defense of our resolution which Stalinist speakers had been given extended time to attack and misrepresent, immediately, comrade Cannon rose, as did other delegates in various parts of the hall, to demand if he would be given the right to make a concluding defense of the resolution before the house. The hall was in an organized tumult. Stalinist "plants" sought to shout down comrade Cannon's request for a point of information from the chair as to the procedure on the resolution. Without paying the slightest bit of attention to his insistent calls to the chairman, the latter kept pounding the table with his gavel, admonishing all to sit down and remain silent.

The elementary right of a delegation

to speak at least once, not to mention a summary, on a resolution accepted by the chair for a vote by an assemblage, was simply and literally ignored. The Stalinists were determined that the Left Opposition should not get the floor again to present its point of view, which had already caused so much embarrassment in their ranks. While comrade Cannon was still on the floor attempting to get a response from the chairman, the latter put the pacifist resolution to a vote. It was overwhelmingly adopted, with negative votes from less than ten percent of the delegates, and the chairman tried to proceed to the next order of business without putting our resolution to a vote, apparently under the impression that this was a party membership meeting. Voices of protest again were raised throughout the hall, and the steering committee decided to put our resolution forward. It received a small minority of the body, a voice vote which included over twenty delegates.

Thus the Conference, which gagged the Opposition speaker and cheered the pacifists, voted overwhelmingly for Barbusse and howled down the words of Lenin!

The gagging of the Opposition on the floor came only after an unsuccessful attempt to unseat the Opposition delegation. When the credentials committee met, Ludwig Landy, not a committee member, pointed to our credentials and observed: "That's from the Trotskyists. Unseat them!" Dryar, a committee member, turned upon him and demanded: "Are you a committee member? If not, we don't take any instructions from you!" Nevertheless, the proposal to unseat us was made in the Committee, and were it not for the resistance of Dryar and his promise to the Stalinist members that he would bring the matter to the floor and fight to have us seated, their proposal for exclusion would undoubtedly have been reported. As it was, the report was brought in to "seat all delegates" and before you could say "Jack Robinson!" the report was declared accepted and the chairman hurried on to the next order of business.

What they did not succeed in doing with us, they succeeded in doing with the delegate from the Weisbord group who presented his credentials at the door while the conference was in session. Upon his protests, the doors were immediately closed at the rear of the hall, a scuffle took place and he was barred—without any of our delegation inside the hall knowing what had happened until after the conference. In the course of the scuffle, when members of our League had come to the assistance of the excluded comrade who was being attacked by Stalinists, the police were called to "preserve order." They remained thereafter at the credentials table near the entrance, supervising the newcomers to see that they conformed with the "requirements" established by the Committee! Their supervision was undoubtedly of great assistance in preserving the level of the conference at the point of untroubled peace so desirable to its organizers.

All doors open to petty bourgeois pacifists! Suppression of the Marxists! Cheers and applause for the liberals, the "honest," the "reliable" friends of Russia, the people who are, at best, weak reeds to lean on and, at worst, treacherous allies! Boos and hisses for the revolutionary Communists! This is the balance-sheet of the party's policy at the New York Conference.

London in 1915 and New York in 1932

There is a striking analogy with our position contained in what happened at the obscure "London Conference" of February 14, 1915, called by the Allied social patriots and Centrists, to which Lenin's Central Committee sent as its representative, Maximovich (Litvinov), to present the Bolshevik standpoint on war. His report is included in Lenin's article of March 3, 1915, "On the London Conference". Here is a brief, instructive quotation:

"I take the floor and protest against the official representative of our party not having been invited to the International Socialist Bureau. The chairman, interrupts me and contends that all those 'whose names are known' have been invited. I protest a second time against the failure to report on the actual representatives. Thereupon I refer to our manifesto which expresses our standpoint towards the war and which was sent to the I. S. B. Before we can speak of peace terms, we should establish with what means we shall strive for them and towards that end it must be established if a general revolutionary social democratic basis exists, if we are conferring as chauvinists, pacifists or as social democrats. I read our declaration, but the chairman does not let me conclude and declares that it is not yet made clear (!) if I am a delegate and that they have come together 'not for the purpose of criticising the various parties' (!) . . . I . . . seek to continue the declaration in order to establish if I may remain. The chairman interrupts me and does not permit me to put 'conditions' to the conference." Etc., etc., in almost stupefying similarity to the New York Conference at which the Bolshevik delegates were also denied the right to present their standpoint in contrast to that of petty bourgeois liberalism.

Lenin's views on the question of war finally managed to make their way through the working class world despite the gavel of a whole race of "chairmen" who "interrupted". Our views, which we learned from Lenin, which we

(Continued on page 3)

A Letter to Roger Baldwin

On Stalinist-Pacifist Relations at the Anti-War Conference

August 9, 1932.

Mr. Roger Baldwin, Director
American Civil Liberties Union
New York City

My dear Baldwin:

You left the anti-war conference at the Labor Temple last night after your opening speech as the representative of the "American Committee for the World Congress against War." Allow me to inform you of what transpired after your departure and to put some questions to you.

Two resolutions were presented for consideration—the official (pacifist) resolution presented in the name of your committee, and a different resolution, outlining the Leninist program for the fight against war, presented by the delegation of the Communist Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists).

The floor was then given to a number of speakers who defended the official resolution and attacked the resolution of the Left Opposition. Pacifists, "Left" Socialists, official Communists and others spoke. The leader of the attack on the Leninist resolution, appropriately enough, was Olgin; the same Olgin whom you will remember as the ardent patriot who attacked the Lenin program in 1917-18 from the standpoint of Wilson's "14 points." Our request for the floor to defend our resolution and answer the attacks made against it was refused by the chairman.

Was it a pre-arranged plan on your part to leave the meeting and thus give tacit support to the steam-rolling of the Bolshevik-Leninists, or did you have other engagements, more important and more pressing at the moment, than the question of the fight against war and the principle of free speech in a movement under your leadership?

I am inclined to the first assumption. And, from a political point of view, your indirect support of the suppression of the Left Opposition at the conference is quite comprehensible. You, and the tendency you represent—pacifism—were undoubtedly the victors at the conference. In the united front between the Stalinists and the pacifists in the anti-war movement the Stalinists have yielded the principle positions all along the line, from Paris to New York. The program, the character of the preparatory propaganda and the leadership are pacifist. In return for these concessions you allow the Stalinists to manipulate the movement organizationally and to suppress the voice of the Left Opposition which they fear more than anything else. That is what your united front looks like to us.

It must be admitted, again from a political point of view, that you and your fellow-thinkers have made an excellent bargain. We cannot condemn it on those grounds, for we have never put the question of free speech and democracy as the fundamental question. We have stated more than once that we could reconcile ourselves even to bureaucracy if it could be demonstrated that it serves a revolutionary end. It is precisely because the Stalinist bureaucracy works in an opposite direction, because it serves as a blind instrument of reaction, that we oppose it so intransigently.

But some clarification is needed as to your position. Hitherto you have defended free speech as a principle, even to the extent of demanding it for the Mensheviks in Russia and the Ku Klux Klan in America. That was your right, of course. But if you have modified your standpoint; if you have decided to sacrifice the principle of free speech where we are concerned in a movement under the direction of your national committee in return for the truly enormous concessions in principle made by the

Stalinists, then you ought to make a frank public explanation of your change of position and the reason for it.

Frankness and clarity are of special importance in every aspect of the struggle against war which incorporates at the present moment all the interests of the U. S. S. R. and the world proletariat. In the struggle against war nothing is more dangerous and disarming than ambiguity and deception. Let the position of every group be made clear in every respect! The faction to which I belong—the Bolshevik-Leninist faction—devotes itself especially to this work of clarification, not only of its own position but also of others.

In putting these questions to you I trust you will understand that they are meant invidiously in a personal sense. I do not doubt the sincerity of your intentions in the anti-war movement. It is your program that we oppose. It is the ambiguity as to your attitude toward the right of the Left Opposition

to participate and defend its viewpoint in the conferences organized under the auspices of your national committee that we seek to clear up.

The Left Opposition is not against the participation of sincere pacifists in the anti-war conferences. It is against the pacifist program and the pacifist leadership, aided by the treacherous sanction of the Stalinist bureaucrats. To that we will always counterpose the Lenin program and the revolutionary leadership. This aim motivated our appearance at the conference last night and our request from the floor there. It will be the same in the future.

The specific question to which we desire an answer now stands: Do you and the "American Committee for the World Congress against War" of which you are a prominent member, recognize our right to participate in the conferences and meetings under its direction and to defend our views there, or have you come to a tacit agreement with the Stalinists to exclude us? We will find the way to popularize the Lenin program in any case. We ask no favors. The sole object of this inquiry is clarification of your position.

Yours,
JAMES P. CANNON.

The New York Anti-War Conference

(Continued from page 2)

accepted because they were tested in the very crucible of war and revolution, will also make their way. Of that we have always been confident, and our convictions were strengthened manifold by the feeble, cowardly, apologetic defense the Stalinists made against our criticisms at the Labor Temple.

The Conference, we said, centered upon our standpoint, much to the chagrin of the Stalinists. They had originally planned the whole affair as an elaborate masquerade, a repetition of the catastrophic experiments with the Anglo-Russian Committee and the Anti-Imperialist League. Instead of a revolutionary presentation of the Communist position, as an absolute pre-requisite for a united front with the non-Communist masses, the party planned a "respectable" movement for which the liberals would furnish the window-dressing, thereby presumably enabling the party to win the masses—without the masses knowing a thing about it! Listen to how the party-controlled New Masses of this August, with the distinguished Olgin on its editorial board, speaks thus of the movement: there must be built "a realistic, uncompromising, American, peace, movement, cooperating actively with the same and determined forces of peace in other countries to the end that the war-makers may be exposed and checked on every front." "Sane and determined forces of peace"—how smoothly these Stalinized dilettantes slip back into the language of "sane" liberalism, of the Nation and the New Republic!

In harmony with this dazzling plan to present pacifism as revolutionary, while revolutionaries are dressed up into pacifists, the party had decided not to send official delegates to the anti-war conference, apparently under the impression that this would somehow prove that the conference was nothing if not respectable. We are able to state here confidently and on incontrovertible authority that this was the original plan of the party strategists. They decided only at the very last minute to change this plan—only after the appearance of last week's Militant, where we exposed this cowardly piece of opportunism and announced that we would go to the Conference to present our point of view. Not even Baldwin, apparently, was tipped off to the change in the party's plans, because he referred in his speech to the fact that "of course" the Communist party would not participate officially.

Further indications that this was the original plan is seen in the fact that officially the T. U. U. L., the red trade union central organization, sent not a single delegate. The Young Communist League, which has as one of its highest tasks the struggle against war and militarism, was not represented by a single delegate! And even the party did not send any of its prominent leaders. To represent official Communism, it sent a successful dentist, an equally successful lawyer, a business man, and a second-hand journalist. The conference must not be "too red." It must be respectable. It must satisfy the liberal authors, painters, poets and actors. It must conform to the idea of a masquerade.

A big debacle is being warmed up for us in the Stalinist kitchens. If in no other question, then at least in the question of the struggle against war the Stalinists have had a "consistent" policy. Daily, deafening, endless cries about the "war danger", and opportunistic combinations with all the shady and dubious elements inside and outside the labor movement to "lead" the struggle against war and for the defense of the Soviet Union as a substitute for the leadership of the Communist party. This was the meaning of the combination with Purcell and Co. with Chiang Kai-Shek, Wang Chin Wei and Peng Yu-hsiang, as well as with all the other adventurers and traitors who used Stalin's "Anti-Imperialist League" either as a refuge from working class storms at home or as a Communist Monte Carlo where their fortunes might be replenished. In no case was this hollow substitute for a revolutionary struggle successful in advancing the genuine anti-war movement, by an inch or in adding to the defense of the Soviet Union.

The present course being followed by the Comintern in the Barbusse Congress enterprise can lead to only one conclusion: catastrophe. One more or less will not matter, say the cynics. They are wrong. The capital accumulated by others and usurped by Stalin is far from inexhaustible. Each debacle has served to diminish it. Stalin continues to squander it and brings the world revolutionary movement and the Soviet Union increasingly closer to a horrible end. It is high time for the Communist workers to awaken and act. The Opposition will be at their side.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

The Party and the 6-Hour Day Slogan

In the first period of the crisis the Communist League of America advanced a series of slogans for the fight against unemployment. Among these, and as an outstanding propaganda slogan, we advanced the slogan, "For the Six Hour Day, the Five Day Week WITH NO REDUCTION IN PAY." Today, Hoover, Green and Hearst are making capital out of the six-hour day, five-day week proposal. It is advisable to review the present struggle and find out why the capitalists have stolen a march on the workers, WHO IS RESPONSIBLE, and FIND OUT WHAT THE RESULT WILL BE. The slogan for the six hour day has been advanced in one form or the other by unions for over a decade, but not until the present crisis and the establishment of a permanent army of unemployed has the slogan attracted wide-spread attention by different classes, for different ends. This must be explained.

The tremendous increase in productive forces, the rationalization since the last war, has laid the economic base for a corresponding change in the use of labor power. Around the value form of the product the capitalists attempt to reorganize the American labor power, on the basis of the reorganized industrial structure of American imperialism. From this flows increased class struggles. Around the attempted reorganization of the labor power, will first develop struggles on immediate demands that can lead in short order into deeper channels. If we allow the capitalists to reorganize the labor power to their own liking the workers will have less space necessary for the running jump to overthrow capitalism. If we allow the capitalists to reorganize the labor power without presenting a Marxian analysis, the class must again condemn the vanguard for failure. The Stalin policy has already failed in this field.

The Capitalist Aim

In this period of capitalism, the fall in the rate of profit forces the capitalists to make up the loss by the most drastic steps. They must change the ratio of necessary labor (wages) and surplus wages (surplus value) to their interest. The lengthening of the work-day has given way to the speed-up and drastic reduction of wages in order to reduce the necessary labor and increase the surplus labor to keep up the falling rate of profit. In crises, and in sections of the industrial structure the capitalists are still able to lengthen the work-day, but the general trend is in the opposite direction, due to the developed productive forces which forces them to resort to speed-up and general wage cuts. The developed productive forces since the war have forced into the structure for the first time an absolute decrease of the number of workers employed in production, which opened the door for a permanent army of millions of unemployed workers.

This new condition called for new action on the part of the capitalists toward the commodity, labor power, if they intend to continue to exploit the workers. Likewise, it calls for bold steps by the workers' vanguard; to utilize the contradiction in the capitalist system to enable the class to take one or more steps forward. This can be done in many ways, but in this field it can only be done one way—and that is by presenting a Marxian analysis of the higher relation of labor power to production and present a Marxian program of action for the class. The party under Stalinist leadership not only failed in this task but now comes out with action that closes the door to the whole problem.

The Editorial of the Daily Worker of August 4 (city edition) dealing with Hoover-Green shorter week proposal plays into the hands of the capitalists and presents another heap of confusion

in the ranks of Communism. The editorial tells us in terms none too mild that the Hoover-Green, and we may add, Hearst Five-Day week proposal is a maneuver against the working class. To be opposed to the Hoover-Hearst-Green shorter week proposal is not a difficult thing for a Communist paper but to present class reasons why take up. To pass off the shorter work-day proposal of the capitalists as another stagger plan is to miss the very center of the contradiction, the relation of production and the commodity labor power. Not to understand this A B C of Marxian economy, makes impossible an adoption of Marxian tactics and strategy for the class.

A Stalinist Muddle

The editorial further, either through ignorance or lies, confuses the stagger plan with the struggle for, "The six hour day, the five day week and no reduction in pay." The editorial says, "The socialists, the Mustelites, the Trotskyites are putting forward the slogan of 30-hour week without reduction of pay. In reality they are helping put into effect

MILITANT BUILDERS

THE MIRACLE ISSUE

As our readers know from our front page appeal for financial help we are facing extraordinary difficulties in getting the Militant out each week. Last week they seemed so insuperable that after the paper was sent off to the post office we still could not believe it. And when the happy realization was borne in on us we felt that we had performed a miracle. Last week's issue will go down in the history of our movement as the miracle issue.

MOVING UP

Of course, one of the best and soundest ways of obviating such miracles and the situation which makes them necessary is to get subs. We are doing this but the tempo is too slow. Some time ago we warned that the number of subs which expire each week must be more than balanced by new subs. Comrades, we are barely holding our own. We are moving up but too slowly. The record for this week which we give below if compared with last week's will show that.

Comrades, the Militant is in danger. We ourselves must save it. Part of the work must take the form of raising subs. Subs, get subs, get renewals. We must get subs.

A good sign in the staff record is the fact that the oldtimers are being crowded for their places. New comrades are stepping out ahead of them.

J. Weber	4
A. Weaver	2 1-2
C. Cowl	1
P. Schulman	1
H. Nashua	1
L. Goodman	1
H. Schwartz	1
J. Edwards	1
W. Wynne	1
The record by branches is as follows:	
New York	10 1-2
Minneapolis	3 1-2
Chicago	2
Philadelphia	1

Other branches—get busy!

GERMANY—THE KEY TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

As might have been expected with the present developments in Germany the demand for this pamphlet has shot up like a sky rocket. Our supply is almost exhausted. All that we have left are some hundred copies. And at the rate they are going they won't last another ten days. This is last call for this pamphlet. In next week's issue we will have to announce it as out of print.

the stagger plan." The above argument is about as effective as the ultra-Leftist who says: because the capitalists rule by the parliament and the Communists participate in parliaments, both are fakers; because the capitalists advocate social insurance and the Communist advocate social and unemployment insurance the Communists are no better than the capitalists. Every immediate demand has two sides to it, its exploiter and exploited side, its reformist and revolutionary side. In the struggle for immediate demands the capitalists and reformers struggle for one end, and the revolutionists for the other. Such is the case with unemployment insurance, with elections, with strikes, with civil war and likewise with the demand for the six-hour day the five day week, and no reduction of pay.

The Stalinists present the seven-hour day slogan as correct, and the six-hour day slogan as false. The editorial bases its argument upon, "the full time work week being around 50 hours, the demand for the 30 hour week without reduction of pay would be not to take the struggle of the workers seriously and to pave the way for the stagger plan." The bourgeois average of 50 hours a week for full time workers (how many at full time work in the crisis?) does not determine the slogan for the class, as Stalinism contends.

The six-hour day, five-day week, without reduction in pay is based upon the needs of the workers at the present stage of American capitalism. The editorial says, "Through speed-up the capitalists hope to get out of the workers the same production in the six hours as they now get out of an eight hour day." The capitalists have already accomplished this in the past and in the future the speed-up will be increased, even though the workers don't get any reduction in hours. Seven hours, under capitalist speed-up, is too much. The workers cannot stand the pace. The hours must be reduced to six if ordinary health is to be had. The struggle for the six-hour day does not mean the 30 hour week average. The eight hour movement of the Eighties did not mean a 48 hour average. The six hour day struggle is the driving force to reduce all hours in industries that run all the way from 8 to 16 hours. If we win the six hour day it will only mean about a 40 hour AVERAGE for the American industries.

Hours and Wages

A reduction of hours for the class, on the basis of class struggle, regardless of the bosses' ability here and there to lower wages—has the directly opposite effect on wages. History proves the reduction of the hours of work per day causes wages to rise. Stalinism also proves this—in case some Marxists care to consult their Marxian economics.

We have warned the party many months ago in the columns of the Militant about the danger of playing around with the six-hour day slogan. We said if the party did not take the lead, the reformers and the capitalists would take the lead and turn it into a campaign against us to reduce the standard of living further. The capitalists and reformers, through the neglect of Stalinism now have their hands on a weapon and will use it on our heads. In the eight-hour day struggle in the Eighties the workers had the weapon and used it over the heads of the capitalists. Every immediate demand is a race between the classes for the lever; and the tactics and strategy, based on Marxian analysis will determine if we can obtain the lever, instead of the capitalists, in the class struggle.

The slogan, advanced by us many months ago for "Long Term Credits to the Soviet Union," has also met the same fate in the hands of these Stalinist muddleheads. The Communist League of America must intensify its activity within and outside of the party in the class struggle to win a greater organized Left Opposition to give us more pressure upon Stalinist revisionism, to enable our class and vanguard more effectively to fight the capitalists.

The slogan for the six-hour day, the five-day week, with no reduction in pay, is the central propaganda slogan for the struggle against unemployment. To unite the employed and unemployed upon a solid organizational basis. It is not a question of social insurance, or immediate relief, or the shorter work day, or long term credits to the Soviet Union or the United Front—which is first and which is second. Immediate relief is the most pressing problem for the class at the moment but this does not mean we build a movement around the slogan of immediate relief as the first or central slogan. Depending upon ebbs and flows, upon sharp turns or victories, other slogans will be shifted to the spotlight and then replaced by one of the other slogans. The structure must be built on a solid organizational basis, that touches the roots of the capitalist system that spans the whole period of unemployment, and at the same time enables the other slogans to build upon this structure. This slogan is the slogan for the reduction of hours, "The six-hour day, the five-day week, with no reduction in pay."

—H. O.

PORTRAIT OF A YOUTH

By good fortune we have picked up a copy of Max Eastman's biography of comrade Trotsky which is out of print. The title of it is—Leon Trotsky, the Portrait of a Youth. We have only one copy and we refuse to sell it. But we will turn it over to the Militant staff to be included in its premiums to be offered to the highest standing member of the staff of Militant Builders at the end of August.

The Left Opposition's Resolution at the New York Anti-War Conference

The Conference Against War assembled on August 8th at the Labor Temple, representing numerous labor and fraternal organizations of New York, declares that the problem of imperialist war and aggression against the Soviet Union has now become a most acute question requiring the immediate consideration of the working class of this country and the rest of the world.

The present world-wide crisis of capitalism is accentuating the conflicts among the imperialist powers to the highest degree and by the very nature of capitalist society is driving them headlong towards another bloody conflict for the re-division of the markets and other sources of power in the world, in which each of the great powers, expecting a victorious outcome, hopes to emerge from the crisis raging in its midst. The numerous "disarmament" conferences which have been held in Geneva are an enormous swindle, comparable to the various "peace" conferences and maneuvers of the days before the world war of 1914-18, which were calculated by the imperialist powers merely for the purpose of jockeying for position in the field of armaments and for lulling the working class of the world into a feeling of false security during which all the preparations were actually being made for war itself. The preaching of "disarmaments" is pernicious, hypocrisy which, in reality, serves to disarm the working class at the same time that the capitalist class is arming itself to the teeth.

War and the Soviet Union

The preparations for a new imperialist world war go on simultaneously with the preparations for an aggressive assault upon the Soviet Union. The imperialists have a permanent hatred for the Soviet Union not only because of the economic advances it has made, but prim-

Lenin's Fundamental Views Which Were Voted Down By the Stalinists in Alliance With the Pacifists

arily because it is the fatherland of the workers everywhere, the beacon light which inspires the proletariat throughout the world to intensify its fight for emancipation from capitalism.

The strength of the international proletariat is the best defense of the Soviet Union. The attack upon the latter, therefore, is commenced by the capitalist offensive and the assaults of Fascism upon the working class outside the Soviet Union. War against Russia is a military continuation and prolongation of the attack upon the proletariat in every country. The defense of the Soviet Union cannot be conceived of without a revolutionary struggle of the working class in all lands, led by the Communist parties, against their own bourgeoisie. Defense of Russia without positive participation in this revolutionary struggle is merely a liberal gesture.

War is not an arbitrary act of evil-doing individuals. It is the inevitable product of capitalist imperialism which cannot be abolished without the overthrow of the ruling class and its system. Only to the extent that the working class is united under the leadership of the Communist party will it be able to conduct an effective struggle against the danger of imperialist war and military intervention against the Soviet fatherland of the proletariat.

The war of 1914-1918 not only revealed the bankruptcy of capitalist society, but above all the bankruptcy and treachery of the social democracy of all lands, including the pacifists, who served as an obstacle in the path of working class struggle against war. Pacifism and so-

cial democracy, today also, are the petty bourgeois agencies of imperialism in the ranks of the working class. The conference condemns and rejects the views of these tendencies as dangerous to the genuine struggle against war. "Resistance to war", "general strike to stop war" and similar slogans of pacifism are deceptive phrases and gestures, without the revolutionary unification of the working class under Communist leadership which can put an end to war only by working systematically to convert the imperialist war into a civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

In the event of an outbreak of imperialist war, the working class decisively rejects the reactionary idea of "defense of fatherland", for it has no fatherland except the Soviet Union. In a war of imperialism, the working class takes a defeatist position. While participating in the armies of the capitalists for the aims of its own class, the proletariat works for the defeat of its own bourgeoisie as the first step in the overthrow of its capitalism. The struggle against war, therefore, is primarily the struggle against one's own ruling class and does not begin only when war has broken out. It must be carried on in the same class spirit: before, during and after the outbreak of war.

The Key Danger—Hitlerism

While calling the attention of the workers to the acute threat to the Soviet Union contained in the Japanese attacks on Manchuria, supported by French imperialism, which is the most active supporter and organizer of the anti-Soviet movements on Russia's western

frontiers, the conference declares that the present situation in Germany constitutes not only the gravest danger to the Soviet Union but to the existence of the working class and revolutionary movement throughout the world. Upon victory or defeat of German Fascism will depend the fate of the world working class and the Soviet Union for the next epoch. Hitler can preserve himself in power only as a counter-revolutionary agent of France and the other great powers, only as the butcher of the German proletariat vanguard, only as the primary instrument in a military attack on Russia. The defeat of Hitlerism is therefore the immediate problem of the whole working class, and requires the utmost concentration of forces. The conference therefore urges upon the German Communist Party a consistent application of the policy of the united front towards the social-democratic masses to annihilate Fascism in the form of a proposal to the social democratic party for a united front on the basis of concrete minimum demands, aimed at a united death-blow to the Hitlerites. The policy of the united front developed under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky at the Third and Fourth Congresses of the Communist International, the unity of the working class will make it possible to smash Hitlerism and thus destroy the instruments of reaction directed at the Soviet Union. The problem of the struggle against war is now posed most acutely by the Fascist menace in Germany and it is there that the battle is concentrated at the moment.

For Revolutionary Struggle Against War

The acuteness of the situation requires that the Communist International shall take the initiative and leadership in the development of an international struggle against war and for the defense of the

Beginning with the next issue, the Militant will print brief sketches of the individuals chosen to head the Barbusse-Holland-Weiss-Gorky-Sinclair "Congress Against War." From these sketches our readers will be able to gain an idea of the records of a "struggle against imperialism" has been entrusted. Watch the next issue!

Soviet Union. To leave such a movement in the hands and under the leadership of confusionists and pacifists like Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, H. G. Wells, and their American followers can only prevent the unfolding of a revolutionary anti-war struggle.

As against a movement led and dominated by such elements and ideas, the conference urges the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions to convene an International Congress to which shall be public invited the Second International, the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam), the International Workingmen's Association (Anarcho-Syndicalists), in order to prepare a world-wide struggle against the danger of imperialist war, against the threat of Fascism in Germany and for the defense of the Soviet Union. Convocation of a similar gathering in Berlin in April 1922, initiated by the Communist International, and including the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals served admirably to broaden the movement for a revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

In the meanwhile, the Conference urges that such a plan be executed immediately on a national scale in the United States. The Conference instructs its delegates to the World Congress against War to adopt a position there in harmony with the views expressed in this resolution.

Hands Off Rosa Luxemburg

(Continued from last issue)

When Lenin, going back into the past, wrote in October 1919 ("Greetings to the Italian, French and German Communists"), "... In the moment of the seizure of power and the creation of the Soviet Republic, Bolshevism remained alone in the field, it had drawn to itself the best of the tendencies closest to it in socialist thought." I repeat, when Lenin wrote this, he unquestionably had in mind also the tendencies of Rosa Luxemburg, whose closest adherents, e. g., Markhlevsky, Djerjinsky and others, were working in the ranks of the Bolsheviks.

Lenin understood Rosa Luxemburg's mistakes more profoundly than Stalin; but it was not accidentally that Lenin once quoted the old couplet in relation to Luxemburg.

Betimes the eagles down swoop and beneath the barnyard fowl fly, But barnyard fowl with outspread wings will never soar amid the clouds in the sky.

Precisely the case! Precisely the point! For this very reason Stalin should proceed with caution before expending his vicious mediocrity when the matter touches figures of such stature as Rosa Luxemburg.

In the article "In relation to the History of the Question of the Dictatorship," Lenin (October 1920) touching upon questions of the Soviet State and the dictatorship of the proletariat, already posed by the 1905 Revolution, wrote, "Such outstanding representatives of the revolutionary proletariat and of the unfalsified Marxism as Rosa Luxemburg evaluated immediately the significance of the practical experience and came forward at meetings and in the press with critical analyses of it." On the contrary, "people, of the type of future Kautskyites," evinced an utter incapacity to understand the significance of this experience." In a few lines, Lenin fully pays the tribute of recognition to the historical significance of Rosa Luxemburg's struggle against Kautsky, the struggle, which Lenin himself had been far from immediately evaluating at its true worth. If to Stalin, the ally of Chiang Kai-Shek, and the comrade in arms of Purcell, the theoretician of "the worker-peasant party," of "the democratic dictatorship" of "Non-antagonizing the bourgeoisie," etc.—if to him Rosa Luxemburg is the representative of Centrism, to Lenin she is the representative of "unfalsified Marxism." What this designation meant coming as it does from Lenin's pen is clear to any one who is even slightly acquainted with Lenin.

THE BANNER OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

I take the occasion to point out here that in the notes to Lenin's works there is among others the following said about Rosa Luxemburg: "During the florescence of the Bernstein revisionism and later of ministerialism (Millerand), Luxemburg carried on against this tendency a decisive fight, taking her position in the Left wing of the German party." In 1907 she participated as a delegate of the S. D. of Poland and Lithuania in the London Congress of R. S. D. L. P., supporting the Bolshevik faction on all basic questions of the Russian revolution. From 1907, Luxemburg gave herself over entirely to work in Germany, taking a Left-radical position and carrying on a fight against the Center and the Right wing. Her participation in the January 1919 insurrection has made her name the banner of the proletarian revolution."

Of course, the author of these notes will in all probability on the morrow confess his sins and announce that in Lenin's epoch he wrote in a benighted condition, and that he reached complete enlightenment only in the epoch of Stalin. At the present moment announcements of this sort—combinations of sycophancy, idiosyncrasy and buffoonery—are made daily in the Moscow press. But they do not change the nature of things. "What once set down in black and white, no ax will hack nor all your might." Yes, Rosa Luxemburg has become the banner of the proletarian revolution!

How and wherefore, however, did Stalin suddenly busy himself—at so belated a time—with the revision of the old Bolshevik valuation of Rosa Luxemburg? As was the case with all his preceding theoretical abortions so with this latest one, and the most scandalous, the origin lies in the logic of his struggle against the theory of Permanent Revolution. In his "historical" article, Stalin once again allots the chief place to this theory. There is not a single new word in what he says. I have long ago answered all his arguments in my book "The Permanent Revolution". From the historical viewpoint the question will be sufficiently clarified, I trust, in the second volume of "The History of the Russian Revolution" (The October Revolution), not on the press. In the present case the question of the Permanent Revolution concerns us only insofar as Stalin links it up with Rosa Luxemburg's name. We shall presently see how the hapless theoretician has contrived to set up for himself a murderous trap.

After recapitulating the controversy between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks on the question of the moving forces in the Russian revolution and after masterfully compressing a series of mistakes into a few lines, which I am compelled to leave without an examination, Stalin indites, "What was the attitude of the Left German social democrats, Parvus and Rosa Luxemburg to these controversies? They concocted a utopian and a semi-Menshevist scheme of the Permanent Revolution. . . . Subsequently this semi-Menshevist scheme was caught up by Trotsky (partly by Martov) and turned into a weapon of strug-

Reply to the Slandering of a Revolutionist

gle against Leninism. . . . Such is the unexpected history of the origin of the theory of the Permanent Revolution, in accordance with the latest historical researches of Stalin. But, alas, the investigator forgot to consult his own previous learned works. In 1925 this same Stalin had already expressed himself on this question in his polemic against Rak-dok. Here is what he wrote then, "It is not true that the theory of the Permanent Revolution . . . was put forward in 1905 by Rosa Luxemburg and Trotsky. As a matter of fact this theory was put forward by Parvus and Trotsky." This assertion may be consulted on page 185, "Questions of Leninism," Russian edition, 1926. Let us hope that it obtains in all foreign editions.

LUXEMBURG AND THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION

So, in 1925, Stalin pronounced Rosa Luxemburg not guilty in the commission of such a cardinal sin as participating in the creation of the theory of the Permanent Revolution. "As a matter of fact, this theory was put forward by Parvus and Trotsky." In 1931, we are informed by the identical Stalin that it was precisely, "Parvus and Rosa Luxemburg . . . who concocted the utopian and semi-Menshevist scheme of the Permanent Revolution". As for Trotsky he was innocent of creating the theory, it was only "caught up" by him, and at same time by . . . Martov! . . . Once again Stalin is caught with the goods. Perhaps he writes on questions of which he can make neither head nor tail. Or is he consciously shuffling marked cards in playing with the basic questions of Marxism? It is incorrect to pose this question as an alternative. As a matter of fact, both the one and the other obtain here. The Stalinist falsifications are conscious in so far as they are dictated at each given moment by entirely concrete personal interests. At the same time they are semi-conscious, in so far as his congenital ignorance place no impediments whatsoever to his theoretical propensities.

But facts remain facts. In his war against "the Trotskyist contraband," Stalin has fallen foul of a new personal enemy, Rosa Luxemburg! He did not pause for a moment before lying about her and vilifying her; and moreover before proceeding to put into circulation his stallion's doses of vulgarity and disloy-

alty, he did not even take the bother of verifying what he himself had said on the same subject five years before.

The new variant of the history of the ideas of the Permanent Revolution was indicated first of all by an urge to provide a dish more spicy than all those preceding. It is needless to explain that Martov was dragged in by the hair for the sake of the greater piquancy of theoretical and historical cookery. Martov's attitude to the theory and practice of the Permanent Revolution was one of unalterable antagonism, and in the old days he stressed more than once that Trotsky's views on Revolution were rejected equally by the Bolsheviks as well as the Mensheviks. But it is not worth while to pause over this.

What is truly fatal is that there is not a single major question of international proletarian revolution, on which Stalin has failed to express two directly contradictory opinions. We all know that in April 1924, he conclusively demonstrated in "The Questions of Leninism" the impossibility of building socialism in one country. In autumn, in a new edition of the book, he substituted in its place a proof (i. e., a bald proclamation) that the proletariat "can and must" build socialism in one country. The entire remainder of the text was left unchanged. On the question of the worker-peasant party, of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, the leadership of the October Revolution, on the national question, etc., etc., Stalin contrived to put forward, for a period of a few years, sometimes of a few months, opinions that were mutually exclusive. It would be incorrect to place the blame in everything on a poor memory. The matter reaches deeper here. Stalin completely lacks any method of scientific thinking, he has no criteria of principles. He approaches every question as if that question were born only today and stood apart from all other questions. Stalin contributes his judgments entirely depending upon whatever personal interest of his is uppermost and most urgent today. The contradictions that convict him are the direct vengeance for his vulgar empiricism. Rosa Luxemburg does not appear to him in the perspective of the German, Polish and international workers' movement of the last half-century. No, she is to him each time a new, and, besides, an isolated figure, regarding whom he is compelled in every new situation to ask himself anew, "Who goes there Friend of foe?" Unerring instinct has this time whispered to the theoretician of socialism in one country

The Black Hordes of Fascism at the Gates of Power

(Continued from page 1)

the Central Executive Committee of the C. P. G. has condemned the Berlin-Brandenburg united front action of June 20. The whole theory of "social Fascism" with all its disastrous appendages is to remain intact. The "red united front" under the leadership of the Communist party" is to remain the line.

Nothing can be more fatal, nothing can be more tragic than this thoughtless and irresponsible action of the German Stalinists. At a time when the deadly enemy is at the doorstep, the Stalinist bureaucrats persist in their headless and giddy ultimatum game. They simply refuse to tear the mask off the treacherous social democracy at this, the most propitious moment. They are throwing away the opportunity of uniting the Communist vanguard with the social democratic workers in one common front which the workers all want and for the sake of which they will break with the treacherous leaders who want to sabotage it. The criminal, headless German Stalinists must be stopped!

Where is the Communist International? What has the Stalinist faction in control of the C. I. and of the Soviet Union to say in this hour of desperation? Stalin and his faction are maintaining a dastardly silence, a silence which condones the criminal policy of the German leadership. We stigmatize this unheard-of, cowardly, silence on the part of Stalin as an act of treachery.

The Stalinist leadership has allowed the working class of Germany to pass from one defeat to another in the last year alone. Emergency decree has followed emergency decree. The workers have received wage-cut upon wage-cut, unemployment has swelled to fantastic proportions and unemployment insurance has been stripped to the bone, the banks have crashed, the workers' rights have been trampled under foot, the press (even the *Vorwaerts*) suppressed, Von Papen

LESSONS OF THE BONUS MARCH

(Continued from page 1)

failure the vets and they have paid a heavy price.

The tactic of passive resistance which the vets pursued finally exhausted the little patience of the capitalist class. The armed forces of the government were called into play. First, the police proved unreliable—1200 of the 1400 cops were themselves ex-servicemen. The sailors who were summoned next, notified their masters that they were "sea fighters", and did not enlist to fight on land. The marines gave a similar answer.

The newspapers, hungry for sensational stories, spread the story far and wide in all its gory details. No item of the gruesome butchery was spared. The New York Evening Journal reporter said that he saw a vet who was lying prone, face to the ground stabbed in the back by a bayonet! No one can be mistaken about the job that was done in Washington by Hoover's orders.

The working class will not soon forget

what it learned from the bonus fight. The fight put up by the veterans will yet become one of the traditions of the revolutionary working class movement. The traditions of American democracy and legalism have become thinner in the minds of the workers. We are nearer to the day when they will snap. This we owe in part to the fight put up by our class brothers in Washington.

The capital which this fight has given us must become the special weapon of the Communists to advance the cause of the revolution. We must proceed by raising the class consciousness of the vets by linking up their fight with the fight for general class relief from the crisis at the expense of the capitalist class and its government. The national conference called by the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League for the end of September must work out a program of accomplishing this task. We will support it with all the means at our disposal.

by LEON TROTSKY

that the shade of Rosa Luxemburg is irreconcilably inimical to him. But this does not hinder the great shade from remaining the banner of the international proletarian revolution.

LUXEMBURG AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Rosa Luxemburg criticized very severely and fundamentally, incorrectly the policies of the Bolsheviks in 1918 from her prison cell. But even in this, her most erroneous work, her eagle's wings are to be seen. Here is her general evaluation of the October overturn, "Everything that the party had the power to perform in the sphere of valour, of forceful action, of revolutionary farsightedness and consequent success—all that was fully carried out by Lenin, Trotsky and the party comrades. All the revolutionary honor and the capacity for action, which the social democracy of the West so lacked, were demonstrated by the Bolsheviks. Their October insurrection was not only the true salvation of the Russian Revolution but it also saved the honor of international socialism." Can this perchance be the voice of Centrism?

In the succeeding pages, Luxemburg subjects to severe criticism the policies of the Bolsheviks in the agrarian sphere, their slogan of national self-determination, and their rejection of formal democracy. In this criticism we might add, directed equally against Lenin and Trotsky, she makes no distinction whatever between their views; and Rosa Luxemburg knew how to read, understand, and seize upon shades. It did not even fall into her head, for instance, to accuse me of the fact that by being in solidarity with Lenin on the agrarian question, I had changed my views on the peasantry. And moreover she knew these views very well since I had developed them in detail in 1909 in her Polish Journal. . . . Rosa Luxemburg ends her criticism with the demand, "In the policy of the Bolsheviks the essential must be distinguished from the unessential, the fundamental from the accidental." The fundamental she considers to be the force of the action of the masses, the will to socialism. "In this relation," she writes, "Lenin and Trotsky with their friends were the first who have set an example to the world proletariat. Even now they remain the only ones who can exclaim with Huss, 'This, I have dared!'"

Yes, Stalin has sufficient cause to hate Rosa Luxemburg. But all the more imperative therefore becomes our duty to shield Rosa's memory from Stalin's calumny that has been caught by the hired functionaries of both hemispheres, and to pass on this truly beautiful, heroic and tragic image to the young generations of the proletariat in all its grandeur and inspirational force.

Prinkipo, June 28, 1932

Ferment in the British Party

Open Letter from Comrade Stewart Purkis to Harry Pollitt

Dear Comrade Pollitt,

You have asked a straight question: you have a straight answer. You have asked me how far I go with "The Communist"—the bulletin which contained comrade Trotsky's article "Germany: the Key to the International Situation", and other material by the British Group of the Left Opposition. My answer to you and to my comrades in the British Party is: "I go with it all the way." Not only does this answer inevitably incur expulsion; it also entails misunderstanding, disappointment and condemnation among valued comrades. It is my duty to them and to the Party, that I state clearly why I take any stand with the British Group of the Left Opposition.

Stand—One of Policy

First I wish to say that my reasons are political, not personal. During my five years of Party membership, I have experienced—with few and trifling exceptions—nothing but good will and comradeship in my Party life; the rank and file of the Party are, as a whole, splendid comrades and fellow workers. The leadership of our Party has in it men of outstanding gifts: a writer as acute as R. P. Dutt; an organizer as skilled as Emile Burns; a speaker, tactician and mass leader as able as Harry Pollitt. Such is the character of the rank and file: such is the quality of the leadership.

This is my estimate of our Party and its leadership. I state it that it may be clear that it is not because of unsatisfactory personal relationships with the rank and file, nor because I underestimate the ability and gifts of its leadership that I line up with the Left Opposition. I support the Left Opposition because I believe that the policy of the British party and of the Communist International is at fault on those very root issues for which comrades Trotsky, Rakovsky and the many comrades of the Left Opposition have fought and have been expelled.

Reviewing Past of Party

The very facts I have indicated—the gifted leadership of the British party, the comradely and industrious rank and file, the developed objective conditions—all these contrast so vividly with the Party's failure to win the leadership of the British working class, that every Communist has it as his plain duty to ask himself whether the Party is on the correct line. The position in Britain today, after ten years of hard struggle is: (1) **Parliamentary**: 70,000 votes for the defence of the U. S. S. R.; (2) **Industrial**: no roots in factories or trade unions; (3) **Political**: complete failure to make the revolutionary way out plain to the workers. This position repeats itself in the Communist parties throughout the world. These facts have moved me to accept the Left Opposition criticism of the strategy of the Communist International.

At the time of the Left Opposition struggle and the expulsion of comrade Trotsky, I was a new member of the Party. Even then it was difficult for me not to oppose the contention that Trotsky, who had shared the leadership with Lenin, who—in the words of Stalin "had the immediate direction of the practical organization of the uprising," and to whom "the Party was first and foremost indebted for the garrison's prompt going over to the Soviet" could be the "counter-revolutionary" into which Party calumny slowly pictured him. Literature was sparse. The Party's little great men the Arnolds the Ernle Browns, the Murphys, they said their say. One remained unconvinced but ill-equipped and so refrained from voting. With others I worked on in the Party and continued to study the issues raised by the Left Opposition.

The literature has come slowly to hand. On the past issues—Poland, China, Russian industrial and agricultural development, the Anglo-Russian Committee, all the evidence I have se-

cured justifies the Left Opposition and condemns the line of the Communist International. But though the Left Opposition has been correct, it seemed inadvisable to risk expulsion from the Party, even to take part in a fight to win the re-admission to the Communist International of comrades whose past line had been the correct one. Past issues were past. One turned to the work which clamoured to be done at every depot gate and street corner.

The Crucial Issue of Germany

Then hard on the heels of the disturbing attitude of the Communist International towards the Spanish Revolution, came the crucial issue of Germany. Party comrades "in the know" whispered that the Fascists were to take power unchallenged. German industry is so important to the success of the Five Year Plan, that nothing must disturb the relations between German Capitalism and Russian Socialism. The Five Year Plans were to be completed with the help of German industry; whatever the government!

But comrade Trotsky's writing on the German issue, especially "Germany: the Key to the International Situation", the Letter to a German Comrade" and "What Next?" have vividly shown the position in Europe. They have made it clear that "Who wins in Germany wins in Europe." They have presented the danger of war on the U. S. S. R., not as an annual August shilliboleth, but as a living reality.

In 1930 Trotsky warned the Party that their forecasts of the early collapse of Fascism were not justified. Twelve months ago, Trotsky pointed to the United Front of the Communist and social democratic organizations as the only policy which could ensure the defeat of Fascism, the break-up of social democracy, and successes in the struggle for proletarian power. Today events tardily compel the Party towards Trotsky's line. But time in this struggle is the life and death factor. The line which Trotsky pointed out two years ago, the Party begins to shuffle towards today. These delays and weaknesses of both the Communist International and the German leadership threaten disaster to the U. S. S. R. and to the whole working class movement. In the present situation it is to me a clear duty to put comrade Trotsky's writings in the hands of the Party membership, that his leadership may be available to the working class in this hour of need. That is why I support the work of the Left Opposition in issuing the bulletin for circulating in the Party and to militant workers.

When I was expelled from the Railway Clerks Association, the R. C. A. leadership saw and condemned my action as a "breach of rule". Many of my fellow members and my comrades in the Party saw and supported my action as the course which loyalty to the working class demanded.

I know that I may now be condemned by you and by many valued comrades for breaking rules by circulating this material on Germany. But we who do this hold that loyalty to the Party's cause is more important than keeping rules which ban vital discussion in the Party.

In this short letter I cannot set out the Left Opposition case on the major political issue: the case for the policy of International Revolution against National Socialism (even when it wears the guise of "Socialism in one country"), and all the tactical issues which follow from it. I ask every comrade who sees the importance of mastering these issues to write to me for details of the publications of the Left Opposition.

I write this letter to make it clear that my course of action is dictated by political and not personal motives; and that if my acceptance of the Left Opposition position and support for its works entails my expulsion, I shall from without the Party do my utmost—together with my Left Opposition comrades within the Party—to strengthen the Party for its real task: the organization of the working class for the world struggle for world socialism.

With Communist greetings,
STEWART PURKIS.

4, Hogarth Hill,
London N. W. 11. July 27th, 1932.

MARXIST CLASSICS

Through an exchange arrangement with a local bookseller we have got a number of copies of the **Communist Manifesto**; **Socialism, Utopian and Scientific**; **Wage Labor and Capital**; and **Value Price and Profit**. In the past we have received requests for this literature. In the course of our propaganda work among workers we frequently find it necessary to begin at rock bottom. This is all the more necessary today because of the terribly low ideological level that obtains in the party ranks under Stalinist leadership.

Unfortunately because of the terms of our exchange arrangement we are unable to offer any discount on this literature. The selling prices in the order in which they are listed above are: 10 cents; 25 cents; 10 cents; 25 cents.

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LEON TROTSKY

WHAT NEXT?

Vital Questions for the German Proletariat

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PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION?

HINDENBURG?

LEFT OPPOSITION?

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MUST SPEAK OUT.

Warns Party on Germany

Leading C.P. Member Appeals for United Front against Hitlerism

To the Members of Unit 2, Sec. 3
To the Party Members of Dist. Two
To the Central Executive Committee
of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.
Comrades:

The latest events in Germany make it impossible for me to remain silent any longer. The coming into power of Von Papen, the dictatorial action of Hindenburg in Prussia, the direct aid given by the government to the Fascists ("National Socialists")—lifting of the uniform ban, special permits for demonstrations, suppressing of the working class press, etc., in their attacks against the workers—are unmistakable danger signals for every conscious revolutionist.

At the Brink of the Abyss

The ruthless military dictatorship established by the reactionary Junkers is pushing Germany to the brink of the Fascist abyss. A disunited German working class is facing an increasingly arrogant and confident army of Fascism marching to power. Germany is already in the midst of a civil war. The bloodthirsty hordes of Hitlerism are on the streets, shooting down the militant workers, creating an atmosphere of terrorism, while behind the scenes the final preparations are being made to drive the Communist party underground and—for the seizure of power by Fascism. The government of Von Papen is only a stop-gap. It is there only to clear the path for the triumph of Hitler.

The victory of Fascism is a horrible event to contemplate! We know already from the tragic experience of the Italian working class what it has meant in the past. If it comes to power in Germany, the consequences would be much greater. Hitler in power means the crushing of the Communist movement. It means the wiping out of every other working class institution. It means a set-back for the whole proletarian movement, throughout Europe and the rest of the world. It means the beginning of a new and lengthy period of reaction everywhere, the strengthening of the bourgeoisie in every country. It means that our proletarian fatherland, the Soviet Union, is directly and immediately menaced by the strangulating bloc of reactionary nations all along its western frontiers.

In a civil war, in a fight between the classes in Germany, all of the imperialists will undoubtedly take the side of Hitler against the workers. They will extend the fight against the German workers to a struggle against the international working class, and in the first place—against the U. S. S. R. Hitler would be the outstanding military agent of world imperialism in a war to crush the workers' republic.

Arouse the Working Class!

To arouse the working class of Germany and of the rest of the world to the imminent danger of Fascism immediately, to crush Hitler before he comes into power—that is the task of the hour, if the revolutionists are to defend the interests of the world proletariat, and above all—to defend the Soviet Union. But this is just where the tragedy lies at the present moment. When Fascism threatened in Italy, Lenin and the whole C. I. left no stone unturned to arouse the working class of the world against the danger. Now, when far greater dangers to the proletariat are involved, our world leadership, the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions, are silent. No burning appeal—one that would stir the Communists into action—has come from the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Our press, particularly our central organ, the *Daily Worker*, has maintained a virtual silence on the threatening developments in Germany, bringing only scant news reports. The party has not even attempted to awaken the American working class to the terrible danger that impends. Not a single leaflet has been issued on the subject of Fascism moving toward power. Not a single mass meeting has been arranged to arouse the interests and activity of the American workers. Not even the party membership has been awakened!

"I Must Speak Out Now"

That is why I feel that I must speak out now as loudly as I can in an attempt to arouse my party comrades to the danger that threatens, so that we may be able to fulfill our duties as international revolutionists. In this declaration, I am moved only by the deep interests of the proletarian revolution and of my Communist party, to which I have belonged and which I have served loyally for many years, and in many struggles. The first obligation of an internationalist is to arouse the active interest and participation of the workers in the life and struggles of the comrades in the other countries.

Trotsky first indicated in his pamphlets "The Turn in the Communist International and the German Situation" and especially "Germany—The Key to the International Situation"—the great seriousness of the Fascist danger, the mistake of looking upon Fascism as a movement that will swiftly disintegrate. It and the Left Opposition pointed out the

serious danger of confusing the workers by throwing the Fascists and the reformists into one pot under the theory of "Social Fascism". They correctly stated from the first the Leninist policy of the united front in the struggle against Fascism.

My studies and observations have brought me to the following serious conclusions: The viewpoint of Trotsky and the Left Opposition in the German situation has been fully confirmed by the events. It is now absolutely necessary to give full attention to this viewpoint and to discuss it, so that our party and our international may draw immediately and without delay the greatest benefits from it.

The Party's False Course

Our party leadership in Germany and the C. I. have been following a false and dangerous course toward the danger of Fascism on the one hand, and the social democracy on the other. While the Fascist danger was minimized for a long time, the party continued to set up a wall between itself and the socialist workers by the theory and practice of "Social Fascism". Instead of proposing a united front of all the workers against the onward march of Hitler's bands, our party compromised itself with the slogan of "National and Social Emancipation" and by its active support to the Hitlerite referendum (July 1931) in Prussia. Our party played into the hands of Fascism by this policy and made it possible for the social democratic traitors to continue their murderous policy (Continued on page 3)

Seb. Pappas Expelled

As we go to press, we learn from the *Daily Worker* of the expulsion of Sebastian Pappas, leading Communist militant and strike leader in many of the battles of the Food Workers Industrial Union. Pappas is expelled from the Communist Party of the U. S. A. "as a Trotskyite and a disruptive element".

The specific charge against him is that he "recently issued a letter to the party, hundred of copies of which were printed and distributed to party and non-party workers. In his letter he not only disagrees but attacks the line of the party. He accused the Party leadership and the Comintern of following a false and dangerous course toward Fascism and social democracy. He proposes that the Party and the Comintern make an open demand for united front with the social Fascist leaders and disagrees with the party's estimation of the social democratic leaders as social Fascists." (*Daily Worker* of Thursday August 18, 1932.)

Stalinist Silence Broken

The expulsion of Pappas follows upon a whirlwind change in the attitude of the party leadership toward the German situation. It is only today, on Friday, August 19, that the party is first calling a mass meeting on the danger in Germany at the Central Opera House in New York. The change has undoubtedly been brought about by the intense campaign on Germany of the Left Opposition and particularly by the response this campaign is receiving inside the official Communist party itself, as evidenced by the Pappas letter. Not only has this mass meeting been called, but more than that, the apparatus of the Stalinist bureaucracy has been thoroughly alarmed and has seen itself forced to call special functionaries meetings to take up the German situation.

The statement announcing the expulsion of comrade Sebastian Pappas does not, as will be observed, even make an attempt to take up any arguments, it does not even mention the word Germany, the word war danger, which run through the Pappas letter like a red thread. The Stalinist bureaucrats mean to suppress the revolutionary alarm cry sounded by comrade Pappas and to drown it out with filthy catcalls and by hasty, insincere and half-way concessions to the demand made in the letter.

The Left Opposition greets the action of comrade Pappas as a courageous and important step in support of the revolutionary reawakening of the Communist party and the Comintern, as first aid within the American official party to the cause of the German revolution and proletarian internationalism.

The party document of comrade Pappas, which the bureaucrats of the Stalinist apparatus are attempting to hush up, is in the first column. Let the Communist workers judge for themselves!

THE ONLY ROAD

VON PAPEN & HITLER

BONAPARTISM AND FASCISM

By Leon Trotsky

Let us endeavor briefly to realize what has occurred and where we stand.

Thanks to the social democracy, the Bruening government had at its disposal the support of the parliament for ruling with the aid of emergency decrees. The social democratic leaders said: "In this manner we shall block the road to power of Fascism." The Stalinist bureaucracy said: "No, Fascism has already triumphed, it is the Bruening regime which is Fascism." Both were false. The social democrats palmed off a passive receding before Fascism as the struggle against Fascism. The Stalinists presented the matter as if the victory of Fascism was already behind them. The fighting power of the proletariat was sapped by both sides and the triumph of the enemy facilitated and brought closer.

In its time, we designated the Bruening government as Bonapartism ("caricature of Bonapartism"), that is, as a regime of the military-police dictatorship. As soon as the struggle of two social strata—the haves and the have-nots, the exploiter and the exploited—reaches its highest tension, the conditions are given for the domination of bureaucracy, police, soldiery. The government becomes "independent" of society. Let us once more recall: if two forces are stuck symmetrically into a cork, the latter can stand even on the head of a pin. That's precisely the schema of Bonapartism. To be sure, such a government does not cease being the clerk of the property-owners. Yet the clerk sits on the back of the boss, (Continued on page 4)

Opposition Campaign On Germany

With the rising tide of Fascism in Germany and the enormous crime being concocted in the Stalinist kitchens the Left Opposition has been struggling to discharge the great tasks imposed on it by the historic situation. The League has opened a national campaign of mass meetings in an attempt with the forces at its disposal to reach the masses of workers who are instinctively watching the development of the German situation with the greatest interest. We have printed and are distributing thirty-two thousand leaflets stating our position on the German situation.

Yorkville Meeting

In New York City we have increased the number of our street meetings in addition to our other activities. Recently we have broken into new territory where we have shown the face of the Left Opposition for the first time and delivered our message. In Yorkville which has a large German population we have held a number of successful meetings. The last one was attended by between three and four hundred workers. They listened attentively to the speakers' analysis of the German situation, the unspeakable, despicable treacherous role of the degenerate social democracy, the fatal policy of the central committee of the German C. P., the cowardly and treacherous silence of the Stalinized Comintern, and what must be done if the workers are not to be deluged in a frightful blood bath.

They found nothing "counter-revolutionary" in what we said, asked a number of questions which revealed their intense interest in the German situation and their slowly growing grasp of the nature and role of the International Left. So systematic were they that when late-comers, party members on their way home from other meetings, tried to disrupt our meeting by heckling they warned the misguided party members to keep quiet and listen.

Brownsville Meeting

More recently we broke new territory in a section of Brooklyn, the outskirts of Brownsville. We spoke to an interested audience of about a hundred workers who appeared to be impressed by our position on the German situation, asked

many questions and bought our literature. Not all of our meetings have been as successful as the two just reported. Last Saturday, August 13, our meeting at Avenue A and Seventh Street was broken up by an organized gang of party members and members of the local Unemployed Council which is situated a few doors away. From the account which follows it can be seen that they were whipped into a lynch spirit by the party bureaucrats in retaliation for the powerful blows we have dealt them at the Anti-War Conference and in connection with the German situation. Not since the battles in the Labor Temple in the early days of the Opposition and the tours of comrade Cannon and Shachtman has an Opposition meeting been broken up with such premeditated and organized violence.

The meeting was one organized by us in our regular schedule of speaking activities. Comrades Milton, Carmody, Glee and Wynne attempted to open the meeting with comrade Milton on the speaker's stand distributing our leaflet on the German situation. In a few minutes a crowd of more than one hundred workers gathered around the stand to listen to the speaker. Across the street a party bureaucrat mustered his misguided gang. Suddenly they rushed across to the stand, snatched our literature, hurled comrade Milton from the stand and overthrew it.

To the credit of some party members it must be said that they protested verbally against such gangster tactics, and a few even attempted to assist our comrades physically. One Y. C. L. said in the heat of his indignation that he was going to resign from the Y. C. L. Our comrades retired to another corner with the platform to await help for which one comrade was sent. When all the comrades that could be mustered on short notice had assembled, a short meeting among themselves was held to organize the defense of the meeting. Our comrades then returned to the corner from which they had been driven, in a second attempt to hold the meeting.

They set up the platform unmolested amid an ominous silence. By this time the crowd has grown to more than five

hundred workers. Our speaker mounted the platform while our comrades formed a ring around it. With the usual words of address, "comrades and fellow workers", a tremendous boo arose from the Stalinists who surrounded the platform and the ring of our comrades around it. For almost an hour this continued. Every time the speaker opened his mouth a tremendous boo arose. With the boos was growing a mingled chorus of threats and dirty epithets. Gradually the Stalinists who outnumbered us many times were working up the small stock of courage to the point at which they could attack the revolutionary representatives of Leninism.

Finally a Stalinist more frenzied than the rest rushed the platform only to be thrown back by the defense squad. The chorus of jeers and threats rose higher and the number of workers grew to almost a thousand. They looked on in amazement and confusion. It was obvious that they could see no reason why we should not speak.

A second time the Stalinist rushed and a second time he was repulsed. The Stalinist chorus rose still higher. No word the speaker uttered could be heard even by himself.

A third time the Stalinists rushed through a gap in our defense and before their assault the platform gave way. Like a pack of wolves waiting for their prey to be brought down the Stalinists closed in on us. Comrade Gordon was thrown face down to the ground by two Stalinists. A maniacal Stalinist female scratched comrade Beardslee's face. Other comrades and some of our sympathizers received blows, marks of honor in the struggle for the ideas of revolutionary internationalism.

We defended ourselves as best we could. More than one Stalinist will remember us ruefully.

Some workers from the crowd rushed in to stop the fight and the Stalinists, disappointed in not rousing the workers to the same lynch-mania, desisted.

With the announcement to the assembled workers and Stalinists that the Left Opposition would not be prevented from delivering its message to the working class by the Stalinists or by anyone we marched off in a body singing the Internationale.

What the thousand or more workers who were attracted to the scene witnessed, was a battle between two factions of the Communists initiated by the Stalinists. Instead of seeing the Communists everywhere in the front rank of the fight for free speech for every faction of the working class movement they saw the Stalinists break up a meeting of the Left Opposition before it had begun.

The League will return to this corner to explain to the workers the significance of what they saw last Saturday. And in so far as we are able we will redeem the prestige of Communism squandered so heedlessly by the Stalinist masters of the party. And we will explain to the workers what our position is on the German situation and why the Stalinists attempt to beat us up for speaking the truth about Hitler and about Stalin. We invite all party members and all workers who are interested in free speech for workers to attend our meetings and help us defend them against all attempts to break up our meetings. —T. S.

New York Tailors on Strike

This article was written a few days after the stoppage was declared. At the present moment when we are going to press most of the workers are back in the shops. Hillman has carried out his program completely. Wage cuts have been foisted upon the tailors in most shops. In addition a 5% and 10% tax has been levied on them. Hillman has thru this stoppage strengthened his hold on the New York organization. The tailors have suffered another defeat and gained a little more experience with Hillman's treachery.

A stoppage has been declared in the New York Clothing shops. The ostensible purpose of this stoppage, as presented by the A. C. W. officialdom, is the enforcement of the following demands: (1) stop wage cutting; (2) stop the exodus of bundles to sweat shops; (3) reestablish union control of labor conditions in plants in which such control is now lacking.

After the experience of the New York clothing workers with last year's stoppage, called for similar purposes, and ending in a general wage cut and worsened conditions, the tailors had no reasons to believe that the present stoppage will bring them any improvement in their conditions. Moreover, the whole atmosphere surrounding the preparations for the stoppage are extraordinarily peculiar. Only a couple of weeks ago the New York Joint Board of the A. C. W. decided to give the officialdom a free hand in granting reductions to the manu-

facturers, considering the situation unfavorable and even disastrous for a strike.

Hillman Grants Cuts

The biggest shops of the Clothiers' Exchange received considerable wage cuts amounting in some cases to 25%. What is the purpose, then, of this sudden general stoppage? Despite these suspicious circumstances, the masses of tailors left their shops, manifesting tremendous courage on the picket lines, conducting a heroic fight against the scab expression and the police, exposing their bodies to the police clubs and bullets. Only their intolerable conditions and their desperation can explain this fact. The tailors in this stoppage, just as in last year's, looking for a way out of their misery, have clutched at this stoppage as a drowning man grasps at (Continued on page 3)

Illinois Miners Revolt Spreads Thru State

Thousands of Miners on Strike against Lewis Machine and Wage-Cuts

The Illinois miners' struggle has sustained its first victim. Joe Colbert, president of Local 303, Orient, Illinois, was murdered in cold blood by Lewis-Walker gunmen firing from an automobile in front of his home.

Joe Colbert was known as one of the staunchest militants. He held a long record of fight against the corrupt Lewis machine. He acted as chairman of the miners revolt mass meeting at Benld, Ill., at which the present strike found its organizational initiation. Colbert held his post in the ranks to the last. He died fighting. All honor to the fallen militant!

The Illinois coal fields are again seething with revolt spreading throughout the various sections and directed against the most brazen official treachery yet recorded. A powerful rank and file move-

ment has sprung up in which the young militant miner Gerry Allard is one of the leading spirits, gigantic mass meetings have been held from which marches are being organized to close down the mines which reopened under the operators' reduced scale of wages.

Since April first, the Illinois miners have been on strike refusing to retreat from the basic wage scale of \$6.10 per day formerly obtaining. The operators called it a suspension and meanwhile prepared to have their trusted agents in control of the union, John L. Lewis and his handmaid, "weeping" Johnny Walker, make all arrangements ready for the treacherous sell-out. A new contract with a reduced basic wage scale was offered. It was submitted to a referendum and defeated by a vote of more than 20 to 1. But this did not at all deter the official leeches. They had more ways than one to attempt to defeat the will of the rank and file and pursue their deadly work of destroying the union. So they arranged to have the tabulated tally sheets of the referendum vote stolen, declared an emergency, signed a new contract providing for a \$5.00 a day basic wage scale and manipulated a counterfeit referendum vote, which they now "confidently expect to be carried."

Life of Union At Stake

It is this new outrageous action which gave the signal for the present revolt movement. The rank and file is once more taking matters into their own hands. They know only one method and when set into motion they do not hesitate. Their method is the one of militant fighting fully recognizing their class enemy. In that lies their strength. They have learned from many bitter experiences that the union officials have long ago become part and parcel of the enemy class, ready, at every favorable opportunity, to do its bidding and yet, these officials, skillful in the art of treason, have succeeded again and again to circumvent their militancy and to inflict heavy defeats upon them step by step reducing the union. Now it is the very life of the union itself which is at stake.

The Illinois coal fields harbor the last stronghold of the United Mine Workers of America, and practically the last of the organized miners' movement which, thoroughly proletarian in composition, has established such a glorious tradition in American labor history. It is due to the indomitable spirit of the rank and file, despite wreckage of treason inflicted upon them, that they have been able to preserve an organization. But the biggest job still lies ahead of them. There can now be no thought whatever of further preserving the union until that job is finished, until the whole crew of corrupt officialdom is completely cleaned out. In this sense the movement must be clear on its double aim, viz: To defeat the attempts of the operators to further reduce the now miserable standard of living prevailing and to clean out, root and branch, their agents in the official union positions.

Extent of Present Movement

There are good indications that such is actually the aim of the present movement. Despite the great confusion deliberately provoked by the whole method of defeating and betraying the referendum vote, the opposition to the sell-out is rapidly organizing. Reports at this stage of developments are still somewhat unclear, but it appears that everywhere the local unions are meeting and deciding to reject the put-over agreement and to prevent the mines from resuming operation by throwing strong picket lines around them. In rapid succession the locals are falling in line with most of the sub districts remaining solid on strike.

A mass meeting in Benld had an at- (Continued on page 3)

August 22: Fifth Anniversary of the Murder of Sacco-Vanzetti

Five years ago, at midnight of August 22, 1927, two revolutionists of immortal memory were martyred in the electric chair in Boston at the hands of the bloodthirsty bourgeoisie of the United States. The legal murder of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti was relentlessly executed after millions of workers throughout the world had raised their voices in behalf of the two Italian anarchist workers. The supremely contemptuous of these protests, the executioners

took their toll of these workers who had dared commit the crime of loyalty and devotion to their class. Five years afterward, another legal murder is being prepared, this time against the Negro boys in Scottsboro. The voices of Sacco and Vanzetti, which are not still even in death, call out to the working class of the world to join hands in a ring of solidarity around these boys which will break the death clutch reaching out to assassinate them. The scores of

militants still imprisoned are the blood-brothers of Sacco and Vanzetti and a heavy obligation lies upon the working class to free them: Mooney, Billings, the Centralia men, the Communists throughout the country.

Remember Sacco and Vanzetti, shining martyrs of the proletariat!

Unite in millions to save the Scottsboro boys from murder!

Join hands to liberate our political prisoners!

Stalinists Split Trade Unions in Spain

Third T. U. Center Formed

We reproduce below extracts from the circular issued by our Spanish comrades relative to the creation in Spain of a third "trade union center."

Comrades:

Against the will of the existing trade union centers, against the will of the Spanish workers, against the interests of the Spanish proletariat and even against the very interests of the trade union unity of the Spanish working class—just as we foresaw and forewarned—the criminal act has been perpetrated of creating a third trade union center, which will even more divide the forces of the Spanish proletariat precisely at the moment when it is more necessary than ever to achieve the unification of all workers. The Stalinist bureaucracy has realized its arbitrary aim.

It will be said that the Conference of Madrid has been an enormous success, it will be claimed that it was not a matter of creating a new trade union center. But in reality, underneath the words, we have seen the culmination of a split in the name of unity, in order to give satisfaction to the ambitions of some and in order to secure their positions. No matter what name is given to what has been perpetrated at Madrid, the fact remains that the conference created an organism called the "Unitary General Labor Confederation."

Conference a Swindle

The Madrid Conference was a swindle carried out on the working class. In the first place, why was it proclaimed that it would be held with the aim of making a decisive step toward trade union unity? Secondly, why, in order to justify a splitting act (which has been realized) have thousands of adherents been invented which have never existed and do not exist today? Two or three examples will clarify the matter. The Association of Commercial Employees of Madrid figures on the list of those that attended at the conference with 900 members. The Spanish Tobacco Workers Federation, with 18,000. It is quite certain that both of these organizations, after the conference, will break off all relations with the splitting elements. The Unitary Federation of Asturian Miners, of which it has been said at the conference that it represented close to 10,000 members, in reality does not number more than 2,000 ever since it has come under the leadership of elements from the official party. In this manner all the figures have been puffed up to prove that numerous unions with thousands of members belong to the new trade union center.

All argumentation attempted against these facts is futile and false. What the Left Opposition has warned against from the first has been confirmed by the acts. The trade union split has become a reality. The conference was an obvious organizational defeat. The workers were not represented at it because they knew what was going to be brought about. All this, which should have sufficed for some of the leaders more conscientious about their responsibilities to change their attitude, has, on the contrary, given our Stalinists the pretext to consider this conference as a success unprecedented in the history of the Spanish labor movement.

Opposition Fights in Trade Unions

We have said what in our opinion constitutes the correct manner of arriving at the unification of all the Spanish trade union forces by normal means—by beginning with the penetration of the unions for the purpose of propagating our revolutionary and military points of view. That is why, in spite of the splitting action of the elements who convoked the conference in question, the militants of the Communist Left will remain within the trade unions and will fight inside of

them for the unification of the trade union forces in the only possible manner, that is, by bringing the autonomous unions into the C. N. T. (the class struggle trade union center) and by fighting that all the expelled militants, whether expelled through the sectarianism of the anarchists or through the adventurous policy carried on by the official C. P., be readmitted.

The Executive Committee of the Spanish Communist Left knows that in the future the struggle inside the trade unions will become sharper and will be made even more difficult and painful, precisely because of the state of split of which we have been speaking. The Stalinist elements bear the principal responsibility in this question insofar as they have contributed more than anything else to exhaust all spirits and all efforts, especially within the C. N. T.

The working class must be aroused against the maneuvers of those who place above the interests of the proletarian organizations the interests of their jobs and servile obedience to those who hand out the pay. A fratricidal struggle is being started in the trade unions. In order to achieve the thing which the masses mock at as a miserable abortion of a new trade union center, the trade union movement is to be enfeebled and the working class disarmed before the enemy!

In the struggle to prevent these consequences, the Spanish Communist Left will occupy the first place, by demonstrating that we have nothing in common with those who in this case have proved to be the avowed enemies of trade union unity.

Against the splitters! Against this new trade union center, created and dressed up in a hypocritical mask! For the revolutionary trade union unity of the Spanish proletariat! For the consolidation of the C. N. T. and for the struggle to change the orientation which still remains the same—inside of the organization.

Madrid, July 5, 1932.

Letter to the Zurich Workers

(Continued from page 4)

democracy is concealing its task of treachery with columns against the proletarian revolution. It is undermining the authority of the workers' state to the great profit of the authority of the bourgeois state by placing on the same level the violence of the revolution and the violence of reaction.

I hope that every Zurich worker, the social democratic worker included, will deeply reflect upon these events and upon the role which the social democratic leaders have played in them in order to draw the necessary political conclusions. Only then will we be able to say that the June victims will not have been sacrificed in vain.

LEON TROTSKY.

Prinkipo, June 25, 1932.

BOUND VOLUMES OF COMRADE TROTSKY'S PAMPHLETS

So many comrades and sympathizers come in and write in for comrade Trotsky's brilliant pamphlet, "The Turn in the C. I. and the Situation in Germany", that we want to announce again that this pamphlet together with "The Draft Program of the Comintern" and "World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan" are out of print and available only in the bound volumes of Trotsky's pamphlets.

The number of these bound volumes is small and slowly diminishing. We watch them go with mingled feelings: happy to see them reach workers who will study them and carefully weigh their contents; sorry to realize that with each one we are getting closer to the point of being unable to supply what we consider the texts of the future cadres of the revolutionary movement. But we have no choice and since we must strike a balance we advise all our readers and sympathizers who have not done so yet to buy their copies at once before it is too late.

LEON TROTSKY

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Bolshevik-Leninists Head Miners Strike in Belgium

Left Oppositionists on the Charleroi Firing Line!

Bulletin:

Our heroic comrades Lesoil, Huët, Vanderborcht, Henin and Lebrun are languishing in the jails of Belgian capitalism. Mad with fury over the success of the strike, the bourgeoisie is seeking vengeance, in an attempt to embroil our comrades in one of its infamous "conspiracy trials".

But they will not stop our advance. The meetings of the Left Opposition are packed to the doors. The circulation of our Belgian paper, *La Voix Communiste*, has been quadrupled. The Left Opposition which has showed its ability to create the united front of the striking workers is on the lips of all and sundry.

In Belgium, in Spain, in China, in Hungary, in Greece, everywhere the Left Oppositionists are in the forefront on the firing line, facing bourgeois repression. This is the true face of the Bolshevik-Leninists, whom the miserable mercenaries of the Stalinist bureaucracy characterize as "the vanguard of the counter-revolution!"

A Letter from our Charleroi Comrades

Dear comrades:

As you have probably seen from the press reports, we have passed through some very significant events in the history of the Belgian labor movement. Mainly—in Hainant, Mons, Le Centre, Charleroi.

We wish to report here as briefly as possible but with all desirable clarity several essential details of this battle, which has superseded in its energy all the struggles of the past. In this report we will naturally describe the circumstances which brought the Communist Left Opposition to the head of the column in the struggle of the unions.

The Miners' Situation

The situation of the Belgian miners had sunk to a level of misery and deprivation which they could no longer endure. For some time great dissatisfaction has been current without finding any means of expression. The diplomacy of the trade union leadership succeeded to the last day in suppressing this need and in carrying through all of the proposals of the employers for wage cuts, one after another. In Le Borinage, the presumptuousness of the bosses gets its first shock. The poor standard of living, the spreading strike and the newly planned wage reductions serve to stir up unrest among the miners participating in an isolated strike. The social democratic leaders maneuver desperately to localize the conflict, which in spite of everything, expands over the entire region. In this manner, the leaders of the district center of the reformist miners are forced to declare a strike. The militant spirit rises swiftly. The miners of the Borinage, who know that, isolated, without the support of the miners in the rest of the country, they will be defeated, occupy Le Centre, march forward toward Charleroi, to call upon all for solidarity in the struggle. The federation of the Chevaliers du Travail (Knights of Labor) quickly issues a call on the evening of July 8, appealing to the miners in all the pits to show their solidarity and to establish a program of action. Monster mass meetings are called. The immediate declaration of the general strike is decided. The miners in every pit prevent the transport of coal right in the middle of the night—a thing that has never yet happened in the Belgian labor movement. The miners demand lamps, go down into the shafts, persuade their comrades to lay down their tools and proclaim the general strike in the places of work. In the morning the strike is universal in the mines, in the metal industry and in all the other labor unions. The worker has had enough of misery, he wants to banish it by struggle.

The activity of the working masses rises everywhere, monster demonstrations take place, calling for the stoppage of all work and for a drive to victory. The leadership of the movement in the Charleroi district lay in the hands of the Chevaliers du Travail, led in its entirety and completely under the influence of the Communist Left Opposition.

The Bourgeoisie Acts

Against the militant zeal and will of the masses to go through to the bitter end, the bourgeoisie employed radical

means—prohibition of all demonstrations, of gatherings of more than five persons, of all vehicular traffic. In spite of the police apparatus, equipped with machine guns and supported by the military, the proletariat declared its will to demonstrate. But unfortunately, the provocations of the police did not permit this to go on very long. And soon fierce battles ensued, barricades and little forts were erected against the armed forces. Everywhere, our Opposition comrades stood at the head of the struggle.

The socialist leaders of the trade unions had shut themselves in, in their *Maisons du Peuple*, their citadels, in fear of the wrath of the thousands of workers who wanted to confront their leaders. Even Vandervelde could not get their attention and called for the police, fleeing shamefully under the protection of the bourgeois powers. Then police were posted in front of the reformist citadels, to guard them against the workers who had wanted to storm them. In the *Maison du Peuple* at Gilly, the center of the revolutionary forces, the police forced their way through to the bureau, to chase out the workers and had the soldiers clear the nearby buildings.

Signs of the times! The workers, awakened! A new stage begins. The socialists beat a retreat. The influence of the Communist Left Opposition is on the increase in the region of Charleroi.

Opposition Progress

Under this threat to the bourgeoisie—it is not over yet—numerous arrests were made among the Communist elements. From the ranks of the Oppositionists, our comrades Lesoil, Huët, Vanderborcht, Henin and Lebrun were arrested. At the present moment, that is quite an unsalutary bargain. But we shall do all that is necessary to see that our paper, *La Voix Communiste* (The Communist Voice) appears twice a week.

Now, when the bourgeoisie, with the aid of the social democrats, demand the heads of the active elements, who for the most part belong to the federation of the Chevaliers du Travail (miners), the socialists are coming out of their cellars. They are returning to the strikers and are attempting to get the workers under their control. They are making parliamentary maneuvers with the bourgeoisie, achieving only wretched promises, which in the last analysis can change nothing in the situation of the proletariat. Above all, they are attempting to instigate the strikers to return to work. It still remains to be seen what the workers will do about these new proposals of capitulation which are being made by the three big parties, the Catholics, the Liberals and the Socialists.

But these are only plasters on a wound which will break again and once more reveal the really deep contradictions of a regime which can never satisfy the demands of the working class.

The winds of our sails and although we have momentarily been weakened by the many arrests, our activity will go on as always. We are counting upon a serious strengthening of our group after this battle.

In the course of the skirmishes, we have had to mourn the loss of the dead and of the numerous wounded. On the other hand, class consciousness has risen tremendously. An irreconcilable hatred has been sworn to against the police hordes. To the soldiers a fraternal hand has been extended.

Need for Revolutionary Leadership

We can openly say that this struggle, which is not ended yet, arose from the depths of the proletariat. We could sense that the workers wanted more than the programs proposed. The workers have realized more than ever the necessity of creating for themselves a revolutionary leadership. It is lacking in the present action.

This struggle is a precious experience for the working class youth of Belgium, which had already forgotten the history of the struggles of 1883. The year 1932 is a new stage for the entire Belgian proletariat.

—The Left Opposition of the C. P. B. The Charleroi Group.

July 16, 1932.

Who Was Actually "Caught"?

Under a sensational headline "Caught!", the *Daily Worker* about ten days ago exposed a flagrant swindle practiced by the well-known socialist mountebank, Mr. E. Haldeman-Julius, editor of the socialist weekly, the *American Freeman*, and Socialist party candidate for Senator in Kansas. This respectable elder had simply taken the official acceptance speech of William Z. Foster, the Communist party candidate for president, copied it word for word, and presented it to his readers as the platform of the Socialist party. Virtually the only change made in the whole text was where the word "Communist" was replaced by the word "Socialist". The two texts, Foster's original and Haldeman-Julius' bald plagiarism, were published side by side by the *Daily Worker* and the merest glance at the two reveals one of the most despicable pieces of political fraud that has been practiced in recent times.

But in its rightful indignation, the *Daily Worker* fails to note a feature of this theft which we cannot refrain from indicating. Mr. Haldeman-Julius is a fairly notorious social reformist, who does not even enjoy that distinction of dubious "radicalism" to which the shoddy "left wing" of the Socialist party pretends. We are hardly inclined to believe that he felt obliged to decorate himself with a revolutionary-Communist plat-

form because of a wave of revolutionary radicalism sweeping over the fields and mines of Kansas. Is it, then, possible that he found Foster's speech, an official Communist party declaration, of such a nature that as a social reformist he could adopt it—words, commas, exclamation marks and all—without altering a line. Is it possible that the C. P. platform is cut, trimmed and styled by the Honorable Socialist Candidate for Senator from the State of Kansas? We find it hard to believe.

The *Daily Worker* has been asking Norman Thomas questions concerning the plagiarism which must undoubtedly be very embarrassing for him to answer; nor has he answered. May we be permitted to put our question to the *Daily Worker*?

Was it Haldeman-Julius alone who was caught? Wasn't somebody else caught too, or almost caught? . . .

A REMINDER

This is to remind our comrades that we have on hand a number of pamphlets that are very useful in our daily propaganda work. These are the Communist Manifesto; Socialism, Utopian and Scientific; Wage-Labor and Capital; Value, Price, and Profit. We still have a number of Whither England by comrade Trotsky. The amounts that we get are small and they move fast. Comrades who want them should order at once.

PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

The second wave of sales of Problems of the Chinese Revolution is about to break. A number of publications like the Nation, the New Republic and the Labor Age have undertaken to review it. The Modern Quarterly which is edited by Schmalhausen and to which Sidney Hook contributes will review both Problems of the Chinese Revolution and hat Next? in their next issue?

THE KEY—OUT OF PRINT

As we warned in the last issue, Germany—the Key to the International Situation, is out of print. The only way to get a copy now is by buying a copy of the Bound Volumes of comrade Trotsky's pamphlets of which we still have a dwindling number.

We have a very few of the Key in German and Greek.

French Opposition's German Campaign

Bureaucrats Resort to Violence

After months of intense agitation by our French comrades inside and outside of the Communist Party of France, and under pressure of the events themselves as well as the alarm of the party membership, the Stalinist bureaucrats in Paris were forced to call a meeting on the situation in Germany at the Salle Bul-

lier. The French Left Opposition immediately welcomed this important step and announced by placards all over the city that representatives of the Opposition would be on hand to present the Leninist point of view.

On the date of the meeting, July 28, our comrades took their places in the hall. Immediately upon entering, they were intimidated by the bureaucrat Reynaud, who called out to our comrades in his wrath:

"You had better make sure you've some iodine and bandages on hand."

From that moment on our comrades were subjected to an uninterrupted barrage of provocations, which they met with fearless discipline, marching in group formation to the center of the meeting room.

The chairman, one Arrachard, opened the meeting under the sign of Anti-Trotskyism and declared that the Left Oppositionist would not be granted the floor. Gabriel, Perl, one of the parliamentarian creatures of French Stalinism was the main speaker and restricted himself almost entirely to an attack full of slander and calumny against the Bolshevik-Leninists. Pierre Semard, the general secretary of the C. P. F. and one of the most corrupt of the international Stalinist bureaucrats followed along the same lines.

After a whole series of insults and epithet-slugging, Semard finally said a few words about the united front. Applause greeted these remarks. "That was all—And Semard picked this very moment to give the signal! 'Throw them out!', he shouted.

About fifty of the bureaucrats' henchmen immediately pounced on the Opposition comrades. At their head was the whole bureaucracy of the Paris district. A disgraceful and repugnant scene ensued. Oppositionists were thrown to the ground, kicked in stomach, in the head, one youth comrade was beaten till he lost consciousness. All this time, Semard and the chairman were excitedly applauding the attackers and egging them on right from the platform. After about a quarter of an hour of this pogrom, our comrades were bodily ejected from the hall.

The bureaucrat Thoroz, took the floor after this incident. He raised his foot demonstratively and pointed to it: "This is the method to deal with them!" and then proceeded to spout his share of insult and venom.

Numerous party comrades in all parts of the meeting room protested and some even left the place in protest. The spectacle of the Salle Bullier has not gone without effect. Letters from party members and militant workers are streaming in daily to *La Verité*, the central organ of our French comrades, declaring their sympathy with us and their disillusionment with the Stalinist bureaucracy, subscribing to our journal and enclosing donations. Whole columns of the current issue of *La Verité* are filled with these letters.

Bureaucratic Impotence—All over the World

As in New York, in Athens, in Shanghai and everywhere, so in France too the bureaucrats of the Stalinist camp express their bankrupt despair, their utter political impotence by violent physical assault against the Left Opposition. But these arguments will not hold. The Communist workers very well know the meaning of this argument with the fist, from their struggles against the bosses and against their yellow reformist agents. They will not fail to draw their conclusions—in France and internationally.

Our French comrades have only intensified and accelerated their campaign for the German revolution—the key to the international situation—with even greater determination since the incident of the Salle Bullier. Fresh from battle with our own—American Stalinist bureaucrats, we send them our revolutionary salutations. The Left Opposition is driving ahead with invincible force. The cause of Proletarian Internationalism, of the world revolution, will pierce its way through.

"Bolshevik-Leninists, Forward!"

A Conversation With a Party Member on the Question of the German Situation

Party Member: There you are! . . . You Trotskyites gathered gloom and predicted disaster in Germany, and instead we won a glorious victory, polled a tremendous vote, and smashed the Fascist advance.

Oppositionist: (We predicted and still predict disaster for your tactics, but not for Communism. How was your victory won?)

P. M.: First by fearlessly exposing the social Fascists, and then by resolutely applying the correct party line: the united front from below.

Opp.: What do you call a united front from below?

P. M.: Calling upon all Socialist and other workers to unite and to follow the Communist leadership and thus create a real united front against the enemy.

Opp.: How have the workers of Germany responded to your tactics? Did they accept them? Not at all. The union between the Socialist and Communist workers takes on an entirely different

and a spontaneous form. Workers all band as workers without in any way accepting one or the other leadership. The Communists support a Socialist demonstration and join them in fighting the Nazis; the Socialists in turn help and support the Communists in the same way. That is not the tactic of the united front from below, but an inevitable step toward the program of a true united front, as it was outlined in the Opposition program; real unity without forcing party leadership upon Socialist workers.

P. M.: You would twist it around. That is the way we always understood the united front.

Opp.: Yet curiously enough, you never applied it as such. In fact the changed attitude of both Socialist and Communist workers was quite unexpected by the leadership of both parties. The workers feel the urgent need of uniting their forces—and Trotsky's thundering voice aids them in finding the correct ways of bringing it to real-

ity at once. The only way to destroy Fascism is by bringing about the true united front.

P. M.: United front with the workers, not with the leaders and the traitors. We are going to gain more and more Socialist workers, until there will be nothing left of the social Fascist organizations.

Opp.: Comrade, you must wake up, and stop mumbering in your sleep. If there were years before us, perhaps what you say can be accomplished. But then there would be no need to speak of any kind of a united front. At the present moment, we have reached the danger mark. The only place where you will find Fascism smashed is in the columns of the *Daily Worker*. But in Germany the Nazis are now at the height of their power. The stage is set for their coup. In the government they have secret or passive allies. It took over the police force of 90,000 from the Socialists in Prussia and it restored to the Nazis the right to their

military organization. They have the direct support of 13 1-2 million voters and can expect support from another 1-2 million. Who opposes them? A divided working class. Five million Communist voters alone cannot stop the Nazis. To lull the Communists now with the fable that the Nazis are stopped or smashed—is to commit a crime against the proletariat of Germany and of the world. Only the united efforts of Communist and Socialist workers will save Germany from Fascism. The workers of Germany are doing it themselves, and this action spells the doom of the Nazis. Trotsky's correct application of Marxian tactics may save the situation for the party leadership. The Communist party will have to accept a united front from above, from below and from all the other sides—the onset of events and the pressure exerted by the workers will force it.

—A. K.

Revolt of Illinois Miners

Miners on Strike against Lewis Machine and Wage-Cuts

(Continued from page 1)

tendance of 10,000 revolting miners, similar big meetings have been held in Springfield and elsewhere. At the time of this writing miners are marching upon Taylorville where the Peabody Coal Company is making desperate efforts to reopen its four mines. Though the miners march without arms this company has already succeeded in making a virtual armed camp out of their little community. One press dispatch says: "Businessmen and members of the American Legion were recruited into a hastily formed home guard to repel any invasion." This town was also the scene of military forces moving in rapidly during the ill-fated strike of the National Miners Union in 1929.

The rebel movement is feverishly organizing its forces knowing that quick and decisive action is imperative. It has entrusted the leadership to an elected policy committee. Petitions have been placed in circulation among the local unions calling for a special state convention to abrogate the put-out agreement, and, as inevitably must follow, to clean out the traitorous officials. Meanwhile John L. Lewis is doing his bit for the operators sending proclamations to the miners' locals that "picketing and mass meetings must cease," and that opposition leaders are to be penalized. In this he is in complete accord with the agencies of the capitalist forces, including the government. It is reported that the young militant leader Gerry Allard was "quickly cut off the air by radio station WERQ, when he launched into a vehement attack on union officials who supported the \$5.00 agreement."

This was under date line of Aug. 12th. The reports are that Gerry Allard and his wife, Irene, have been arrested in West Frankfort. Such, of course, are the celebrated capitalist methods—to strike the heavy blows at the militant leaders. There need be no doubt that a powerful answer will be given by the rebel movement.

Illinois, Scene of Many Revolts

The history of the Illinois coal fields is replete with rank and file revolts dating back to the days of the Verdine battle and even farther. There was often found the backbone of the fight to break the stranglehold of John L. Lewis upon the union. But this is yet an unfinished task because of the various ways in which the miners were time and again switched off the path by their resistance being insufficiently organized, by leadership which faltered in the decisive moments or by other groups of corrupt elements capitalizing on the situation leaving the miners to suffer new disillusionment.

In the above is contained a serious Howatt combination, ostensibly in opposition to Lewis, proved a disastrous deception and illusion. The revolt led by the Edmondson-Musteite combination, which lacked backbone and a clear progressive program, failed utterly. But the results in both of these instances is to be accounted for in large measure by the failure of the Left wing under the official party leadership to penetrate these movements and its subsequent complete isolation.

Now the Illinois miners are marching again. The deep-seated discontent is again flaring into a mighty flame. Tension struggles against the lowering of the standard of living are in progress also in the Indiana coal fields and the Mahoning Valley, Ohio.

In the above is contained a serious lesson of what the revolutionary forces must not do. It is the policy pursued by the official party which led to isolation and impotence of the Left wing. Its mistakes in this respect began with the stupid boycott of the revolt movement which found its expression in the Walker-Fishwick-Howatt combination, and repeated toward the Edmondson-Musteite-led revolt. The serious consequences of these stupid tactics are not to be measured alone by the shortcomings and failures or betrayals of the revolt movements but more so by the isolation and final disappearance of an organized Left wing movement.

Duties of the Revolt Movement

It is yet time, however, to make good in a measure on the mistakes made and to regain the time and opportunities lost. The present revolt movement has a very serious duty to perform for the

success of which the Left Opposition supporters in the Illinois coal fields will bend all their efforts.

To make the present strike state-wide is, of course, imperative. That is the direction of the present movement. In this the Illinois miners are now carrying the brunt of the burden of leading the working class as a whole forward in resistance upon the attacks on their standard of living. Closely bound up with this must be the completion of the long overdue task of cleaning out the treacherous officials and saving the union from destruction.

Hillman «Leads» the New York Amalgamated in a Stoppage

(Continued from page 1)

a straw. Hillman and his assistants, the local officials of the New York organization, have been utilizing the situation created by the economic crisis to justify the policies of betrayal they have been pursuing in all these years. They have been throwing sand in the eyes of the members and the general public, covering up the fact that their present concessions to the employers are only a link in the long chain of betrayals which they began to practice several years before the crisis had set in. They want the tailors to forget all the crimes up till now and to allow themselves to be caught by the new swindle which the present stoppage constitutes.

What do the above-mentioned demands in the present stoppage (?) signify?

Hillman's Points

The point about stopping wage-cuts is clearly deceptive. Hillman has not made it clear that this means the return of the last wage-cuts which he granted the manufacturers in recent weeks, since the last decision of the union to that effect. The tailors are deluding themselves that this is what the point means. They will be bitterly disappointed.

The other two points on stopping the exodus of bundles of sweat-shops and the re-establishment of union control over labor conditions in the shops, do not have the same significance to Hillman as they have for the general public. To him, union control means an agreement with the bosses to collect dues and assessments from the workers and not union conditions in the shops. Such agreements have been made by him with manufacturers and employers in numerous towns around New York. The conditions there are just as rotten as in the non-union shops. But for the tailors, he seeks to create the impression that he aims to keep the work inside genuine union shops. This is how he practices the swindle with success.

The true aim of Hillman's call for the present stoppage is the strengthening of the considerably weakened union machine. The financially situated union is close to bankruptcy. For weeks and months, the officials have received no salaries. The bosses are seeking to evade the payment of unemployment (?) insurance. The work sent out of New York slips into new shops, out of town, not under Hillman's control, that is, from which Hillman draws no dues. By the present stoppage Hillman hopes to tighten up the machine, oil it and put it into faster operation, in order to squeeze out a little more sustenance for the impoverished bureaucrats. This is the aim of the present stoppage in so far as Hillman is concerned. The near future will clearly reveal this aim and the cause which led to the sudden stoppage after Hillman's declaration not so long ago that a strike or stoppage is impracticable.

As for the tailors, they have been drawn into this stoppage, first of all, as I mentioned before, because of their deplorable conditions, and second because of deceptive slogans. Were there a well-organized Left wing in the Amalgamated, it would be possible to convert the stoppage into a genuine strike struggle against wage-cuts and for the smashing of Hillman's plans.

A Vicious Combination

Hillman's machine supports itself upon the Clothiers' Exchange, the Contractors' Association and certain trucking express companies which carry the cut work and piece goods into the clothing shops. This combination brings in enormous profits,

however, as once more a situation exists of the miners battling separately in several territories with their several organizations struggling alone for their life preservation, the creation of a united front is more pressing than ever. There is now an opportunity for the Illinois revolt movement to perform a real duty by leaving no stone unturned to endeavor to unite their immediate aims and their immediate struggle with those of the National Miners Union, with the Miners Union of West Virginia with the battling miners in Indiana and Ohio.

But these are objectives the complete fulfillment of which can be conceived of alone on the basis of creating a strong Left wing, conscious of its task within this movement. This is the duty of the hour for all revolutionary miners.

—A. S.

when it is working harmoniously, for all the partners in question. They all live at the expense of the workers, tailors, who are gripped in their vise. The tailors can liberate themselves only by breaking this combination, smashing the Hillman bureaucratic machine and thus releasing their own organized forces in the struggle for better conditions.

In the present hour, the tactics of the Left wing must be turned in this direction.

The Left wing in the Amalgamated, under the control of the Communist Party (the Rank and File Committee) has up to now not made clear its tasks in the Amalgamated. It continues to swing between the tactic of isolation of the "Third Period" and the recently altered new tactic which is far from being clear and comprehensible to the broad masses.

Up to the present stoppage, the Rank and File Committee has adhered to the policy that there should be no participation in strikes and stoppages of the Amalgamated because it is a "company union". Although the old policy has been changed, the Left wing has stood on the side-lines, ridiculing and disparaging any real activity in the A. C. W. This attitude gained them the result that the tailors regard them as light-minded huffers. Their influence among the tailors has considerably diminished in recent years.

The Rank and File Committee

In the present stoppage, the Rank and File Committee has adopted a different position. It has made the decision to participate in the picket lines together with the other tailors and to seek to convert the stoppage into a genuine strike. This is the best means of unmasking the Hillman bureaucracy and smashing its plans in the stoppage, to strengthen the influence of the Left wing in the Amalgamated.

The "conference" called by the Unemployed Council of New York under the direction of the Communist party at the Manhattan Lyceum, August 15 "to work out a plan to further advance the fight for immediate relief and unemployment insurance" was a pure brew of opportunism. From beginning to end it was saturated with the spirit of reformism. Every speech was devoted to the fakery of the relief agencies, the collusion of the city government with the real estate sharks and landlords, etc., etc.

In themselves these exposures are in order—provided they are linked up correctly with the revolutionary goal of the working class and the Communists. This was nowhere apparent. In fact its absence made it impossible to distinguish the ideological approach of the conference from a Left wing socialist meeting.

Winters, the reporter by appointment, worked himself into a minor heat over the "insult the city offered the unemployed" by allowing the Board of Estimate to take a four month's vacation." He made an "analysis" of the failure of the unemployed movement to build organizationally, to build a stronger movement from which he deduced the necessity of building a movement strong enough to wring from them tens and hundreds of millions of dollars for relief.

Insurance Relegated

Even unemployment insurance was relegated to the background. It was men-

Who Is Leading the Barbusse Congress

The window-front of the "World Congress Against War" organized by the Communist International, is composed of a number of shining lights from the literary and scientific world. The initiative for organizing an international gathering to mobilize the working class for a struggle against imperialist war has been handed by the Stalinists to a group of pacifists. Behind them, the Stalinist apparatus maneuvers with its opportunistic line of policy. The open Leninist fight against the war danger is replaced by a mélange of pacifism and confusion directed by individuals largely disconnected from the live stream of the class struggle who, moreover, in most

cases have in no way stood the test.

The Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky alone embodies the traditions of the revolutionary anti-war struggle. The pacifists of all shades embody the miserable tradition of treachery during the last war and opium peddling to the people in between wars. A glance at the records and standpoints of some of the leading figures chosen by the Stalinist apparatus to lead and organize the struggle against war will indicate, first, what reliance can be placed by the proletariat in such a leadership, and second, what a sinister masquerade of opportunism the Stalinists themselves are engaged in.

The Case of H. G. Wells

Among the members of the "International Committee" of the Barbusse-Stalinist Rolland Committee, we find the name of H. G. Wells. Wells is a notorious petty bourgeois philistine who has covered himself with a thin socialistic veneer throughout his literary career. During the last World War, Wells was to be found on the side of British imperialism, adding his voice to the howl of the jingoist mob that drove the proletariat into the trenches for the greater glory of the ruling class. An inkling of his position during those crucial days, an insight into the political and social outlook of this latter-day assistant of Stalinism, may be gained from the following excerpt from his article, "The Question At Issue," written at the height of the war:

"First let us deal with that postcard (on which, according to Wells, the gist of the war dispute could be written.—Ed.) and say what is the essential aim of the war, the aim to which all other aims are subsidiary. It is, we have heard repeated again and again by every statesman of importance in every allied country, to defeat and destroy military imperialism, to make the world safe forever against any such deliberate aggression as Germany prepared for forty years and brought to a climax when she crossed the Belgian frontier in 1914. We want to make anything of that kind on the part of Germany, or of any other power, henceforth impossible in this world. That is our great aim. Whatever other objects may be sought in this war, no responsible statesman dare claim them as anything but subsidiary to that; one can say in fact this is our sole aim, our other aims being but parts of it. Better that millions should die now, we declare, than that hundreds of millions still unborn should go on living, generation after generation, under the black tyranny of this imperialist threat."

"There is our common agreement. So far at any rate we are united. The question I would put the reader is this: are we all logically, sincerely, and fully carrying out the plain implications of this war aim? Or are we to any extent muddling about with it in such a way as to confuse and disorganize our allies, weaken our internal will and strengthen the enemy?"

"Now the plain meaning of this supreme declared war aim is that we are asking Germany to alter her ways. We are asking Germany to become a different Germany. Either Germany has to be utterly smashed up and destroyed or else Germany has to cease to be an aggressive military imperialism."

"But do we as a nation stick closely to this clear and necessary, this only possible meaning of our declared war aim? That great, clear-minded leader among the Allies, that Englishman who more than any other single man speaks for the whole English-speaking and western-thinking community, President Wilson, has said definitely that this is his meaning. America, with him as her spokesman, is under no delusion; she is fighting consciously for a German revolution as the essential war aim." (New Republic, February 9, 1918.)

Isn't it quite clear that Wells is a logical choice for the leadership today in the struggle against war? Doesn't his whole record speak in his favor?

AY, to speak in favor of peace during times of peace—that costs nothing. No body is "in favor" of war during peace times. Even the most rabid militarist is usually to be found expressing his horror at war, his opposition to it. At the same time he systematically prepares the ground for imperialist war. The softest pacifist is always opposed to war in peace times. When it breaks out, his love for peace is so strong that he urges his fellow-countrymen to support the war of the fatherland in order that it may, you understand, be brought to a speedy conclusion at the end of which, isn't it logical?, peace may prevail again. Wells is one of these pacifists in "Rein-kultur" as the Germans say—in a chemically pure state. He is the man to whom Stalin is sending the class conscious workers for leadership in . . . the struggle against war.

The case of Rolland is somewhat different from that of most of the pacifist witch doctors who seek to exercise war by mystic incantations Rolland's sincerity and devotion to the cause of the undertakings is beyond question. His allegiance to the Soviet Union is not of that base metal whose counterfeit ring clanks from the speech of the bought-and-paid-for intellectual henchmen of Stalinism. During the World War, he opposed the hideous slaughter and fled chauvinistic France to take refuge in Switzerland.

We have no reason to believe that Rolland, one of the really great intellectual spirits of our time, will ever be found fighting on the side of imperialism, or sink to the level of H. G. Wells and Upton Sinclair, his fellow-member on the "International Committee."

But Rolland is a pacifist, the most honest and sincere amongst them, but a pacifist nevertheless. His profound admiration for Lenin and the Bolshevik revolution is vitiated by his equally ardent admiration for Sun Yat Sen . . . Ghandi. Among these three contemporary figures Rolland gets himself hopelessly lost. He has a fatal inability to distinguish the yawning gap that divides the latter two from the great proletarian revolutionary tribune. In a word, he is unable to distinguish between the treacherous morass of Ghandism and the eminance of Marxism. One cannot be a Ghandist or Sun Yat Sen for Asia and a Leninist for Europe. That impossible combination was attempted by Stalin and Bucharin all during the revolutionary upsurge in China in 1925-1927. The result is commonly known: the Chinese revolution was not only inundated in its own blood but the war danger, particularly against the Soviet Union, was greatly accentuated. This dreadful experiment is a warning against itself.

"I say to the U. S. S. R. of Lenin," writes Rolland, "and I say to the Asia of Sun Yat Sen and Ghandi: Brothers, count on me!" Lenin is a name which means the unrelenting revolutionary struggle of the exploited of the earth against the imperialist slavedrivers. Ghandi is a name which stands for the bartering of the interests of the oppressed masses to the imperialist overlord of the native colonial bourgeoisie. No man can stand for both Lenin and Ghandi.

Lenin means active, organized, militant resistance not only to war but to the whole bourgeoisie. Ghandi's non-resistance is the highest development of the practice of disarming the armies of the people in face of the imperialist forces armed to the teeth. The preaching of Leninism and Ghandism do not simply cancel each other; the latter excludes the former.

The presentation of the leadership of a struggle against imperialist war to a man like Rolland, however eminent, is to build a movement on a slope at the end of which lies defeat.—S.

T. S.

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Pappas Appeals for a United Front Against Hitlerism in Germany

(Continued from page 1)

of restraining their followers from struggle and from unity with the Communists against the advances of the Brown Shirts.

Life itself has proved the best test of the policies. The Hitler party has continued to gain strength throughout Germany. From an insignificant group it has grown to the largest party in the country. The Communist party has also grown, but due to its mistakes, only very little in comparison with the possibilities offered by the situation. It has not been able to break the hold of the social democratic politicians over millions of socialist workers. And at the present moment of acute danger, our party offers no clear program of struggle that can unite the German masses, to sweep out of existence the Fascist gangs of petty bourgeois agents of German and world imperialism.

For a United Front

The situation cries aloud for action. What is imperative is that our German brother party adopt the policy of Lenin, the policy of the united front. Against the danger of Kornilov's putsch in 1917,

the Bolsheviks made a united front with the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists. By this means, Kornilov was crushed, the Mensheviks and S. R.s were weakened and the Bolsheviks enormously strengthened, and the door was opened directly for the revolutionary victory in October. The same problem confronts German Bolshevism today. The party there must make a radical and frank turn in its policy. It must make an open demand for a united front to the Social Democratic party, the socialist trade unions and the Reichsbanner—a united front to crush the Fascist monster, to stamp it out before it reaches power. A unified proletariat can accomplish this aim without great difficulty. The interests of the proletarian revolution, the fate of the Communist International, hang upon the achievement in the speediest possible time of this objective.

The defense of the Soviet Union depends directly upon the extermination of the Fascist hordes.

Comrades! Days count now where months counted before. We Communists in America have our part to play. We must help our German comrades tread the correct road. We must awaken the

American proletariat to their international duties just as we awakened them in the early days of the Russian Revolution. The party comrades here must raise the demand: an immediate discussion of the burning problems of the German situation in their units and in the trade unions. Civil war has broken out and we must act before it is too late!

Remember, comrades:

The victory of Fascism in Germany means a crushing defeat of the working class of the world and a direct threat to the life of the Soviet Union!

The victory of the proletariat of Germany over Fascism means opening of a new era of revolutionary struggles and triumphs throughout the entire world!

We still have time left to choose. The decision lies in the hands of our German brother party! We must help it make the correct decision. We must show our genuine solidarity with it in its hour of need—right now.

Fraternally,

(Signed) SEBASTIAN PAPPAS

690 Allison Ave.,

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Bronx, N. Y.

August 1, 1932.

tioned only by way of obeisance to a discarded but still living god. Relief, any kind of relief, was the note of the conference. This is not a new development of the party's efforts to build a movement or relief from the crisis. It is only the latest phase of the opportunist turn initiated a little more than a year ago by Browder in the Daily Worker of March 6 and 12.

The difference lies in the fact that this conference, as the reporter's speech showed, had a programmatic character. The National Committee of the Unemployed Councils of the U. S. A. has issued a "Proposed Draft Program of Fighting Methods and Organization Forms of the Unemployed Councils." Whereas before the party pursued its opportunistic way by twists and turns in the party press it is now definitely committed to a program opportunistic through and through. We will return to this program in the next issue. Time is needed to plough through the swamp and reduce it to its opportunistic elements.

The conference was a model of bureaucratic machine control. It ran smoothly on all six cylinders of mechanical control and ideological oil. The conference was opened by Winter who in the name of the arrangement committee nominated Wiseman, organizer of the Unemployed Council. Attempts to make other nominations were ignored and Wiseman rode into the chairmanship on a wave of "ayes." Wiseman introduced the main reporter, Winter, "who will speak for forty minutes." Winter consumed an hour and a half of one of the hottest nights in memory.

He outlined the fakery of the relief agencies, the collusion of the city government with the landlords in evicting workers; he spoke much of "our" failure to embrace masses of workers but failed to explain the causes in the incorrect policy of the party. He also subscribed to the Stalinist article of faith, that the line is correct, benedictum sit, but the execution poor.

Winter reached the pinnacle of Stalinist theory and logic in explaining that the arrangement committee some time prior to the convening of the conference had changed the name of the demonstration on September 10 which the conference was called to organize, from "Bread Parade" to "Relief March." The reason? Shades of Marx and Lenin! Said Winter: This is not to be just another demonstration limited to our members and sympathizers shouting the same slogan for relief and unemployment insurance. It is to be a march of workers already struggling for relief. We are going to indicate that we are going to carry on concrete struggles in every shop house. . . . The words and music are only too familiar to our readers. Winter's little quirk did not make this sort of Stalinist pap any more palatable.

The tasks which Winter imposed on

the movement were no whit different from those which the movement has been struggling to carry out. As these are contained in their entirety in the Draft Program of the Unemployed Councils we will deal with them next week. Here it is necessary to remark only that they did not advance us one step toward uniting the unemployed and employed, toward making a serious approach to the socialist workers and the workers in the A. F. of L. unions. In short Winter left us standing exactly where we were, marking time furiously in a circle from which Winters, big and little, cannot lead us.

When Winter was through the floor was thrown open for discussion. The procedure was amazingly simple. The chairman announced that the floor was open for discussion and that the first speaker would be comrade so and so from the Gold Dust Lodge. When the comrade was through the chairman informed us that the way to get the floor was to hand a slip of paper bearing the name of the delegate and his organization—"the next speaker will be . . ."

It was beautifully simple. How these people fear and hate the Left Opposition! It will help them nothing. From such bureaucratic stultification can come nothing but confusion. No serious worker can learn anything more about his problems from such spectacles, then he can from the Corpus Christi processions of the Roman Catholic Church. What the Stalinists must be made to realize is that the ideas of Marxian-Leninism cannot be stifled by bureaucratic machines in the Stalinist era any more than they were by the corrupt and degenerate social democratic bureaucracies in the days when the Leninist tactics of the Comintern under Lenin and Trotsky smashed their way through all obstacles.

The Only Road

Bonapartism and Fascism

An Analysis of the Present Moment in the German Situation

(Continued from page 1)

runs his neck raw and does not hesitate at times to dig his boots into his face. It might have been assumed that Bruening would hold on until the final solution. Yet, in the course of events, another link inserted itself: the Papen government. Were we to be exact, we should have to make a rectification of our old designation: the Bruening government was a pre-Bonapartist government. Bruening was only a precursor. In a perfected form, Bonapartism came upon the scene in the Papen-Schleicher government.

Wherein lies the difference? Bruening asserted that he knew no greater happiness than to "serve" Hindenburg and Paragraph 48. Hitler "supported" with his fist Bruening's right hip. But with the left elbow Bruening rested on Weis's shoulder. In the Reichstag, Bruening found a majority which relieved him of the necessity of counting on the Reichstag.

BRUENING AND THE BUREAUCRACY

The more Bruening's independence from the parliament grew, the more independent did the summits of the bureaucracy feel themselves from Bruening and the political groupings standing behind them. There only remained finally to break the bonds with the Reichstag. The von Papen government emerged from an immaculate bureaucratic conception. With the right elbow it rests upon Hitler's shoulder. With the police fist it wards off the proletariat on the Left. Therein lies the secret of its "stability". That is, of the fact that it did not collapse at the moment of its birth.

The Bruening government bore a clerical-bureaucratic-police character. The Reichswehr still remained in reserve. Next to the police, the "Iron Front" served as a direct prop of Order. It is precisely in wiping out the dependence of the "Iron Front" that lay the essence of the Hindenburg-Papen coup d'Etat. The Generality moves up automatically to first place.

The social democratic leaders turned out to be completely duped. And it is no more than proper for them in periods of social crises. These petty bourgeois intrigues appear to be clever only under those conditions where cleverness isn't necessary. Now they pull the covers over their heads at night, sweat, and hope for a miracle. Perhaps in the end we may yet be able to save not only our necks but also the over-stuffed furniture and the small, innocent savings. But there won't be any miracles. . . .

Unfortunately, however, the Communist party has also been taken completely by surprise by the events. The Stalinist bureaucracy was unable to foresee a thing. Today Thaelmann, Remmele and others speak on every occasion of "the coup d'Etat of July 20." How is that? At first they contended that Fascism is already here and that only "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" could speak of it as something in the future. Now it turns out that to pass over from Bruening to Papen—for the present not to Hitler but only to Papen—a whole "coup d'Etat" was necessary. Yet the class content of Severing, Bruening and Hitler, these sages taught us, is "one and the same thing." Then whence and wherefore the coup d'Etat?

But the confusion doesn't come to an end with this. Even though the difference between Bonapartism and Fascism has now been revealed plainly enough, Thaelmann, Remmele and others speak of the Fascist coup d'Etat of July 20. At the same time, they warn the workers against the approaching danger of the Hitlerist, that is, of the equally Fascist overturn. Finally, the social democracy is designated just as before as social Fascist. The unfolding events are in this way reduced to this, that species of Fascism takes the power from each other with the aid of "Fascist" coups d'Etat. Isn't it clear that the whole Stalinist theory was created only for the purpose of gluing up the human brain?

FINISHING OFF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The less prepared the workers were, the more the appearance of the Papen government on the scene had to arouse the impression of strength: complete ignoring of the parties, new emergency decrees, dissolution of the Reichstag, pressive measures, state of siege in the capital, abolition of the Prussian "Democracy". And with what ease! A lion you kill with a shot; the flea you squash between the fingernails; social democratic ministers are finished off with a flip.

Only, in spite of the appearance of concentrated forces, the Papen government "as such" is weaker yet than its predecessor. The Bonapartist regime can attain a comparatively stable and durable character only in the event that it brings a revolutionary epoch to a close; when the relationship of forces has already been tested in battles; when the revolutionary classes are already spent while the possessing classes have not yet freed themselves from the fear; will not the morrow bring new convulsions? Without this basic condition, that is, without a preceding exhaustion of the mass energies in battles, the Bonapartist regime is in no position to develop.

Through the Papen government, the barons, the magnates of capital and the bankers have undertaken the attempt to secure their wealth by means of the police and the regular army. The idea of giving up all power to Hitler, who supports himself upon the raging and unleashed bands of the petty bourgeoisie, is far from a pleasant one to them. They do not, of course, doubt that in the long

run Hitler will be a submissive instrument of their domination. Yet this is bound up with convulsions, with the risk of a long and weary civil war and great expenses. To be sure, Fascism, as the Italian example shows, leads in the end to a militarist-bureaucratic dictatorship of the Bonapartist type. But for that it requires a number of years even in the event of a complete victory: a longer span of years in Germany than in Italy. It is clear that the possessing classes would prefer a more economical path, that is, the path of Schleicher and not of Hitler, not to speak of the fact that Schleicher himself prefers it that way.

The fact that the source of existence of the Papen government consists in the neutralization of the irreconcilable camps, in no way signifies, of course, that the forces of the revolutionary proletariat and of the reactionary petty bourgeoisie weigh equally on the scale of history. The whole question shifts here onto the field of politics. Through the mechanics of the "Iron Front" the social democracy paralyzes the proletariat. With the policy of brainless ultimatum the Stalinist bureaucracy blocks the revolutionary way out for the workers. With a correct leadership of the proletariat, Fascism would be exterminated without difficulty and not a clink could remain open for Bonapartism. Unfortunately that is not the situation. The paralyzed strength of the proletariat has assumed the deceptive form of a "strength" of the Bonapartist clique. Therein lies the political formula of the present day.

WHAT PAPEN REPRESENTS

The Papen government represents the impersonal cutting point of great historical forces. Its independent weight is next to nil. Therefore it could do nothing but take flight at its own gesticulations and grow dizzy from the voids arising on all sides of it. By this and only by this is to be explained that in the deeds of the government up to now there have been two parts of cowardice to each part of audacity. With Prussia, that is, the social democracy, the government played a sure game: it knew that these gentlemen would offer no resistance. But after it had dissolved the Reichstag, it summoned new elections and did not dare to postpone them. After proclaiming the state of martial law, it hastened to explain: it is only in order to facilitate the capitulation without a struggle of the social democratic leaders.

However, isn't there a Reichswehr? We are not inclined to forget it. Engels designated the state of the armed detachments of people with material auxiliaries in the form of prisons, etc. With respect to the present governmental power, it can even be said that the Reichswehr alone really exists. But the Reichswehr in no way represents a submissive and guaranteed instrument in the hands of that group of people at whose

head stands Papen. In reality, the government is rather a sort of political commission of the Reichswehr.

But with all its preponderance over the government, the Reichswehr can nevertheless lay no claim to any independent political role. A hundred thousand soldiers, no matter how fused and steered they may be (which still requires testing), are incapable of commanding a nation of sixty-five millions, torn by the profoundest social antagonisms. The Reichswehr represents only one element in the interplay of forces, and not the decisive one.

In its fashion, the new Reichswehr does not reflect baldly the political situation in the country which has led to the Bonapartist experiment. The parliament without a majority, with irreconcilable wings, offers an obvious and irrefutable argument in favor of dictatorship. Once more the confines of democracy emerge in all their obviousness. Where it is a question of the foundations of society itself, it is not parliamentary arithmetic that decides. What decides is the struggle.

PROSPECTS FOR TOMORROW

We shall not undertake to counsel from afar what road the attempts at forming a government will take in the next days. Our hypotheses would come tardily in any case, and besides, it is not the possible transitional forms and combinations which decide the question. A bloc of the Right wing with the Center would signify the "legalization" of the seizure of power by the National-Socialists, that is, the most suitable cloak for the Fascist coup d'Etat. What relationships would develop in the early days between Hitler, Schleicher and the Center leaders, is more important for them than it is for the German people. Politically, all the conceivable combinations with Hitler signify the dissolution of bureaucracy, courts, police and army into Fascism.

If it is assumed that the Center will not agree to a coalition, in which it would have to pay with a railway strike its own workers for the role of a brake in Hitler's locomotive—then in this case only the unconcealed extra-parliamentary road remains. A combination without the Center would more easily and speedily insure the predominance of the National-Socialists. If the latter do not immediately unite with Papen and at the same time do not pass over to the immediate assault, then the Bonapartist character of the government will have to emerge more sharply: von Schleicher would have his "hundred days" . . . without the preceding Napoleonic years.

Hundred days—no, we are figuring far too generously. The Reichswehr does not decide. Schleicher does not suffice. The extra-parliamentary dictatorship of the Junkers and the magnates of financial capital can be stood firmly on its feet only by the method of a wearisome and relentless civil war. Will Hitler be able to fulfill this task? That depends not only upon the evil will of Fascism, but also upon the revolutionary will of the proletariat.

—L. TROTSKY.

Prinkipo, August 2, 1932.

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

A Letter to the Workers of Zurich

Trotsky Replies to a Calumny of the Social Democrats

In the night of the 15th of June, violent encounters took place in Zurich between the workers and the police. I learned of these events from the cables of the bourgeois press agencies, which were, consequently, very tendentious and hostile to the workers. But even without knowing the details, it is not very difficult to get a general idea of the character of these events. Encounters between workers, especially striking workers or the jobless, and the police are abundant in the whole history of capitalism. The present terrible crisis which is revealing all the rottenness of the capitalist system is stretching the nervous tension of the bourgeoisie to the extreme and is driving it to make use of the police and the army at the slightest alarm. On the other hand, the very just indignation of the workers against the bourgeoisie is growing and is seeking a way out. No matter what political tendency was heading the strike and the demonstration at Zurich, the character of the bloody encounter is one and the same. Capitalism has reduced the workers to starvation, to misery, to despair. Capitalism is throwing them out into the streets. Capitalism is beating them down by armed force. The lackeys of the capitalist press calumniate the workers and the capitalist judges condemn the "leaders" to jail if the bullets of capitalism do not fell them beforehand.

This was the simple and obvious explanation I gave, far from Zurich, to the events of June 15 and 16. Today, on June 25, I have received from friends a leaflet issued by the "Socialist Party of Zurich" entitled "Settling Accounts with the Communists." In this document the Zurich Social Democracy, which is running the municipality in that town, attempts to vindicate itself of all responsibility for the repression against the strikers and the demonstrators. According to this document, the fault of the conflict is incumbent not upon capitalism but upon Communism. In defense of its actions against the Zurich workers, the social democracy writes:

"Lenin and Trotsky, in similar situations, were severe against all the ultra-Left syndicalists of the anarchist tendency. They pitilessly crushed in blood all the putschists."

This leaflet has instigated me to address myself by means of the present letter to the Zurich workers. It is the aim of the present letter to denounce this calumny. Lenin and myself have more than one been the objects of calumny. You doubtless know that we were even accused of being in the service of the German general staff. Nevertheless I have never known a more mendacious and a baser calumny than the one cast on us by the leaflet of the Zurich social democracy.

The whole life of Lenin was dedicated to the overthrow of bourgeois society, of its state, its privileges, its laws, its justice, its police, its prisons and its army. How then can anyone employ the name of Lenin to justify the reprisals of the bourgeoisie against the workers. I also protest against the utilization of

my name because during the thirty-five years of my conscious life I have served and continue to serve in so far as my forces permit me, the cause of the emancipation of the working class.

—But the Soviet power, the Messrs. Social Democratic journalists will reply, didn't it employ measures of reprisal against the anarchists of the Left Social Revolutionists who attempted to organize an insurrection? To be sure! But the difference lies precisely in this—an insignificant difference, isn't it, comrades, workers?—that with us it was a matter of defending, not a bourgeois state, but a proletarian state. The Bolsheviks had previously organized the October insurrection (1917) by means of which the proletariat overthrew the bourgeoisie, confiscated the land of the rural gentry and turned it over to the peasants, chased out the parasites from their palaces and put up the workers' children in them, deprived the exploiters of their voting rights, concentrated the power and the weapons in the hands of the workers and thus guarded the first proletarian state against its enemies. It is precisely therein that the regime of the proletarian dictatorship consists. Yes, we have defended this regime effectively with guns in hand. For its defense we created the Red Army. Social democracy of the entire world condemned us and hurled all sorts of curses on our heads. The German social democracy supported the Hohenzollerns who tried to strangle the Soviet republic. But the Bolsheviks did not allow themselves to be strangled. With an iron fist they defended the workers' state. The domestic enemies of the proletarian dictatorship were the bourgeois officers and students, gentlemen of the type of Conrad who assassinated my friend Vorovsky. The Russian social democrats (the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists) directly and indirectly supported this struggle against the workers' state. In all instances in which they rose against it with guns in hand, we treated them without mercy.

But the Zurich social democracy is deceiving you when it refers to Lenin and Trotsky to justify its bloody violence against the workers rising against the capitalist state. Violence is used, to be sure, in both instances. Wherever the classes are conducting an implacable struggle, in the last analysis, we always arrive at a point where violence is resorted to. This will always be the case as long as the classes continue to exist. But the whole question is determined by what class exercises the violence.

At one of the sessions of the Brest-Litovsk conference, on January 14, 1918, General Hoffman, the actual head of the German General Staff on the Eastern Front, protested against the violence employed by the Soviet government. I take the occasion to quote verbatim from

the minutes the following extract from my reply:

"The honorable general has remarked that our government rests on force and employs violence against all those who profess adverse ideas which are stigmatized as counter-revolutionary. The honorable general is absolutely correct when he says that our government rests on force. Up to the present, history has not known any other type of government. As long as society will be composed of classes engaged in struggle, the state will inevitably be an arm of compulsion, and will make use of a coercive apparatus. . . . That, in our actions, which astonishes and outrages the governments of other countries—is the fact that we arrest not the strikers but the capitalists who lock out the workers, the fact that we do not shoot down the peasants who demand the land but arrest the landed gentry and the officers who attempted to shoot down the peasants."

The leaders of the Zurich democracy have not gone any further than General Hoffman in so far as they speak of violence without defining the class which employs this violence. And for good cause: the social democracy cannot pose this question openly and honestly, since its leaders themselves serve the capitalist regime. In the petty local questions, the secondary ones, for example—the municipal questions, the social democracy attempts to bargain with capitalism for the workers, in order to maintain its authority among them. But wherever it is a matter of the fundamental interest of the capitalist order and of private property, the very foundations of the social democracy, in Switzerland, in Germany, in Austria, in France and in the entire world, invariably takes the side of the exploiters. It has once more demonstrated this in a striking fashion by the June events in Zurich.

Since the gentlemen of the social democratic leadership have taken advantage by referring to Lenin and to myself in casting off their guilt, I will say the following in conclusion: although I cannot judge the events in Zurich except through the accounts rendered by the bourgeois journals to which I can hardly accord more than ten percent of credence, I nevertheless declare in all security, since the labor movement is involved, that all my sympathies are without the slightest reserve on the side of those who participated in the strike, who protested against the brutality of the police and who have fallen victims of the new attacks. No matter what the tactical views of the Zurich Communists may be, I will always be found on the same side of the barricade with them. Even if they have committed one mistake or another—I do not know of any—these are the mistakes of our class, these are the mistakes of the proletarian revolution which is raising its head against the capitalist yoke. In spite of all the "democratic" peacock-feathers with which the social democracy is covering itself up, it has acted and it is acting in the events of Zurich as the direct agent of the class enemy. The social (Continued on page 2)

The Theory of Permanent Revolution and American Imperialism

The United States has held the dominating position in the world chain of capitalism ever since the world war. Prior to the world war American capitalism struggled to obtain this position. Now the American imperialists must wage a constant struggle to maintain and extend this power against the onslaughts of the other capitalist nations. This new position places greater responsibilities upon the United States in the maintenance of world capitalist conditions.

The contradiction between socialized production and capitalist appropriation, between production for a world market, and national boundaries, lie at the bottom of the contradiction between the international responsibilities and internal needs of the American imperialists. The international responsibilities of American capitalism can only be properly fulfilled on the basis of the solution of the internal needs. On the other hand, the American imperialists can only solve the internal difficulties confronting them on the basis of world capitalism.

The solution of this contradiction is not possible under the rule of the American capitalists or any other capitalists. At the bottom, it is the same contradiction which brought on the last world war and now has developed to greater proportions, endangering the proletariat of the world and the Soviet Union. The real solution of this problem can be had only on the basis of the proletarian world revolution.

The imperialist struggle for the redivision of the earth is the central problem of the American imperialists, to which a number of other problems are subordinated. But within this imperialist problem there is contained another contradiction of a more menacing character. Each delay in "solving" the question of the redivision of the earth enlarges the prospects of the extension of the October revolution, of the social revolution. On the other hand, each step toward the "solution" of the problem of the redivision of the earth sets into motion the forces of the social revolution. This clearly reveals the present stage of capitalism as the decay stage.

Although a solution for capitalism is not possible, a breathing spell for some imperialists by obtaining markets, by establishing Fascism in Germany, by smashing the Soviet Union is possible. A lease of life for capitalism depends as much upon the action or rather inaction of the proletarian vanguard as it does upon the action of the leading imperialists.

The American imperialists are as

The Conflict Between Proletarian Internationalism and Stalinist National Reformism

much concerned with the world revolution as the Communists are, but for opposite reasons. Therefore, the intervention of the U. S. dollar, for economic or military purpose, to hold in check the October revolution has been a major task of the American Imperialists since 1917. The danger of the extension of the October revolution is a life and death matter for world capitalism and the United States representing the dominating factor. This compels Wall Street to proceed in a fashion altogether contrary to the lingering "isolationist" ideology of the 19th century.

The burning question of the capitalists is the opposite side of the burning problem of the proletariat. Our problem is the understanding and application of the theory of the Permanent Revolution. **Theirs—the defeat of the Permanent Revolution.**

The word permanent, like the word dialectic or imperialism or a whole series of other words are used in the political sense and not in the bourgeois dictionary sense. The theory of the permanent revolution has nothing in common with the old Bucharin concept, which on the basis of the October revolution, estimates that a mounting wave of revolutions, one right on top of the other, would sweep capitalism from the earth in one straight line. The theory of the Permanent Revolution does not consider as "permanent", the time element in the series of revolution. The theory of the Permanent Revolution considers the development of the revolution from country to country, in their interrelationship, regardless of ebbs and flows. **PERMANENT** until the class problems of the proletariat are **SOLVED**. Let us follow the process of the class struggle, explaining the meaning of the Permanent Revolution and its relation to American imperialism.

The most important Marxian concept today, repeated by Stalinism in dead form but not understood in living reality, is the Lenin formula, "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolution." In 1917, Lenin and Trotsky allied this formula with reality by applying the theory of the Permanent Revolution to the weakest link in the capitalist chain. Other weak links of the capitalist chain followed, in Italy, in Germany 1918, in Hungary, in Finland, in Bulgaria, in Germany in 1923 and in China,

but all were drowned in the workers' blood. Weak links and favorable objective situations but—wrong policies.

The vanguard fighters already know the role social democracy played in these revolutions. It is the task of the Left Opposition to explain the role Stalinism played in these revolutions since 1923. History will look to Stalinism for an answer. And the question can only be answered upon the basis of the application of the theory of the Permanent Revolution. Stalinism as a bud and now as the flower of the reaction against October did not then, nor does it now, understand the theory of the Permanent Revolution. Stalinism has merely usurped the heritage of the October Revolution, which is the first fruit of the theory of the Permanent Revolution.

There are reasons for the one successful revolution and the many failures that followed. The determining factor in the problem was not the objective condition which was the most favorable, but the vanguard and its policies or lack of policies. The major defeats of the proletariat and the Communist vanguard commenced with the 1923 revolution in Germany. Up to that time the Russian revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky was consolidating itself, the International was building a world party, and the workers were in motion against world capitalism. Upon the defeat of the 1923 revolution the American dollar propped up decay capitalism, and Stalinism replaced Marxism in the Communist International. The theory of socialism in one country replaced the theory of the Permanent Revolution, national reformism replaced internationalism.

The theory of the Permanent Revolution may be outlined in the following manner: "First, it embraces the problem of the transition of the democratic revolution into the socialist. This is really the historic origin of the theory. The conception of the permanent revolution was set up by the great Communists of the middle of the 19th century, by Marx and his adherents, in opposition to the democratic ideology which, as is known, presumed that all questions should be settled peacefully, in the reformist or evolutionary way, by the erection of the 'rational' or democratic state. Marx regarded the bourgeois revolution as the

direct introduction to the proletarian revolution."

"The second aspect of the 'permanent' theory already characterizes the socialist revolution as such. For an indefinitely long time and in constant internal struggle all social relations are transformed. The process necessarily retains a political character, that is, it develops through collisions of various groups of society in transformation. Outbreaks of Civil War and foreign wars alternate with periods of 'peaceful' reforms. Revolutions in economy, technique, science, the family, morals and usages develop in complicated reciprocal action and do not allow society to reach an equilibrium. Therein lies the permanent character of the social revolution as such."

"The international character of the social revolution which constitutes the third aspect of the theory of the permanent revolution, results from the state of economy and social structure of humanity. Internationalism is no abstract principle, but a theoretical and political reflection of the character of world economy, of the world development of productive forces, and the world scale of the class struggle. The social revolution begins on national grounds. But it cannot be completed on these grounds."

"In an isolated proletarian dictatorship, the internal and external contradictions grow inevitably together with the growing successes. Remaining isolated, the proletarian state must finally become a victim of these contradictions. The way out for it lies only in the victory of the proletariat of the advanced countries. Viewed from this standpoint, the national revolution is not a self-sufficient whole! It is only a link in the international chain. The international revolution presents a permanent process in spite of all fleeting rises and falls."

What is the relation of American imperialism to this theory, or to be more exact, the continuation of the Russian Revolution to the world revolution? The United States as the strongest link of world capitalism struggles to prevent the proletarian revolution from absorbing the world, no matter where the civil war breaks out. World capitalism, which includes American imperialism as the dynamo of the system of reaction, intervenes in every class struggle between the exploiters and exploited.

The weak links of the capitalist chain

must be smashed. The October revolution must be extended. The iron ring of the world capitalists, (with the backing of the American dollar) around the Soviet Union must be broken. The extension of the October revolution means to fight, not only the national bourgeoisie, but to fight world capitalism and particularly the economic pressure of American imperialism.

The break-down of capitalism, in the economic and political crisis stays the hands of world capitalism in their fight against the world proletariat and the revolutionary workers fighting the capitalists on the "weak link". The intervention of the imperialists in support of the capitalists of the "weak link" only becomes effective when the vanguard of the proletariat does not present a policy based on a Marxian revolutionary theory. In Russia with Lenin and Trotsky, the correct revolutionary theory and action held at bay the world capitalist intervention. But the non-Marxian revolutionary theory of Stalinism, for a series of revolutions, since 1923 did not enable the proletariat to hold in check the counter-offensive of the imperialists.

Only after the defeat of the German revolution in 1923 were the world imperialists successful in their intervention through the Dawes Plan and then the Young Plan. And likewise, in every other revolutionary situation, the world capitalists intervened at the start but were only successful to the degree that the policies of the vanguard deviated from Marxism, from the theory of the Permanent Revolution. Correct theory and correct action is no guarantee to victory but only through the Marxian policy and action can the proletariat gain power.

American imperialism in its "peace role" stands as the bulwark against the extension of the October revolution. We expect nothing else from America and fight accordingly. Today we have another problem. Stalinism is a new growth of revisionism, poisoning the Marxian stream with the theory of socialism in one country. A theory which stifles and checks the action of the Communist parties in the struggle to extend the October revolution.

To extend the October revolution, means to understand the relation of American imperialism to world capitalism and world economy. To extend the October revolution means to reject the Stalinist revisionist theory of socialism in one country and all that flows from it. To extend the October revolution means in the first place, to arm the vanguard with the Marxian theory of the Permanent Revolution.

* All quotations from L. D. Trotsky, *The Permanent Revolution*, New York, 1931.



Stalinists in Monstrous Frame-Up Against Left Opposition

EMERGENCY CALL!

A vicious campaign, inciting to black hundred pogrom action, has been launched against the Left Opposition and its supporters. It is a desperate last resort. Physical violence in place of logical argumentation—that is the method of the depraved Stalinist bureaucracy stooping to the lowest depths. By copying the dastardly frame-up from the capitalist enemy they hope to squelch the ideas of the Left Opposition.

But our ideas live and grow. Our answer is political hammer blows to strike yet deeper roots for the Marxian views within the party and within the working class. We will cut this dirty murder frame-up to pieces; and we pledge ourselves to fight for the eradication of these vile methods from the proletarian ranks. We fight with clean hands to uphold the banner of our revolutionary leaders and to restore the movement of Marx and Lenin to its rightful place.

But we need your support, you readers of the *Militant*, sympathizers of our

views and you who agree with our determination to maintain the principle of freedom of expression for working class opinions within the labor and revolutionary movement.

You can do your part now. You must help us banish the pogrom method from the movement. You must help us educate the misguided workers who have become caught in the Stalinist vise. It is a momentous task. It requires enormous efforts at which we do not hesitate in the least. But it entails almost unsurmountable expenditures on our part in the form of leaflets, enlarged issues of *The Militant*, agitation and propaganda. You can help us make this part of the burden lighter. But you must help immediately for quick action. The object is worthy of your greatest sacrifice. We ask that much from you.

Will you help and do your share? Will you help immediately? Will you send funds to *The Militant* without delay?

With the Embattled Miners

Diggers Reply to Terror With Increased Militancy

Defy Bosses, Fakers, and Police in Tremendous Advance

Latest developments in the Illinois miners' strike carry the clear indications of this being the most powerful movement yet witnessed in that state. A picketing army of 30,000 miners are, at the moment of this writing, marching upon the southern field to strike the few small mines still at work there. Three of the largest mines in that territory, in Franklin County, were forced to close almost immediately after the murder of Joe Colbert. The widow of this martyred miner single handed struck one of them, a mine of 1,100 men. The heroic working woman thus paid the highest tribute to the memory of her husband felled in battle by the bosses' hired gunmen.

Sheriff Robinson of Franklin County has boasted that 30,000 "citizens" will meet the "invading army", but the press simultaneously reported a measly 250 men deputized. And how could he make good his vain boast. This is a mining community. The miners have already shown where they stand. 15,000 miners marched in the funeral procession of the fallen Joe Colbert. Others workers in the community are making common cause with the strikers. These are the reasons why the operators and the degenerate union officials are restoring to intensified gunmen methods, killings and wounding of striking miners increasing and riot warrants being issued wholesale. But even this is destined to melt away in the face of the splendid mass formations of the embattled miners.

From the Front

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—

All the forces of the coal operators have been hurled against us in the present bloody struggle that rages in the Illinois coal fields. The Federal government, with its deportation terrorism, the entire state apparatus under the thumb of Governor Emmerson, the county sheriffs, Lewis and Walker sluggers, and gangsters from the underworld, run at large throughout the mining camps as "open season" is declared on reds and Communists.

Miners are corralled, terrorized, jailed and beaten. Leaders of the rank and file opposition are jailed and never know when they are to be "spotted". Miners' wives are jailed, beaten and molested. A group of students from various universities, led by their professors are prevented from bringing food to our starving industrial army. Professor Carlson of the Chicago University and a student group from the Commonwealth Labor College and Chicago University, are beaten and jailed, later told to leave the county and never return. Gerry Allard, one of the leaders of the opposition movement and his wife Irene, are also jailed. Allard is openly told, in the presence of the student group that he will be murdered; this is resolutely told by Marion Hart, States Attorney Prosecutor of Franklin County. The following morning Joe Colbert, close personal and political associate of Allard's and one of the leaders of the Illinois miners' opposition, is murdered while picking mushrooms for something to eat.

In Taylorville deputy Sheriffs shoot down a miner's wife. The coal fields run mad with killers driven to desperation by the greatest offensive ever launched against the coal operators and the Lewis-Walker combine. War is declared as 7,500 troopers move southward from Camp Grant stationing themselves 30 miles from strategic coal centers. The rank and file root themselves firmly. A picket army 14 miles long also starts southward from Gillespie, Springfield, Benld, Breeze and from every nook and corner of northern Illinois, striking every coal mine on the road. 1,500 deputies in Christian County, owned by the Peabody Coal Company, melt like a snow-

ball on a hot July day as 17,000 of our army invade the Harlan counties of Illinois. Mine guards are disarmed and disciplined, gangsters are driven from mining camps. The Illinois miners' strike gains impetus, day by day.

Already 45,000 of the 50,000 Illinois coal diggers have closed their ranks and production of coal in Illinois will cease as long as there is a breath of energy left in the leadership and rank and file of the opposition movement.—This is a newsreel glimpse of the struggle that takes place at present in the Illinois coal fields.

Why the Fight

And why do the miners of Illinois fight like they never have in years? Because the miners fight for the very right to breathe and live. That is why. For forty-two years we have had a union in Illinois. For thirty-five years we have been solidly organized. The fight to build the Illinois United Mine Workers of America was no bitter than the present fight to retain a miners' union. We have again been sold on the block to the highest bidder by our faking, thieving leadership. They have taken from us every liberty that we have ever achieved during those long years of (Continued on page 3)

LEON TROTSKY

The physical attack of the Stalinists against the Bolshevik-Leninists in the Salle Bulier at Paris evokes, alongside with intense indignation, a feeling of the deepest shame for the present leadership of the Comintern. For it is not a matter of rank and file Communists, not of workers—these would never debate themselves with such abominations!—but of a centralized bureaucracy which is carrying out the demands of its higher staff. The aim: to provoke within the Communist ranks such furious embitterment that all arguments of reason would lose their force. Only in this way can the Stalinist bureaucracy yet save itself from the criticism of the Left Opposition. What frightful degeneration!

The history of the Russian revolutionary movement is particularly rich in bitter factional struggles. For three and a half decades I have observed this struggle very closely and participated in it. I cannot recall a single instance in which differences of opinion, not only within the ranks of the Marxists but also between Marxists, Populists and Anarchists, were settled by the organized reign of the fist. In the year 1917 Petrograd seethed with continual meetings. At first as an insignificant minority, then as a strong party and finally as the overwhelming majority the Bolsheviks conducted an annihilating campaign against the Social Revolutionists and the Mensheviks. I cannot recall a single meeting where the political struggle was replaced by fist fights. I have not been

Bureaucrats «Answer» Our Policy by Inciting to Pogrom

Left Opposition Demands an Open Hearing on the Stalinist Frame-up

The National Committee of the Communist League (Opposition) has addressed the following self-explanatory letter to each of the organizations specified:

In the *Daily Worker* of August 23, there appears an accusation that members of the Communist League of America (the "Trotskyites") were responsible for the killing of a worker named Michael Semen and the wounding of another worker named Nick Krusluk, who has since also died, at a meeting last Saturday night at 7th St., and Avenue A.

Today we came into possession of leaflets in the English, Russian, and Ukrainian languages, repeating and amplifying the accusation against us. On the night of August 23rd a mass meeting was held at 7th St., and Avenue A, where Communist Party speakers incited the crowd against the "Trotskyites" as the murderers of the two workers. There is taking place a general campaign of incitement for a pogrom against us which also has the elements of provocation to the authorities.

In order to bring the truth of the whole affair before the working class public, we propose the holding of a public trial and hearing under the auspices of a joint committee representing the following central organizations:

Communist Party of U. S. A.
Trade Union Unity League
International Labor Defense
American Civil Liberties Union

Conference for Progressive Labor Action

Communist Party (Majority Group)
Industrial Workers of World

We are prepared to submit to this committee at public sessions complete and indisputable proof that the members of the Left Opposition had no part whatever in the attack which resulted in the killing of the two workers.

We are prepared to bring before such a committee at public sessions complete proof that the Left Opposition has always opposed any physical attacks on the meetings of other labor organizations, and that we have publicly protested even when these attacks were directed against those in sharpest political conflict with us.

We leave aside here the motives for this provocation against us. Our aim in addressing this letter to you is to ask if your organization will participate through a delegate to a joint committee before which the truth can be brought out in public.

We realize quite well that the accusation of murder makes our members liable to inquiry and prosecution before the courts of the class enemy. But we are not concerned with the capitalist court. We want to defend ourselves in public before the court of working class opinion.

In view of the extreme seriousness of the accusation, we request a prompt reply to this communication.

National Committee,
Communist League of America (O.)
SECRETARY.

Party Holds First Meeting on Danger of German Fascism

After months of ardent and persistent agitation on part of the Left Opposition, the Stalinists of the official Communist Party of the U. S. A. finally yielded to the pressure our agitation caused within the party ranks and called the first meeting on the Fascist danger in Germany at the Central Opera House in New York last Friday. It is significant that this meeting was called at the very same time that Sebastian Pappas, the leading party comrade who raised the first strong voice of alarm against the Hitler threat within the party, was officially expelled. It is characteristic of the Centrist bureaucrats to stifle every word of criticism coming from the rank and file and simultaneously to camouflage by a semi-acceptance of the same criticism and by half way concessions to it behind the scenes.

Nevertheless, the convocation of the meeting shows that the Stalinist leaders have been forced to take a step

forward on this most important of all the present day issues, the German situation—the key to the international situation, the key to the concrete war danger against the Soviet Union. In this sense, the step of the party leadership is a victory for the International Left Opposition.

Opposition Ideas Penetrate Party

The German meeting was strongly under the influence of the Left Opposition propaganda. For the first time, slogans directly borrowed from our literature appeared above the signature of the party. The leaflet that was issued by the New York District of the C. P. read in part as follows: "An open Fascist dictatorship will attempt to drive the whole working class of Germany to starvation and slavery. A Hitler dictatorship in Germany means immediate war on the Soviet Union and world war. A Fascist dictatorship in Germany means sharper international reaction and more brutal capitalist attacks on the

Slander the Opposition as Murderers of Two Workers at N. Y. Street Meeting

The hammer blows of the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) against a policy of capitulation before German Fascism and against the pacifist masquerade in the anti-war conference aroused a wave of support in the party ranks. The expanding movement of protest against the official policy has thrown the Stalinist bureaucrats into a panic. The attempt to expel the movement by expulsions, which held the Communist workers in check before, is breaking down.

Great world events are on the agenda, and nobody can stop a discussion of them. It is a question of the fate of the U. S. S. R., of the working class of the entire world. The Communist workers are awakening to this burning fact. Nobody can stop their mouths with the threat of expulsions. Sebastian Pappas, the heroic Communist militant who is loved by every Left wing trade union fighter, has raised his voice for the position of the Left Opposition on Germany. They have expelled him, but behind Pappas stand others who also are determined to speak out at any cost. And behind them are others. Deeper and deeper into the Party the Left Opposition is penetrating.

Confronted with this rising tide of sentiment for the Left Opposition, and powerless to cope with it by political means, the panic-stricken bureaucrats, corrupted to the core, have resorted to a desperate adventure.

They are trying to frame up the Left Oppositionists as murderers! They are organizing and inciting black hundred pogrom against the Bolshevik-Leninists, whose criticism they fear and whose arguments they cannot answer! They are directing the attention of the police to the "Trotskyists" as the mur-

derers of the two workers, Semen and Krusluk, who lost their lives in a tragic street fight with which the Left Opposition had no connection whatever.

Here are the Facts

1. We started a meeting on the evening of August 20th, at 7th St., and Ave. A, as one of a series in our campaign on the situation in Germany.
2. Immediately after we started, organized attempts were made to disrupt our meeting by Stalinist elements.
3. A fist fight ensued in which the Opposition held its ground and after which it once more set up the platform for a brief meeting.

4. The Left Opposition held the platform until word came of the impending arrival of the police. Then it was decided to wind up the meeting in order to prevent the disgraceful spectacle of the capitalist police intervening and deciding a conflict between factions of the Communist movement.

5. The Left Oppositionists and a number of sympathizers then assembled in close formation, singing the Internationale, and returned to headquarters.

6. That was the end of all our connection with the events at 7th St. and Avenue A on the evening in question. What happened after that happened without any participation on our part.

The *Daily Worker* of August 23 (city edition), which contains the criminal provocation against us, admits that we left the meeting-place and that another meeting under Party direction began after our departure. We know nothing whatever of what occurred at that second meeting. We do know that that neighborhood is infested with all kinds of reactionary elements—white guards, Russians, etc. There is a post of the American Legion in the same block. Communist meetings have been attacked on this corner time and time again by these reactionary elements with brick-bats and other missiles.

The Party bureaucrats know very well that this was the case at the meeting in question. They know that the Left Opposition had nothing to do with the affair. They know that we are opposed in principle to the breaking up of other working class meetings and that we have persistently explained in *THE MILITANT* the reasons why such hoodliganism plays a reactionary role.

But it does not serve their purpose to tell the truth. They have lied about us systematically and misrepresented our position on every occasion. But this game is playing out. The Communist workers have begun to see through these lies. They are beginning to see the principle line of the Opposition through the fog of official misrepresentation.

That is why the desperate and furious Stalinist leaders had to resort to this shameful method of frame-up, provocation and pogrom. The bodies of the martyred workers are to be lifted up as a banner for a bankrupt political clique which is not worthy to touch them with one finger. They want to coin the grief and rage of the Communist workers against the murder of their comrades into a weapon against the revolutionary Marxists.

Communist workers! Be on your guard against this monstrous deception. Stop and weigh the consequences of this dastardly black hundred scheme. Raise your voice in protest against it. Do not be intimidated by the reactionary campaign of terror unleashed against those who criticize and ask questions.

Look to the heroic example of the Bolshevik-Leninists of Russia, the true inheritors and representatives of the October revolution. They held the banner of Marxism in the face of everything, just as they did in 1917, as they did in the civil war, in the red army—on every front. Frame-ups were devised against them also by the Stalinists (the affair of the "Wrangel officer"). Pogroms were conducted against them. They were slandered, expelled, imprisoned, exiled, beaten, shot. But for all that their ideas remain unshaken and will prevail.

We stand by their banner, for it is the banner of Communism. We hurl back into the craven faces of the Browders, Posters, Amers, Hathaways, and all the rest of the depraved and soulless functionaries of Stalinism, the answer of revolutionists:

You cannot terrorize us with your black hundred pogrom!

You cannot break the bonds which tie us to the Communist workers with your dirty frame-up!

You cannot prevent the victory of the Left Opposition by any means, for it is the veritable representative of the teachings of Marx and Lenin with great historic events are vindicating with lightning speed.

—NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Communist League (Opposition)

Let Us Reenforce Our Offensive!

able to find a single indication of such an instance in the press of that time. But they cannot tear themselves free from its claws. Each of the decisive links in the chain has its Semard and its Yaroslavskys, as well as its Besedovskys and Agabekoffs. From slander and falsifications these gentlemen have now gone over to organized physical attack. The initiative comes from Stalin. The command is now being transmitted to all sections of the Comintern. Will it be of any avail? No, it will not. The necessity of ever stronger means proves the ineffectiveness of the preceding struggles against the Bolshevik-Leninists.

Tremendous events are taking place in Germany. The Comintern maintains its silence. The leaders appear to have filled their mouths full with water. Do not the German events require the immediate convocation of a world congress of the Comintern? Of course, they do. But at the congress an answer will have to be given. The Stalinists, however, have nothing to say. By their mistakes, their zigzags and crimes they have completely devastated themselves. To remain silent, to go into hiding, to wait passively for the outcome—therein lies, at present, the whole policy of the Stalinist faction.

regard the Stalinist system with growing alarm if not with direct disgust. But they cannot tear themselves free from its claws. Each of the decisive links in the chain has its Semard and its Yaroslavskys, as well as its Besedovskys and Agabekoffs. From slander and falsifications these gentlemen have now gone over to organized physical attack. The initiative comes from Stalin. The command is now being transmitted to all sections of the Comintern. Will it be of any avail? No, it will not. The necessity of ever stronger means proves the ineffectiveness of the preceding struggles against the Bolshevik-Leninists.

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But the Bolshevik-Leninists will not be stunted. And they will not allow others to remain silent. Despite their small number, our French comrades are giving evidence of splendid perseverance in unfolding the burning questions of the

proletarian world revolution before the workers. By pounding upon them like hooligans, the Stalinists have only paid tribute to their revolutionary energy. Just as soon as the Bolshevik-Leninists in Moscow warned against Chiang Kai-Shek, the Stalinist bureaucracy incited against them, persecuted and smashed the Bolshevik-Leninists. Just as soon as the Parisian Bolshevik-Leninists beat the alarm against Fascism, the Stalinist clique is organizing to smash the Bolshevik-Leninists. These facts will not remain unpunished. From great facts the party learns, the class learns.

We are not, naturally, making the rank and file Communists responsible for the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The Bolshevik-Leninists will not change their position toward the French Communist party nor toward the Comintern. The attempt to erect walls of hatred between ourselves and the millions of Communists in the entire world will not succeed. That justice is on our side, is patent. The workers are listening with ever greater attentiveness to our words.

The more the Stalinists lose their heads, the more perseverence the Leninists will show in their activity. Under our criticism, under the sweep of our arguments the bureaucracy is twisting and squirming. All the more apparent, therefore is our correctness and our force. Let us double, treble and decuple our offensive!

—L. TROTSKY.
Prinkipo, August 6th, 1932.

The Communist and Election Activity

The approaching election finds the parties of reaction, reform and revolution in full swing. The stock market is bolstered up, the bourgeois economists speak of a revival, the papers talk of wage increase, the politicians dodge the real issues and spout demagoguery. The reactionaries do this in an effort to keep the workers from moving to the left.

And to the left, the parties of reform: the socialist party; the socialist labor party; the farmer-labor party, etc., are struggling in their own way, to keep the workers from moving into the revolutionary stream, toward the Communist party, to paralyze their militancy.

The capitalists have done all in their power to keep the revolutionary party off the ballot. At present we have only 11 states on the ballot. In many states a struggle to get on the ballot has not yet been won. Meetings throughout the country have been broken up by the police. Foster, the presidential candidate, has been arrested several times in different parts of the country on his national tour.

Favorable Chances for Communism

This third presidential election campaign of the Communists in America is the most favorable we have yet entered. The reactionary parties have exposed themselves and have shown incompetence in handling the situation. The reformist parties are weak and as yet cannot be compared to the reformist parties in Europe. This leaves the Communist party an open field.

Can the party be equal to this task? This depends upon the program the Communists present in the present campaign and how the Communists conduct the campaign. Previous articles in *The Militant* criticized the C. P. platform for its opportunism. The program divorces the immediate demands from the ultimate demands, and presents immediate demands that are not satisfactory. A program that does not formulate the immediate needs of the class in coordination with the revolutionary goal is opportunistic. Let us determine the party action since the Nominating Convention in Chicago and find out if it has corrected these mistakes.

The party must present its immediate demands as the election platform, demands based upon class struggle and connected with the revolutionary end to be attained. In the campaign, local, national and international issues develop which momentarily gain the spot light of the class attention. The Communist must utilize these struggles to more forcefully bring to the attention of the workers, a revolutionary program in opposition to the reformist and reactionary ones. Or, one may pose the problem this way: The election campaign should be used by the Communists to bring our INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM to the attention of the class through our immediate demands in conjunction with the national and international struggles that develop in the election period. Only on this basis will we be able to put in motion the class and bring recruits to our ranks, workers who come to our ranks on the basis of Marxism.

The Opportunist Course of Stalinism

Several important events have happened since the Chicago Nomination Convention, events showing how far into the swamp of opportunism, Stalinism has taken the Communist party. The Bonus March flared across the political horizon and the Stalinists dashed in unconditionally for the bonus. They carried on a campaign in the *Daily Worker* that overshadowed the election campaign and shifted to the background the main slogan for Social and Unemployment Insurance.

On August first—the calendar day set aside by Stalinism to fight against imperialist wars—the demonstration on Union Square in New York forgot the War Danger, forgot that Fascism threat-

A Criticism of the Stalinist Methods in the Campaign

Germany and devoted their main blows at Hoover who drove the veterans out of Washington with machine guns, tear gas bombs, and tanks. This important climax of the Bonus March was elevated above the more important question, rather than used as a springboard to the explanation of the war danger connected with threatening Fascism in Germany. We pointed out before that the demand for emergency relief for the farmers was wrong and must be changed to emergency or immediate relief for the WORKERS and Farmers. In New York the party tried to correct this error but only created more errors. The party-controlled unemployment councils called a conference on August the 15th, and a Relief March on September the 10th. The whole program is based upon immediate relief for the workers. They first separate the demand for immediate relief from the more fundamental demands against capitalism and second, they forget entirely that capitalism which is the cause of unemployment must be overthrown. Nowhere in their propaganda, articles, or speeches are these three factors coordinated. First to leave the demand out of the program and then to base a campaign in New York exclusively on the demand of immediate relief that was omitted from the platform—these are flip-flops, detrimental to the party and the class.

The platform forgets the struggle for the shorter work day. However, the bosses have not forgotten this struggle and are busy trying to reorganize labor power (overpopulation to production accumulation), a necessary step for their way out of the crisis. If they succeed in reorganizing and "reducing hours" at the workers' expense it will give them a breathing spell. On the other hand if, through class struggle we force through the "Six Hour Day, Five Day Week, with NO REDUCTION IN PAY", our class will be able to take a big step forward. The Communists must give the lead in this struggle.

For a Realistic Defense of the U. S. S. R.

In the election platform the defense of the Soviet Union is linked with the defense of the Chinese people. Events have proven that the danger of Fascism in Germany is the determining factor in world politics and the election platform

and campaign can only put life into the slogan of the defense of the Soviet Union by mobilizing the workers to support the fight against Fascism in Germany. The Stalinists fail in this major task.

In New York the party has issued the slogan, "For Bread and Freedom,—With Foster, Ford and Amter." As the election date nears we find Stalinism floundering deeper into the swamp of opportunism.

These activities—the Bonus march, reduction of hours, immediate relief, Anti-War activity and German struggles are not utilized in the election campaign to contrast the party of revolution to the parties of reform and reaction. Rather the party's way of handling these tasks under the Stalinist leadership has pushed the membership and the party farther to the right, farther into opportunism. Not satisfied with the distance to the right the leaders have dragged the members they top the whole thing with a statement in the *Daily Worker* which has nothing in common with Marxism.

Who Was Exposed?

First they issue a blast against E. Haldeman-Julius, the well-known reformer, a socialist. They "expose" him. Catch him red handed stealing Foster's acceptance speech. He changes the word Communist to socialist and prints Foster's speech for his platform. We know Haldeman-Julius. It is not Haldeman-Julius who has made a mistake. It is not Haldeman-Julius who should be criticized. He recognized his reformist wares even when they were labeled Communism. Labels don't mean much to reformers. Purcell and Hicks recognized the wares of the "four-class party." Chang Kai-Shek recognized the wares of the "four-class party." Barbusse, Rolland and Sinclair recognized the wares of the Stalinist World Anti-War Congress. The name, Communism, without the content of Marxism frightens no one.

The election campaign must be based upon the pressing immediate needs of the class, formulated concretely, but not divorced from the class struggles of the world that develop between the convention and election day. The political consciousness of the workers during the election campaign can only be transformed into class consciousness by the correct coordination of these two factors on the broad basis of our International program which must run as a red thread through the election platform and the election campaign.

—H. O.

German Campaign of Czech Opp.

Months ago, the International Left Opposition already declared that Germany had become the key to the International situation. The Czech Left also pointed to this crux of the world situation and the general tasks of the proletariat flowing from it, at its Spring conference, in its newspaper, in many discussion meetings and wherever the opportunity arose. But the Stalinists, elsewhere, here too did not notice the decisive struggles approaching in Germany at a rapid tempo. They subscribed for the most part to the view that the influence of Fascism would be liquidated by Hitler seizing the power himself.

Sabotage German Campaign

This salutary thought was always behind the lethargy of the Stalinists distinctly expressed in the following incident. When, upon the proposal of the Left Opposition comrades, the Prague leadership of the Red Building Trades Union called a plenary meeting with the subject "The Struggle of the German Proletariat against Fascism", the meeting was called off at the last moment through the bureaucratic intervention of

the Red Trade Union Central Committee. The reasons given for calling the meeting off are significant: "Due to an overabundance of work, there is at present (that is, in June 1932) no man available in the Central Committee of the Colonies, who is informed on the situation in Germany at the same time, has the time to speak on it."

The leaders of the C. P. C. conduct themselves with such manifest shamelessness in fateful hours like these. Even the sympathetic layers of intellectuals showed a better understanding of the political situation. In an open meeting

Effects of the Prussian Coup d'Etat

The Prussian coup d'Etat and the half-turn of the German C. E. C. in the united front tactic first woke up the C. C. of the C. P. C. Z. in its slumber. It finally called upon the Czech and Slovak workers to come to the aid of the German proletariat, but postponed concrete action till August 1. The Left Opposition immediately issued a manifesto to the members of the C. P. C. Z. in which it demanded the acceptance of the proposals of the German Left Opposition made in October 1931. The leaflet created very favorable repercussions. When Left Oppositionists distributed the leaflets in Greater-Prague, the party leaders attempted to provoke physical attacks by sending out uniformed and falsely informed shock-troops against the alleged "counter-revolutionists." But the party proletarians recognized in the Trotskyists comrades-in-the-struggle, and instead of attacking them, they discussed with them the situation in Germany and the tasks of the International.

Last week there was an open meeting in a Prague suburb in which there was introduced, exceptionally enough, a free discussion. The Left Opposition took advantage of the situation immediately and its representatives presented the situation in Germany and explained the tasks of the German proletariat.

The predominantly proletarian audience expressed its agreement with the proposals of the Left Opposition in vivid fashion. Characteristic for the developments in the International is the fact that the Left Opposition speakers were "refuted" with "arguments" which have in Germany already been dropped. The official party speaker stressed the view that the united front can never be made with the "top" and further said that the situation in Germany is not at all so critical, it is only a matter of changing the methods of bourgeois rule!

No matter how threadbare and shopworn these phrases may sound for our German comrades in their struggle, they have nevertheless a special sense in this country. They show that the Stalinists in Czechoslovakia are not prepared to draw the necessary lessons from the German mistakes on the one hand, and on the other hand, that the progressive proletarians of Czechoslovakia are coming closer to the International Left Opposition and are partly, already showing their warmest sympathies for the fighting German Left Opposition.

Prague, August 2, 1932

—K. SCHMIDT.

The Party's Meeting on German Fascist Danger

(Continued from page 1)

and the United Red Front Against Fascism, Hunger and War! Fight the Socialist leaders, the Fore-runners and Allies of Fascism! etc."

The meeting itself was poorly attended and lacked the enthusiasm and the vitality that the issue requires. This is easily comprehensible. For it was called in all haste, without any serious preparation and advance propaganda, on the spur of the moment, under the direct fire of the Left Opposition campaign and under the pressure from the ranks. It was meant by the bureaucrats largely to offset and to side-track the flow of rising criticism within the party and to screen their own, previous miserable silence and lethargy.

The Meeting Revolves Around L. O.

Max Bedacht spoke before an audience of no more than 400. Since the manifesto of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) was carefully and energetically distributed to the participants, the speakers naturally had to revolve their speeches around the position of the Left Opposition. The chairman, Alexander, as well as Bedacht slandered and attacked the Left Opposition very feebly before an altogether unresponsive audience of workers. As in answer to the impotent screeching of the bureaucrats; the workers in every part of the hall held the Opposition leaflets in their hands, many of them reading it on the spot.

The Stalinist speeches were dominated by all sorts of apologies and sophistries. On the other hand, Bedacht tried to prove that the Berlin-Brandenburg United Front action contradicts the Opposition's criticism. On the other, he queried indignantly: "Can comrade Thaelmann be expected to sit at one table with the Noskes?" All without an attempt to reconcile these two conflicting views, without any attempt at a Marxist explanation, displaying ignorance of even elementary facts. For instance, he did not even know that the Central Committee of the German C. P. had repudiated the Berlin-Brandenburg United Front action. And as a matter of fact, Bedacht expressed approval of it! But if we know our Marx, he'll manage to come clean again—if it isn't too late.

With this party meeting, the Left Opposition has won a heat. Our campaign has gained ground. The treacherous, bureaucratic silence of the Stalinists have been broken. The international struggle against Hitlerism has gathered momentum. We will not stop at this point, we will continue our campaign tirelessly, until the whole party wakes up to its task, until every party member becomes a conscious fighter for the German revolution, a powerful agitator for international solidarity with the German working class in their struggle against Fascist reaction, against the danger of imperialist war on the Soviet Union.

Expulsion of Carl Coster

Mink and Bureaucracy Run Rampant on the Waterfront

On Thursday, August 11, the *Daily Worker*, in an obscure corner of an inside page, announced the expulsion of Carl Coster from the Communist Party and the Marine Workers Industrial Union "for gangsterism and Lovestonism". The name of this comrade is not unfamiliar to readers of *The Militant*. We have referred to the struggle against bureaucracy in the Marine Workers Industrial Union before and to the parts played by such militants as Coster, Johannesen and Jacobsen in this fight. The expulsion of Coster is another outrageous act of the Stalinist bureaucracy which deserves the attention of all revolutionary workers.

Carl Coster has been one of the most active leading workers of the party on the waterfront for many months past. His organizational ability, his courage, his devotion are unchallenged facts. He has been entrusted with responsible posts ever since he joined the Marine Workers Union. From the first, he carried on a struggle against the bureaucracy within the union, all the time remaining at his post and fulfilling his tasks in exemplary fashion. About a year ago, the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy came to a head on the New York waterfront. The bureaucracy countered by breaking up what it termed the "clique" of the militants fighting against it. Johannesen was "exiled" to Duluth, Coster to Boston.

The Boston party bureaucracy it appears, sabotaged the work of Coster, who was sent there as port organizer. After several months of futile attempts to combat this sabotage, Coster returned to New York to take up the case with the leadership at the center. The Stalinists in New York did everything possible to put off the case, they successfully assigned the comrade to responsible work in the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League, the Independent Shoe-workers Union, the T. U. L. E. etc. Every task was fulfilled by Coster with his customary courage and energy, in spite of the despicable behavior of the bureaucrats, he remained firmly disciplined.

One day last week, the Stalinist waterfront bureaucrat, George Mink, one of the yellowest and most corrupt wretches in the whole bureaucratic outfit, made an unheard-of, unprecedented, shameful threat against some militant non-conformist rank and file workers up for trial before the State Supreme Court for participation in the April Unemployed demonstration at City Hall—in the presence of Coster and others. Exasperated and outraged by this unexampled piece of skunkery, Coster issued a warning to "The Mink in unmistakable proletarian terms, lest the threat be carried out. This took place in a crowded union hall, in the full view of numerous workers. That is what the "gangsterism" amounts to.

The outrageous threat of the bureaucrat was, therefore, not carried out. The Mink slunk back into the woods. But for that, on Wednesday, August 10, the expulsion of Coster from the M. W. I. U.

and from the C. P. was announced at a membership meeting of the union. This happened at 9 o'clock in the evening. At 11 o'clock, the *Daily Worker* appeared with the expulsion statement. Coster was not even given the formality of a party trial, he received no hearing. The expulsion took place in typical, ungarish, bureaucratic style.

Nevertheless, members of the Marine Workers Industrial Union were aroused by this treacherous act of arbitrary action and the bureaucrats became uneasy. On Wednesday night, August 17, the membership meeting for the M. W. I. U. was packed with the benches of Mink. Coster demanded to be admitted for a hearing of his case. Several Stalinists immediately pounced on him and carried him bodily out of the hall. Workers on the inside protested vigorously and requested the floor. The bureaucrats running the meeting, Mink, Indson and Co. quickly got their heads together and organized a steam-roller.

Speeches from the floor were immediately restricted to 3 minutes, under shouts of protest from the rank and file. In their brief and forcibly limited speeches, the comrades from the rank and file nevertheless forced the bureaucrats to cut their words and retract the charge of "Lovestonism". Coster has been known far and wide as an unremitting fighter against the right wing opportunists. They pushed Mink to the wall and made him admit his dastardly, anti-Communist and reactionary threat. But the bureaucrats had the meeting backed and in spite of their damaging admissions, made in the presence of all workers, they nevertheless succeeded in railroad the militant Coster by a fake vote.

The marine worker, Robert Kohl, a Communist militant with a revolutionary past both in Germany and in this country led the meetings in disgust after protesting strongly but to no avail against the tactic employed by the bureaucrats against Coster. The latest reports have it that Kohl too has been expelled from the union with no other charge against him except his action in defense of Coster's membership rights. The bureaucratic frenzy knows no bounds!

The revolutionary marine workers have with their own eyes witnessed a spectacle that reflects the very height of bureaucratic degeneracy. They have seen the whole repulsive face of the Stalinist bureaucracy. They are just aroused. Their task is now to draw the political conclusions from the fight against bureaucracy. It is the whole reactionary, non-Leninist line of Centralism that makes bureaucraticism possible in the Communist Party and in the class struggle unions. The fight of the marine militants is the fight of the Left Opposition. The bureaucracy can be swept away only by returning the Communist movement to the path of proletarian internationalism—to the path of Lenin and Trotsky.

—P. S.

The Convention of Father Cox's Quasi-Fascist «Jobless Party»

August 18th, 1932.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Father Cox is a priest who has grown politically ambitious. He went to Europe to "talk it over" with the Pope of Rome, with the agents of Mussolini and Hitler. He received more support and the Jobless Party was organized "to solve the hardships and injustices of the present social order."

The "Jobless Party's" demagogic platform included—Government control of the banking system and public utilities, immediate payment of the soldiers' bonus, conscription of wealth "in case of an emergency", pro-beerity, "mighty" army, navy, and air forces, unemployment insurance and old-age pensions, 5 day week and 6 hour day abolition of "unjust" injunctions and yellow-dog contracts, relief for the farmers, and right to "peaceful" picketing in strikes. This was similar to Colonel "Coin" Harvey's Liberty Party's confused program "against usury and for the free coinage of silver, etc." and inasmuch as both agreed "down with the communists", agreements were made to merge both parties and to hold a national convention of the fusion, the Jobless-Liberty Party.

The site picked out was St. Louis. Cox to lead the masses from the East, and Harvey to come with the hordes from the West. Cox issued advance press notices stating that one million jobless from all parts of the U. S. would be in attendance. Naturally immediate objections to the convention were raised by the St. Louis police. The Chamber of Commerce visualized riots of hungry unemployed. Cox replied that "no hungry bums will be delegates", that only "business men" would be elected and that they would spend upwards of a million dollars for hotel accommodations, food, etc.

But the city administration remained adamant; the contemplated program was too radical. Accordingly advance arrangements were made for the convention to be held on Aug. 17th and 18th, in an old mosquito-bitten race track, in St. Louis county, at Creve Coeur Lake.

Cox now revised his figures downwards and stated "only" 50,000 would be at Creve Coeur. Then the St. Louis County Health Officials threatened an injunction, claiming that there was not sufficient water for such a crowd, nor laboratories, nor garbage dispensaries, and that the convention would be a "health menace" unless adequate preliminary arrangements

were made for the necessary sanitary facilities. Cox replied he would defy the injunction if it was issued, and if necessary would hold the convention on the state highway.

Thus was the situation when the Harveyites with their "White Ribbons" (Liberty Party delegates) came to Creve Coeur Lake. Fifteen concession stands were waiting for the 50,000 customers and only two persons were in sight, lolloping about, rubbing mud on their mosquito-bites, both of whom admitted they were curiosity seekers, and incidentally "broke". The press stated Cox was on the way from Pittsburgh by a motor-caravan of approximately 500 people. The National Committee of the Liberty Party was exasperated. They had brought about fifty people with them (from Arkansas, Oklahoma, Washington, California) and were beginning to see that they had been uncombed by Cox as to the number he would bring. The Liberty Party immediately issued statements to the papers saying they would hold a separate mass-meeting under their own auspices several miles from the site of the proposed united convention. Harvey said they still expected to merge with Cox but that Cox had bitterly disappointed them by the smallness of his delegation.

The automobile arrival of Cox's caravan was to have heralded the fusion of the confusionists. Meeting in a one room cabin, the national committees of both parties met, helloed, shook hands and posed for the newspaper photographers before getting down to brass tacks. Instead of the celebration of the birth of the Jobless-Liberty Party a furious fight started over who should be the political god-father.

The Jobless-Liberty Party split right on the hyphen. The fight was not concerning their respective platforms—they both agree they have practically identical programs. The demagogues debated, discussed and disagreed on—who should be the presidential candidate? Cox or Harvey? Priest or Colonel? Tweedledee or tweedledum?

Forty-five minutes of verbal fighting and shouts of "Hail"; one minute the reverend priest denouncing religious intolerance, the next moment the old Colonel repeating that he had just celebrated his 81st birthday and should be the people's choice. Father Cox's hopes that Harvey would approve him as presidential candidate and Colonel Harvey's expectation that Cox would see the wisdom of him being the nominee both were

groundless. Neither withdrew, except for mud to plaster their mosquito-bites, and the meeting was summarily adjourned. Harvey and his 50 "White Ribbon" Libertyites holding their own convention several miles from Cox.

The "Blue Shirt" Jobless Party, with approximately 1,000 in attendance (500 or more curiosity seekers) ratified the proposals and program of their national committee, nominating Father Cox for presidential candidate and Doctor Tisdale, 32nd mass-degree mason of Elk City, Okla., as candidate for vice-president. Then everyone jumped in their machines and immediately started returning home. The Missouri mosquito was the real victor.

However despite all the setbacks and mosquito-bites and trials and tribulations that beset Father Cox in launching his Jobless Party, the importance of the entire affair is his his exaltation to entire affair is that this is the FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE EUROPEAN FASCIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. The blood brother of Hitler and Mussolini can be readily recognized by its demagogic platform and all of the well-known Fascist trimmings, vehemently anti-Communist, blue-shirt, caesar salutes, etc. In the words of the Reverend Cox, its members are to be "not only working people but business men who have been pushed out of their business enterprises and unemployed professional men." And "we are not reds—we are anti-Communist. Our Party is the only organization that can save the country from a Communist revolution this winter."

Of course, none of the Communists have the perspective for a "Communist" revolution this winter (U. S.) but it is indisputable that a section of the capitalist class quiver in their boots everytime the workers hold protest meetings or mass demonstration, and a portion of them would support a Fascist movement in the United States. The only reason all of the capitalists are not in favor of Fascism (except as a last resort) is because the Fascist system of continual, unrelenting terror, armed dictatorship, spies, and general thuggery is more expensive than maintaining the democratic illusions of "freedom, justice and equality."

If Hitler comes to power in Germany, it will mean the immediate strengthening of the reactionary forces in the United States, and their simultaneous growth. So all eyes and all support to the German workers.

—MARTIN PAYER.

LEON TROTSKY

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Vital Questions for the German Proletariat

BRUNING?

NATIONAL SOCIALISM?

PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION?

HINDENBURG?

LEFT OPPOSITION?

ADOLF HITLER?

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY?

RED ARMY?

ULTIMATISM?

THAELEMAN?

RED STRATEGY?

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Miners Reply to Terror With Increased Militancy

(Continued from page 1)

bitter and bloody struggles. John L. Lewis, in cahoots with all the forces of reaction, was about to complete his life-long ambition—the shackling of militant unionism in the coal mining industry. But the Illinois miners have hurled back in the teeth of the iron heel that they will take their union in their own hands and rebuild it nationally.

The twenty-nine demands that we presented to the coal operators as a basis for a new contract were flatly turned down by our officials. They answer our progressive demands by taking away from us the meager rights that we worked under prior to the beginning of the strike. We demanded the 6 hour day, our "leaders" sign a contract permitting the operators to work twelve. We demanded a 90c raise, our leaders cut our wages 18 to 35 per cent. Lewis says as consolation to the mine wage earners: "I am astounded that under the present conditions the coal operators can pay such high wages." Walker echoes: "One dollar now will buy more than any time since the war, and besides Illinois produces the best corn in the world. The best of foods are made from corn. The miners should not fear hunger."

This cynicism is almost openly telling the miners that they ought to take a greater wage cut than what the operators have agreed to. Walker's statement is as good as telling the miner of Illinois to build stalls. And even horses die from eating too much corn. These are the words of wisdom and consolation we get from our official staff, while they reap from \$15,000 to \$25,000 salaries per annum.

Falsity of the "Leaders"

The constitution of the United Mine Workers of America and the convention decisions call for a referendum vote on the part of the membership to decide the acceptance or rejection of the tentative proposals. This has never been carried out by the misleaders within our union. The first referendum rejected the wage cut and all the other inhuman impositions by an overwhelming majority of 15,000 votes. The returns of the second referendum were stolen by Hughes, vice-president of the district organization at the instigation of Walker and Lewis. Lewis and Walker then proclaimed a "state of emergency" and declared that a contract had been signed by them with the coal operators association. A copy of the contract has never been given to the membership for their consideration.

Reports leak out from the circle of the fakers and operators that the new contract calls for the operators to check off dues and assessments and to send them direct to Lewis at the International headquarters! A Pit Committee cannot be elected by the local union unless his candidacy is endorsed by John L. Lewis! Other enslaving clauses are contained in the contract, the membership is flatly refused the right to have a copy of the contract until they return to work!

These oppressive measures coupled with the many years of unemployment, part time work and a terrific speed up system, have left the miners of Illinois with but one thing to do and that is to FIGHT! And they are fighting now against the greatest combine that has ever openly come out against them. They have turned the battle from almost complete demoralization into victory that inspires the miners and workers of America to surge forward to militant action. The present rank and file opposition

movement of Illinois is a broad united front of all militant and progressive forces. Rank and File members of C. P., Communist League of America (Opposition), I. W. W., Socialist Labor Party, Socialist Party, C. P. L. A. and various independent groups have united with us for the common cause of fighting the immediate struggle before us. The official Communist party is the only organization that thus far has attacked our leadership and the movement. We appeal to the party members to change this false course and fall in line with this movement that will defeat the coal operators and their agents. We plead for their solidarity at a time when our men are being shot down, hounded and jailed.

Basis of the Battle

We have centered our struggle against the coal operators on this basis:

1. We demand the six hour day and five day week.
2. Equalization of all work.
3. No discrimination on account of age or youth.
4. No reduction in pay.
5. Abolition of the docking clause.
6. More air in the mines.
7. Unemployment insurance.
8. The operators are to deal with the rank and file leaders. The old leaders are no longer our representatives.
9. No victimization. All militant miners that have been fined for their Union activities to be reinstated to their jobs.

We have indicated our officials on five basic counts and repudiate them, barring them from office forever for:

1. Refusing to comply with the majority decision of the membership.
2. Discrimination against foreign born miners.
3. Use of gangsters and all agencies of the law against members of our union.
4. Robbing tally sheets of referendum vote.
5. Openly allying themselves with the coal operators and violating the oath of obligation and the constitution of the United Mine Workers of America.

Miners and workers of America! We ask for your solidarity in our fight. We ask you not to do the same thing as was done in the Mooney case, when Tom asked all progressive fighting labor organizations to close their ranks in the fight for his release. We are fighting a struggle for the entire American working class. Some of our comrades have already fallen, more will fall. But no prison bars, no terrorism, no gunman's bullets will stop the miners on their onward march to rehabilitation—to success—to victory.

With your solidarity, with your collective intelligence and understanding, with your undaunted determination we will inevitably march forward to the final victory that will place the control of production and distribution in the hands of the toilers of the world.

Come to our defense and aid quickly! —GERMINAL.

READ THE MILITANT

THE MILITANT will carry week by week a survey of the great struggle the Illinois miners are fighting against the terror and oppression of the coal operators and their agents.

From the front, the Left Oppositionists will write as they fight. Besides the events week by week, healthy analytical discussion and the correct Leninist course will be brought forcefully to all militants who read our official organ.

SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

The «Daily Worker» and the Miners' Strike

The official Communist party, due to the criminally false policies which its leadership has attempted to foist upon the Illinois miners over a period of time, today finds itself practically isolated from the strike movement. To make up for this, the incompetent bureaucrats resort to the vilest, insinuations and slander against such sterling militants heading this gigantic scrap as Gerry Allard, throwing in other leaders of this splendid movement for good measure. Example 1: the Daily Worker of August 19:

"There are about 5,000 working in the whole state, mainly in Taylorville, West Frankfort, Zeigler and Johnston City. West Frankfort, Zeigler and Johnston City are the home towns of Gerry Allard, the Trotskyite, and the Mustelste leaders, Ansberry and Jack Allen."—Yes, the citadel of world imperialism, Wall St., is located in Wall St., the home town of the Posters and Bowdiers and all the other raving Amers.

Example 2, the Daily Worker of Aug. 21. An account of the Bend mass meeting: "the Mustelste Ansberry and the Trotskyite Gerry Allard were sharply criticized for their program... Herdly brought before the meeting instead the Rank and File Opposition program... Allard, an expelled Communist Party member then demagogically attacked Hershey as a Communist." These Stalinist scribblers know that they are brazen liars. They know only too well the fighting qualities, the abilities as a leader and the actual leadership of Allard in this as well as in previous battles which have earned for this young militant the deep respect and confidence of the thousands of Illinois coal miners. The miners of Illinois are already giving the proper answer to the Stalinist slanders in their splendid fight in their sterling solidarity with Allard and the others.

IN OUR NEXT ISSUE

Two New Articles by Leon Trotsky:

1. Alliance or Struggle Between Social Democracy and Fascism?
2. Bourgeoisie, Petty Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.

Both highly actual, dealing with latest development in Germany.

My Fallen Comrade—Joe Colbert, by Gerry Allard. A tribute to a fellow fighter by one of the revolutionary leaders of the striking Illinois miners.

Lessons of the N. Y. Furriers' Strike.

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«Hoover Cities» -- An American Idyll of 1932

Every industrial city in the United States today has its "Hooverville". Patriotic citizens consider them blights and attempt to disperse them or to cover them up. In each city, provided you look, you will find them... under bridges, on vacant dumps, near garbage plants... In St. Louis, for example, there are several under the great Mississippi span. In Chicago, they are scattered, usually on condemned city property; Akron and Cleveland have theirs on the outskirts; Minneapolis on the river "cliffs". And so on.

They are standing condemnations of the capitalist system, and it is not surprising that social workers and lackeys of big business studiously avoid this aspect of human degradation. For that reason serious students of American conditions should analyse this phenomenon from the standpoint of a deceased eruption on the surface of capitalist economy.

On first observation, they appear to be glorified "juggles", spots every town in the country has them—where migratory workers hide improvised cooking equipment. Closer inspection reveals a totally different purpose and mood. The jungle spirit is carefree, transient, on the go; here, however, you find the haggard, despairing psychology of men driven to the last extreme, their spirits at the breaking point.

What Capitalism Has In Store for Us If the readers of The Militant would really like to see a typical American Hooverville, if they are not already in one—let them go down to Youngstown, in the heart of America's steel industry. There, on the 5 or 6 acres behind the municipal incinerator plant, they will see in brutal outline, the squalor and destitution resulting from the capitalist mode of production. Here is a picture of what capitalism has in store for us when we are no longer necessary for profit making.

Upward of 1000 shacks, huts or shelters hastily constructed from radio containers, boxes, crates, etc., some just large enough for a man to crawl into out of the weather, some buried in holes in the ground, on property that has for years been the dumping ground of filth, are the homes of several hundred men, who, having spent the best years of their lives in the steel mills and coal mines of Ohio and Pennsylvania, are now literally thrown on the garbage heap to starve, or to claw over the miserable refuse collected each morning by the City Sanitary Department. You will not believe it till you see it. Restaurant cast-offs make the choicest morsels. The alternative is the notorious "soup line." The men prefer to mull over garbage than to expose themselves to the miserable soup. It is almost impossible to beg food in Youngstown because of the large numbers of the hungry.

The writer personally interviewed a number of these men. It was easy to see that they are not of the hobo type. Their calloused hands and powerful frames are not characteristic of the lumpenproletariat. They are men who have spent 10, 20 and 30 years of their lives in the steel mills, in the coal mines, in the rubber mills of Akron and on the Great Lakes traffic. They are men who have learned the industry from the bottom. They know steel, how it is made, how coal is mined, all about rubber, railroads, shipping. Step by step the ruthless Plutocracy of Steel has crushed them with the brutal club of starvation and exposure. Recently they built a

sign over the huts with this legend: **HOVER CITY.** The local bourgeoisie considered this a dangerous affront to their rule. And rightly so. They swooped down on them with a threat that they would be driven off even this property, and they demonstratively destroyed the sign.

II.

The Steel industry is shot to hell. Never operating at more than 85% of capacity at the peak of prosperity, it now functions at 10% or less. In Youngstown, the Brier Hills Mills, subdivision of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube, consisting of two blast and 12 open hearth furnaces, closed down completely in April. Carnegie steel has been working two to four days a week since 1929 and closed down June 24th for good. Only the Republic Steel seems to be able to eke out one or two days a week, and that only in some departments. Others are closed down completely.

Less than 15% of the workers in the entire steel industry are now employed. Those still working part time have been cut 10% in October 1931 and again 15% on May 15 of this year. As if that were not enough, the vicious "deductions" system assails every pay envelope. These are taken out of the "workers" wages without his consent. First, Life Insurance (only for period of employment, on the "group" basis) then, Community Chest ("make the workers pay their own damn relief!") then, Unemployment Relief (which means nothing to those permanently laid off). It is therefore not uncommon to see pay envelopes of 50c and 75c for the week. This will serve to indicate how near to "Hoover City" even the employed workers are.

It would seem as though there is absolutely no way of housing these unemployed workers except in crates and filth. It would seem as though the housing problem is insoluble. Still there are more empty houses and buildings in Youngstown today than there have ever been in its entire history. Those that are occupied hardly yield rent. Large sections of the population have simply ceased paying rent. Landlords encourage the better class of tenants to remain or to move in on the prospect of future rent—or at least to protect the property from vandalism done to plumbing and fixtures. Most of the buildings have fallen into the hands of the bankers, who can't take care of their property themselves. Only under capitalism is the housing problem insoluble.

In the poorer sections, evictions go on apace. Gas and electricity are promptly shut off. City water was cut off to 4,000 families in the middle of June. Of the 50,000 workers in the city of Youngstown, approximately 42,000 are on the relief list and these have been officially warned by the city fathers that there will be no more relief after July. Will these workers be cast into "Hoover City"? Can't the bankers, bloated with wealth, see the handwriting on the wall, the spectre of Communism embracing these destitute workers? Will they not understand that this misery marks the decay of capitalism at the end of their system?

The Creed of Capitalism

I think not. As a class they are too selfish, too stupid. Engels has magnificently described their attitude in his "Conditions of the Working Class in England in 1844." He says: "I have never seen a class so deeply demoralized, so incurably debased by selfishness, so corroded within, so incapable of progress, as the English bourgeoisie... For it nothing exists in the world, except for the sake of money, itself not excluded. It knows no bliss save that of rapid gain, no pain save that of losing gold. In the presence of this avarice and lust of gain it is not possible for a single human sentiment or opinion to remain untainted... It is utterly indifferent to the bourgeoisie whether his workmen starve or not, if only he makes money. All the conditions of life are measured by money, and what brings no money is nonsense, impractical, idealistic bosh. Hence, political Economy, the Science of Wealth, is the favorite study of these bartering Jews. The relation of the manufacturer to his operatives has nothing human in it... He could reach his highest perfection in a wholly unorganized anarchic society where each might exploit the other to his heart's content. Since, however, the bourgeoisie cannot dispense with government, but must have it to hold the equally indispensable proletariat in check, it turns the power of government against the proletariat and keeps out of its way as far as possible."

The class interests of the bourgeoisie are identical the world over, and this description is particularly applicable to the American ruling class. One can find no better characterization of the Capitalist attitude towards relief and charity than the following remarks of Engels in the same book:

"Philanthropic institutions, forsooth! As though you rendered the proletarians a service, first sucking out their very life blood and then practising your self-complacent, Pharisaic philanthropy upon them, placing yourselves before the world as mighty benefactors of humanity when you give back to the plundered victims the hundredth part of what belongs to them!"

—CARL COWL.

READ THE DECLARATION OF THE BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS (LEFT OPPOSITION OF THE COMINTERN) TO THE WORLD ANTI-WAR CONGRESS AT AMSTERDAM ON PAGE FOUR.

N.Y. PICNIC

Sunday, September 11th
at
Tibbets Brook Park, Plot 8
Take I. R. T. Woodlawn-Jerome train to last stop. Street cars or bus to park.
SPECIAL:
OPEN AIR BANQUET
(In case of rain we will hold Banquet at 84 East 10th St.)

Lovestonites Play Lackies in Doll Strike

The Doll and Toy Workers Union have called a strike. About one third of the workers in New York, the center of the industry, have answered the call. They are fighting for a 35% increase in pay a 44 hour week, recognition of the union and other important union demands.

The success of the strike depends upon the extension of the strike, upon mass picketing in order to close all the factories now when the busy season starts. Negotiations can only be effective upon this basis. To win the strike we must first obtain a shutdown in the decisive section of the industry and bring these workers into the union. At this stage of the struggle the members must see that the union spends less time negotiating and running after individual bosses, and more time to close all the factories with mass picketing.

Kowtow to A. F. L. Fakers—Prevent Left from Speaking

The Union is at present independent. The officials are negotiating with the A. F. L. Within the union there are many class conscious workers and some Lovestonites such as Rosen and Ravitch who have influence. On the picket lines, members of the Left Opposition have been fighting to extend the strike.

The strike meetings are well attended and have been addressed by Tresean from the anarchists, Thomas from the socialists, and Gitlow from the Lovestonites who was introduced as a "Labor Leader". Members of the picket committee and officials of the union were in favor of having Hugo Oehler from the Communist League of America speak to the strikers, but when Ravitch and other Lovestonites found this they objected and used their influence to prevent Oehler from getting the floor. The Lovestonites believe it is alright for socialists and anarchists to speak but not for the Left Opposition.

After we were refused the floor, Marks of the A. F. L. spoke for affiliation and practically took charge. He informed strikers that the sub-contractors carry A. F. L. cards and are members of the union. He spoke fiercely against the Communists. The Lovestonites did not take the floor and oppose his line. They were content to serve to keep Communist speakers off the platform when they knew that Marks of the A. F. L. was on hand. For this capitulation the Lovestonites were later rewarded by Marks with a curt "Shut Up"—the reward of lackies.

Our Successful Anti-War Meet In New York

On August 17, the Communist League of America held an Anti-War meeting at the Stuyvesant Casino where the delegates from the New York Anti-War Congress spoke to a packed hall of over 200 workers. Many party members attended, to hear the suppressed speeches of the Left Opposition. The speakers presented the position of Leninism and contrasted it to the pacifist position and the pacifist resolution the Stalinite apparatus supported at the New York Conference. An analysis of the world conditions, how the Communist must fight against war and how the workers can defend the Soviet Union was presented. It can be said without fear of contradiction that this meeting has been the only Anti-War meeting held in New York in the present campaign organized around the World Anti War Congress that presented the Marxist position on Imperialist Wars and Civil Wars. The series of meetings held throughout District Two of the party, primarily by auxiliary organizations and the F. S. U. were a disgrace to the Communist movement. All of these Stalinite meetings, decorated with liberals presented, the line as outlined in the suppressed Stalinite document published in this issue of The Militant. In contrast to this pacifist line our meeting held to the line of the Bolshevik-Leninist resolution.

A period of questions followed the meeting, enabling the speakers to elaborate on the Marxist position on War. One worker who was a delegate to the Anti-War Conference was allowed the floor to defend the Stalinite position. It is unfortunate that the meeting did not have more such workers to "defend" the Stalinite line, because this worker as well as the audience left the meeting with a new understanding of the position of the Left Opposition.

ATTENTION!!!

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Saturday, September 3rd, at

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A SUPPRESSED STALINIST DOCUMENT EXPOSED!

We publish below a suppressed Stalinist document, it is the resolution that was passed by the New York Anti-War Conference on August 8, 1932 at the Labor Temple. This is the resolution Olin, Markoff, Brodsky and the other Stalinist leaders present counterposed to the Leninist resolution of the Left Opposition delegates, which they helped to defeat.

This shameful pacifist document, entirely imbued with the spirit of Holland, Barbusse, Arthur Garfield Hayes and the other petty bourgeois "friends of the Soviet Union" enjoyed the official support of representatives of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.:

Nowhere in the Stalinist resolution is the capitalist class character of imperialism war stigmatized, nowhere is any distinction drawn between revolutionary wars of emancipation and the capitalist wars of oppression. The approach to the war question is thoroughly petty bourgeois humanitarian, has nothing whatever to do with the Marxist class struggle interpretation of war.

Nowhere is the approach to the war danger made from the angle of the class struggle, from the point of view of the revolutionary working class. Instead, the approach is to "all sincere anti-war forces"—the approach of the impotent pacifists, of The Nation, of the New Republic.

Nowhere does it take up the burning war danger of the moment—the threat of Fascism in Germany.

Nowhere is there a bold enunciation of our own concrete task—the fight against American imperialism.

Nowhere is the proletarian anti-war slogan of Lenin—"Turn Imperialist War into Civil War"—even given mention! Instead, the Stalinist resolution, "answering the call of Romain Rolland"—to "all peoples (sic) and all classes"—"declares its whole-hearted support" of the Rolland-Barbusse congress with all their vagueness, with all their pacifist illusions, with all their confusionist aims.

Yes, this is the view that was opposed by the Stalinist henchmen to the Leninist views of the Left Opposition. Our campaign for a Marxist struggle against war has struck the Stalinist regime to its very core. The bureaucracy has become frightened. That is why they are suppressing their own wretched, pacifist resolution, that is why they are initiating a campaign of physical terror against

the Left Opposition to cover up their own hideous, opportunist face.

The resolution printed below has never appeared in print before. The Daily Worker does not dare publish it! The Stalinist centrists do not dare defend their views before the onslaught of our Leninist criticism!

Communist workers! Read this document carefully. Judge between the pacifist views expressed within this resolution and the Leninist views of our resolution (The Militant of August 13, 1932). Decide between the petty bourgeois methods of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the proletarian methods of the Bolshevik-Leninists. Demand an account of the Daily Worker, demand an expulsion of the Centrist leadership of the official Communist party.

War is no longer merely a threat. Today war is raging in the far East. Japanese imperialism has invaded China, has slaughtered thousands of helpless women, children and old people and forced its government on Manchuria in order to make this a jumping-off place for a war against the Far East, that will inevitably lead to a world war.

In the last World War workers and farmers were sent to the battlefields to slaughter and be slaughtered. They were told they must fight to make the world safe for democracy. This war took twelve million lives and left 22 million wounded and permanently maimed.

The League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact, which are supposed to peacefully settle disputes between the Nations, proved in practice to be the smoke screen behind which Japanese imperialism attacked on the Chinese people and was being carried on. This same "peace" body turned down the proposal of the Soviet Government for complete disarmament of nations, the only sincere peace proposal to be offered by any government. Not only this, but practically all the member nations of the League of Nations, as well as the U. S., are today shipping munitions, gas bombs, and chemicals to arm Japan in its war on China.

The great powers and their vassal

states are armed to the teeth. War budgets are mounting sky-high. While 40,000,000 workers are unemployed and starving in Europe and America while most other industries are at a standstill, munition factories are increasing their production schedules and rapidly reaching their full capacity. World imperialism, thru its statesmen, profiteers and politicians, is offering another war as a way out of the present economic crisis.

In the next year the wholesale slaughter will not be confined to the men at the front. Entire civilian populations will be wiped out by poison gases and disease germs spread over whole cities by death-dealing planes.

RESOLVED, that this Anti-War Conference, representing meeting in session at Labor Temple, N. Y. on August 8th, 1932, declares its whole-hearted support of the World Congress Against War. Be it further

RESOLVED, that we urge the World Congress to adopt a program of action that will unite all sincere anti-war forces in the struggle against the growing war threat on Soviet Russia. Be it further

RESOLVED, that we call upon the entire working class to halt the manufacture and transport of war munitions against the Chinese people and the Soviet Union. Be it further

RESOLVED, that we call upon all organizations to intensify their anti-war activities, to give full publicity to the work of the World Congress, and send resolutions of support and greetings thereto.

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A Declaration of the Bolshevik-Leninists (Left Opposition of the Comintern)

To the World Anti-War Congress at Amsterdam

The danger of a new world war is becoming more manifest every day. The causes of this danger have been bared in irrefutable fashion by Marxism.

For a long time now, the productive forces of humanity have grown beyond the limits of private property as well as beyond the boundaries of the national states. The salvation of humanity lies in a socialist economy based on an international division of labor. Under the influence of a conservative leadership, the proletariat has not fulfilled its revolutionary task. The world war of 1914-1918 was its retribution. The democratic champions of "peaceful development", the opponents of the revolutionary methods bear the direct responsibility for the dozens of millions of dead and wounded incurred by the imperialist slaughter.

The fifteen years that have passed since, have proved that the imperialist world has learned nothing and forgotten nothing. Its internal contradictions have been further sharpened. The present crisis has revealed a frightful picture of the social disintegration of capitalist civilization, with its clear symptoms of developing gangrene. The salvation of humanity is possible only through the surgical action of the proletarian revolution.

Capitalism in Blind Alley

The ruling classes are turning and twisting about in the straits of this hopeless situation. Their financial difficulties and their fear of the masses of the people prevent them from seeking a solution in the limitation of armaments. On the other hand, by raising the tariff walls ever higher, by restricting imports, the rulers are further strangling the world market, deepening the crisis, making more acute the national antagonisms and preparing new wars. The reformist parties who are today, just as yesterday, opposed to the revolutionary solution along the road of socialism, are once more taking upon themselves the whole weight of the responsibility for the misery of the crisis as well as for the approaching horrors of a new war.

Only in Czarist Russia power was wrested away from the hands of the bourgeoisie. Due to its revolutionary leadership, the young Russian proletariat was able, for the first time in world history, to show concretely what inexhaustible possibilities are contained in the régime of the proletarian dictatorship and of planned economy. The gigantic economic and cultural achievements of a backward country transformed into the country of the workers and the peasants show where the real road to salvation leads for all of humanity.

We are now awaiting from the Soviet government the completion of the second five year plan by a plan of a broad economic collaboration with the advanced capitalist countries and the development of the gigantic perspectives of human power before the masses languishing under the yoke of the crisis and of unemployment. No matter what practical, immediate results such a plan would have, its power of attracting to socialism would be immense for millions and millions of proletarian minds.

Soviet Union in Danger

The present social régime in the land of Soviets is, to be sure, still a long way off from socialism. But its incommensurable significance lies in the fact that it is started on the road toward socialism. It will all the more surely and quickly go over to socialism the sooner the proletariats of the advanced countries seize the power from the hands of the bourgeoisie and create the definitive premises of a new society, one that can only be achieved on an international basis.

The danger of world war is a danger to the very existence of the first workers' and peasants' state. No matter what the causes will be, no matter in what states the war will break out, in its ulterior development it will inevitably turn against the U. S. S. R. The world and the European bourgeoisie will not leave the scene without attempting a transfusion of blood from the arteries of the young workers' state into those of agonizing imperialism.

The past year alone has showed precisely how the flames of war lunge at the frontiers of the Soviet Union simultaneously from the Far East and from the closer West. At the same time strangling the independence of China, Japan constructs in Manchuria fortresses from which to strike at the Soviets. The antagonism between Japan and the United States cannot hold back the militarists of Tokio, for in a future war against the Soviets they will consider themselves in advance, as the very vanguard of world imperialism.

On the other hand, the coup d'Etat carried out by Hindenburg on Hitler's orders not only clears the road for the Fascist régime in Germany but also opens up the perspective of a struggle for life or death between a Fascist Germany and the Soviet Union. Big events are approaching for Europe and for the entire world.

The struggle against war signifies under these conditions the struggle to save the lives of dozens of millions of workers and peasants belonging to the new generation which has grown up since the great slaughter, to preserve all the conquests of labor and of thought, to save the first workers' state and the whole future of humanity.

Clarity on War Danger

All the greater, therefore, is the task and all the more necessary is clarity in the question of its solution. To condemn war is very easy, to conquer it is difficult. The struggle against war is a struggle against the classes which rule society and which combine in their hands all its productive forces and all its destructive weapons. By meetings, by resolutions, by moral indignation, by newspaper articles and by congresses it is not possible to prevent war. As long as the bourgeoisie will have at its disposal the banks, the enterprises, the land, the press and the state ap-

paratus, it will always be able to drive the people to war whenever its interests demand it. But the possessing classes never cede power without a struggle. Look at Germany. When the fundamental interests of the propertied classes are threatened, democracy cedes its place to open violence. The overthrow of the bourgeoisie is possible only with guns in hand. That is to say: to imperialist war there can only be opposed—civil war.

We Bolshevik-Leninists absolutely reject and denounce the deceptive differentiation between a "defensive" and an "offensive" war. In the armed struggle of the capitalist states such a differentiation represents only a diplomatic screen with which to deceive the masses. In reality it so happens that the capitalist brigands always conduct a "defensive" war, even when Japan marches against Shanghai and France against Syria or Morocco. The revolutionary proletariat only distinguishes between wars of oppression and wars of emancipation. The character of a war is for us defined not by diplomatic falsifications but by the class which conducts the war and by the objective aims for which it proceeds with it. The wars of the imperialist states are, independently of the external pretexts and of political rhetoric of an oppressive character, reactionary and hostile to the people. The character of a war of emancipation cannot be anything else but that of the wars of the proletariat and of the oppressed nations. The armed insurrection of the proletariat against its oppressors is inevitably transformed after its victory into a revolutionary war of the proletariat state for the reinforcement and the extension of its victory. The policy of socialism is not and cannot be of a purely "defensive" character. It is the task of socialism to conquer the entire world.

Pacifism -- Poison for Masses

Therefrom we deduce our position with regard to all forms of pacifism, purely imperialist pacifism (Kellogg-Briand-Herriot, etc.) as well as petty bourgeois pacifism (Rolland-Barbusse and their partisans in all parts of the world). The essence of pacifism lies in this, that in a hypocritical or in a sincere manner, it condemns the use of force in general. By weakening the will-power of the oppressed, it serves at the same time the cause of the oppressors. Idealist pacifism opposes its moral indignation against war as the lamb opposes its plaintive bleating before the butcher's knife. But the task consists of this: of opposing the knife of the bourgeoisie with the knife of the proletariat.

The most influential pacifist force is the social democracy. In a period of peace it is not niggardly with cheap tirades against war. But it remains on the ground of "national defense". This decides the question. Every war no matter in what manner it may begin, menaces each of the warring nations. The imperialists know in advance that the pacifism of the social democracy will at the first roar of cannon be transformed into a most servile war patriotism and become the most important reserve of militarism. That is why the most intransigent struggle against pacifism, the unmasking of its treacherous character, is the very first step on the road toward a revolutionary struggle against war.

The League of Nations is the citadel of imperialist pacifism. It represents a transitory historical grouping of capitalist states in which the stronger ones command and buy out the weaker, crawl on their bellies before America or attempt to resist her; in which all are equally enemies of the Soviet Union and prepared at the same time to cover up any and every crime of the most powerful and the most rapacious among them. To consider the League of Nations directly or indirectly, today or in the future, as an instrument of peace—this only the politically blind are capable of, only those who are altogether helpless or the avowed poisoners of the conscience of the people.

Disarmament -- a Lever for War

The question of this pretended "disarmament" has nothing and can have nothing in common with the question of preventing war. The program of "disarmament" only signifies an attempt—up to the present only on paper—to diminish in peace-time the expense of this or that sort of disarmament. It is above all a question of military technique and of the imperialist coffers. The arsenals, the munition factories, the laboratories and finally, what is more important, capitalist industry as a whole—preserve their force in all the "disarmament programs". But men do not fight because they have arms. On the contrary they forge to fight. In case of war all the peace limitations will fall aside like so much chaff. Already in 1914-1918 the states did not fight any more with the armaments which they had provided for themselves in peace time, but with those which they manufactured during the war. It is not the existing arsenals but the capacity of production of the countries which is decisive. For the United States a limitation of armaments in Europe during peace time is very favorable because it allows it to manifest all the more decisively its industrial domination in time of war. The German bourgeoisie tends toward a reduction of armaments so as to equalize the handicap in case of a new bloody conflict. For Germany, general "disarmament" has the same meaning as naval parity with France has for Italy. Of what value all these plans will really be depends upon the combination of imperialist forces, the state of the budgets, the international financial settlements, etc. The question of disarmament is one of the levers on the arena of imperialism in which the new wars are being prepared. It is pure charlatanism to attempt to distinguish between defensive and offensive machine guns, tanks, airplanes. The Ameri-

can program is also dictated therein by the particular interests of American militarism the most terrible of all. War is not a game which is conducted according to conventional rules. War demands and creates all the weapons which can annihilate the enemy with the greatest amount of success. Petty bourgeois pacifism which sees in the project for ten percent, thirty-three percent, or fifty percent disarmament the "first step" towards prevention of war, is more dangerous than all the explosives and all the asphyxiating gases, because Melinite and Yperite can only do their work because the broad masses are poisoned in peace time by the pacifist fumes.

Who Has the Weapons?

Without the slightest confidence in the capitalist programs for disarmament or for the limitations of armaments, the revolutionary proletariat poses one single question: *In whose hands are the weapons?* All sorts of weapons in the hands of the imperialists are identically directed against the working classes, against the weak nations, against socialism, against humanity. On the other hand, weapons in the hands of the proletariat and of the oppressed nations are the only means of sweeping our planet clean of oppression and of war.

The struggle for the self-determination of nations, for all peoples, that is to say, for all parts of humanity which are oppressed and which strive for independence is one of the most important parts of the struggle against war. Whoever supports directly or indirectly the régime of colonization and of protectorates, the domination of British capital in India, the domination of Japan in Korea or in Manchuria, of France in Indo-China or in Africa, whoever does not fight against colonial enslavement, whoever does not support the uprisings of the oppressed nations and their independence, whoever defends or idealizes Ghandism, that is to say, the policy of passive resistance in questions which cannot be solved except by force of arms—is, no matter what his intentions may be, a lackey and an apologist or agent of the imperialists, of the slave holders, of the militarists, and aids them in preparing new wars in the name of the old chains or the new.

The principal force against war is the proletariat. It is only through its example and under its leadership that the peasants and the other plebeian layers of the nation can rise up against war. Within the proletariat two parties are struggling for influence: the Communist Party and the social democracy. The intermediate groups (The S. A. P. in Germany, the P. U. P. in France, the I. L. P. in England, etc.) cannot expect to rise an independent historical role. In the question of war, which is the other side of the question of the proletarian revolution, the irreconcilable opposition between Communism and social patriotism will reach its extreme acuteness.

C.I. Capitulates to Pacifists

Whoever attempts to put all the programs, all the parties, all the flags into one bag in the name of pacifism, that is, of the superficial struggle against war, in words, renders the best service to imperialism. In the question of war, no less than in all the other questions, the Communist Party must seek to free the working masses from the disintegrating and demoralizing influence or reformism.

Monde, the organ of Barbusse, Gorky and the other organizers of the Anti-War Congress, is pursuing a systematic agitation for the fusion of the Communist and the Second Internationals. For a struggle against war, Barbusse addresses himself in the same manner to Lenin as to Vandervelde. That is merely falsifying Lenin and rehabilitating Vandervelde. We reject the policy of Barbusse and his followers and we condemn it as the most dangerous political poisoning. We consider as a serious mistake of the Communist International and of the Red Trade Union International their leaving the initiative for the call of the conference to the unprincipled and impotent pacifists.

We consider the non-entrance of the U. S. S. R. into the League of Nations as altogether correct, practically as well as in principle. We regret all the more, therefore, the fact that the Soviet Union has covered with its authority the Kellogg pact, which is a complete humbug and whose role it is to "justify" only such wars as correspond to the American interests.

We also consider as erroneous the tendency of Soviet diplomacy to embellish the policy of American imperialism and particularly its initiative in the question of disarmament. We recognize fully the importance for the U. S. S. R. of normal economic and diplomatic relations with the U. S. A. But this aim cannot be achieved by verbal capitulations before the maneuvers of American imperialism, the strongest and most rapacious of all. We are awaiting from Soviet diplomacy a clear and public expose on the question of the war danger and the struggle against it. It is necessary to alarm the peoples in a loud voice. The less Soviet diplomacy adapts itself to the maneuvers of the imperialists in this burning question, the more courageously it raises its own voice, the more closely they will align themselves with the U. S. S. R. the more surely they will defend it against the rising danger.

Free the Bolshevik-Leninists!

At the same time we consider it our task to declare here openly: Now, in the face of the terrible danger that is drawing close, it is necessary to finally repair the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy against the revolution and Communism; it is necessary to free the thousands of Bolshevik-Leninists, the organizers of

the October revolution, the creators of the Red Army, the participants of the civil war, the inflexible revolutionary fighters from the prisons and exile. For the dictatorship of the proletariat and the world revolution, against imperialist war, they want to fight and they will fight with an energy incomparably greater than that of the drawing room pacifists and the numerous Stalinist bureaucrats.

The years of the furious campaigns of slander, of the most cruel persecution and violence against the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists have been and will remain also years of the uninterrupted and unimpeachable confirmation of the criticism exercised by them, of the perspectives outlined by them and of the policies proposed by them. Through the action of Stalin, with the blessings of "humanists" a la Barbusse, Lenin's most trusted companion-in-arms of the Red October is confined to Fascist Turkey, laid open to the murderous plans of the White Guards. While the Stalinist bureaucracy maintains in the face of the fateful events and the gigantic tasks, an embarrassed silence—there is ringing forth from Prinkipo and Barnoul the voice of the genuine champions of revolutionary Marxism, the voice of L. D. Trotsky, the voice of Ch. G. Rakovsky. In this hour of approaching decisions, this alone must be demanded: Return to the vanguard of the world proletariat its revolutionary leadership. Bring back Trotsky to the Soviet Union! Bring back Rakovsky from the Siberian exile! Put them and the thousands of Bolshevik-Leninists at their revolutionary battle posts!

The policy of the united front in the struggle against war demands special attention and revolutionary perseverance. The Communist Party can and must propose openly, without these doubtful intermediaries, to all the working class organizations to coordinate their efforts in the struggle against war. For their part the Bolshevik-Leninists propose the following points on the basis of which struggle agreements are possible, at the same time maintaining a complete guarantee of the independence of the organizations and of their banners.

We Propose:

1. Renunciation of all hopes in the League of Nations as well as other pacifist illusions.
2. Denunciation of the capitalist "disarmament" programs, which serve to dupe the peoples.
3. Refusal of all votes for military budgets and drafts to the capitalist governments—not a man, not a cent.
4. Exposure of the humbug of "national defense", because the capitalist nation defends itself by oppressing and dividing the more feeble nations.
5. A campaign for economic collaboration with the U. S. S. R. on the basis of a broadly laid out program in the elaboration and realization of which mass organizations of the working class are to be drawn into participation.
6. Continual and systematic exposure of the imperialist intrigues against the first and only workers' state.
7. Agitation against war in the war factories, among the soldiers and sailors. Preparation of revolutionary points of support in the war industries, in the army and in the navy.
8. The training of the Red Army not only in the spirit of a courageous defense of the socialist fatherland but also in the spirit of constant readiness to come to the aid of the proletarian revolution in the other countries and of the uprisings of the oppressed peoples.
9. Systematic education of the laboring masses of the entire world in the spirit of the greatest devotion to the first proletarian state. Despite the indubitable mistakes in the policy of the present ruling faction, the U. S. S. R. remains the genuine fatherland of the international proletariat. Its defense is the unflinching duty of every honest worker.
10. Indefatigable explanation to the workers of the entire world that a socialist society can be established only on an international scale, and that the real support of the U. S. S. R. lies in the extension of the proletarian world revolution.

Foreign Representation of the Russian Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists)

- Left Opposition of the C.P.G.(B.-L.)
- Left Opposition (B.-L.) of Greece
- Communist Left of Spain
- Communist League (Opp.) France
- Communist League of America (Opp.)
- Communist Left Opposition of Belgium
- Left Opp. of Czechoslovakia
- Left Opp. Group of the C. P. G. B.
- Left Opp. of the Swiss C. P.
- Bulgarian Left Opposition
- Left Opp. of Italy (N.I.O.)

Rush Funds

Help Publish the 'Declaration' as a Pamphlet

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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With the Embattled Miners

Massacre Striking Miners in Franklin County, Illinois

The Coal Diggers Regather Their Forces After the Slaughter

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., August 25:

Forty thousand miners and families, in six thousand cars and trucks, forming an army eighty miles long, were ambushed and brutally attacked at the Franklin County border. The trek-worn miners were about to arrive at their destination, when hired killers of the coal operators opened about 8 P. M. Wednesday, August 24, 1932. From their ambush of bushes and weeds, the murderers permitted some five hundred cars to enter the county and without warning opened fire with machine guns, rifles, shot guns and pistols.

As the miners scattered, caught off guard, terror-stricken women and children wounded by their men sprawled on the hard roads and ditches amidst splattered glass off from automobiles. The killers, provided with torches, ignited gasoline, burning up cars, truck-loads of food and First Aid ambulances. The killers singled out lost miners, they pounced on them and never stopped beating them with pistol and rifle butts until the miners fell completely unconscious.

About one hundred and fifty men, women and children were shot down. The number of slain is undetermined as yet. The miners came peacefully and unarmed. They marched right into the jaws of death, only being able to resist with bare hands.

The caravan leading the huge army was stopped all along the road. The strategy of the state forces was to time the arrival in Southern Illinois by night-fall so they could lead them to slaughter.

At Pickneyville we were stopped for three hours, finally we were permitted to pass through. We were then seventeen miles from Darnell where all preparations were made for camp. Our board of strategy stopped at Du Quoin for a conference. This was five miles from our destination. Our army proceeded as per instructions to pitch camp at designated place. Arriving two miles from Darnell, our vanguard was forced by several hundred deputies, at the point of machine guns, to move on to Franklin County. Our vanguard hesitated, but a few sluggings and cocked triggers forced our vanguard to move Eastward and there lay the killers in weeds and brush—only eight miles off. The state patrolmen and deputy sheriffs of Perry County brazenly forced our peaceful army into the slaughter.

We gave definite instructions to camp at Darnell in Jackson County for the night, then to walk in a body across the border to Franklin County. Two of the vanguard members who got away with minor injuries reported they were forced to traverse Franklin County at the point of machine guns and were even escorted almost to the nest of the murderers.

The army retreated to Coulterville and Pickneyville, twenty miles Northwest. To what extent the army has held its forces is unknown as yet. There are three camps, twenty thousand miners are camped in one woods.

We used airplanes this morning. The Hunter Brothers of Sparta, endurance flyer flew their planes for our cause. Our planes were spotted immediately by Scott Field Scouts but all the damage they did was to give dirty looks and circle us. We dropped thousands of leaflets on Franklin County miners early in the morning. The miners greeted our leaders with waving of handkerchiefs and caps. The leaflets called on the Franklin miners to meet their brothers at the County line.

Several miners in this territory went down today. No reports from Franklin County today yet. Martial law by deputies. Miners' meetings barred by statement of Sheriff and Lewis headquarters.

Status of Strike

Sub District No. 1.....100% out (Pekin-La Salle)
Sub District No. 2.....100% out (Peoria)
Sub District No. 3.....75% out (Danville)
Sub District No. 4.....100% out

N.Y. PICNIC

Sunday, September 11th
at
Tibbets Brook Park, Plot 8
Take I. R. T. Woodlawn-Jerome train to last stop. Street cars or bus to park.
SPECIAL:
OPEN AIR BANQUET
(In case of rain we will hold banquet at 84 East 10th St.)

The Stalinist Bureaucrats Back Out On Murder Frame-Up Hearing

To date, the Stalinist leadership of the official party has not yet replied to our challenge for an open hearing on the framed up murder charges they directed against us in the Daily Worker last week. They have contented themselves with exploiting the tragic deaths of the workers Semen and Krasniuk in a mouth to mouth campaign of incitement against the Left Opposition.

Bureaucrats Retreat
In their public press, the bureaucrats have been forced to retreat all along the line. The Daily Worker and the Freiheit, which on August 23 and 24 were filled with venomous lynch propaganda against the Communist League, have since hushed up the affair entirely. Not a single statement has issued forth from the responsible organs of the official party, not one editorial comment stating publicly what the attitude of the central leadership itself is on the subject. The cowardly Stalinist henchmen have deemed it safer to hide behind surreptitious insinuations in the guise of "news articles".

Faced with the wide-spread disapproval of the Communist rank and file, the Central apparatus of the party is swallowing its words, covering up the traces of its disgraceful pogrom tactics against the Bolshevik-Leninists. In leaflets published since the provocative articles in the Daily, the Stalinists no longer refer to the "Trotskyists" as those responsible

for the deaths of the two workers, but more vaguely and—more safely, to "disruptive elements expelled from the Communist party". Replying to a press release issued by Gitlow for the Lovestone group on the affair in question, the Freiheit restricts its editorial remarks exclusively to an attack against the Right wingers and does not even once make reference to the Left Opposition! The pressure of the outraged party ranks has made itself felt. The dastardly scheme of the bureaucrats has suffered shipwreck.

Must Be Brought to Account
But the spokesmen of Stalinism must not be allowed to retreat in silence. They have got to be made to face the working class openly for an accounting. Their wretched policy of disrupting working class meetings of employing violence in the dispute with the Leninist Opposition has already by their own admissions (see the Daily Worker of Saturday, August 27) led to a general attack by the city authorities upon all Communist meetings. The rude tactics of Stalinism play into the hands of the enemy.

Communist workers, demand that the leadership of the official party bring its shameful accusations against the Left Opposition before a public hearing! Demand that they face a working class tribunal.

(See Page Four for party members' reactions to the Frame-Up)

Fascists Waiting, Ready to Strike

Clara Zetkin Calls For International Solidarity Against Fascism

The bourgeois and the socialist press, in commenting upon the breaking-up of the negotiations between the Hindenburg-Papen regime and Hitler, has generally spoken of a set-back for the latter. Nothing is further from the truth. What is actually evident from the turn events have taken in German politics of recent days, is the fact that a part of the big bourgeoisie, which generally fears the expenses and disturbances and instability of a Fascist regime, is content for the time being to play another card. It is their aim to see if it is not possible to exploit the deadlock between Fascism and the working class on the arena of popular sentiment for the purpose of entrenching a less expensive and more efficient dictatorship—the Junker government of Schleicher-Papen.

That the Nazis have not been defeated is evident from the extreme caution and cowardice with which the Reich's government is treating the Fascist assassins of the Communist worker Pletczuck, a case which has rocked the whole nation with its repercussions. In spite of its emergency decree covering "political excesses" with special "Schnellgerichte"—courts of extraordinary, speedy action—the murderers of the Communist worker still remain without a trial, government action is being delayed notwithstanding the popular indignation aroused by the incident.

Attitude of Hitlerism
Nor are the Hitlerites themselves unconscious of their position. Immediately after the rupture in the negotiations, the Fascist Goebbels wrote in the Berlin organ of National Socialism, Der Angriff: "A dictatorship against the whole country is impossible in the long run, no matter how many bayonets one has at his disposal. We have no intention of blurring out our plans. At any rate, we National Socialists would be least of all inclined to shed tears over the shipwreck of the negotiations. What has been denied us last Saturday, will perhaps in the very near future be laid before us pleadingly. Then it will be up to us to post conditions."

The Fascists are quite conscious that they are the indispensable arm of big capital, that they control its only base of operations in the broad masses of the people for the purpose of the capitalist solution of the sharp economic and political crisis. They know that sooner or later, the big financiers will have to resort to their petty bourgeois battalions to stem the tide of working class resistance against their attempts to "solve" the crisis by the drastic reduction of the standards of living of the workers, by the strangulation of the proletarian vanguard. They know and they are aware that their masters know, that the regular army of 100,000 alone will not suffice for this purpose. The policy of the Fascist is—the policy of watchful waiting. The danger of the Fascist coup d'Etat has not been decreased by one iota.

Calls for International Solidarity

At the opening of the Reichstag, Clara Zetkin, speaking in the name of Communism, called for the formation of the extra-parliamentary united front of the working class "without distinctions of party, etc.", and for demonstrations of solidarity with the German proletariat on the part of the international working class. Yes, the formation of the extra-parliamentary united front is the only method of saving the German workers and workers' Russia from a fearful catastrophe. But it is not enough to talk about it, to veer around helplessly by successive turns at "united fronts from below" and "with the lower tops" as the Stalinist leadership of the C. P. G. has been doing.

International solidarity with the German workers in their bitter struggle—that is the utmost task of the hour. But for the present the foremost duty of this international solidarity is: to bring pressure upon the German party to adopt the Leninist united front, to establish the proletarian front by putting the lethargic and treacherous social democracy to the test. Workers, Communists, answer the call for international solidarity with the German proletariat by demanding within the party and the working class organizations the adoption of the Leninist line of the Left Opposition.

Youth Hold Anti-War Meeting

September marks the eighteenth anniversary of the celebration of the first International Youth Day as the day of struggle against capitalist war and militarism. When the Berne conference of the International Union of Socialist Youth organizations held in 1915, sent out the call to demonstrate on this day under the slogan of "war against war", it set aside, an international holiday of the working youth that has grown larger and stronger every year.

The year 1932 is no exception. The danger of war exists in reality. The world is an armed camp, while the burden of this huge militarization falls upon the shoulders of the working class, especially upon the broad mass of young workers. The demonstration this year must be larger than ever before.

As part of the general participation in International Youth Day, the Young Spartacus Club of New York is holding an open meeting. This meeting will discuss the various phases of the history of the International Youth Day and the struggles of the youth of the entire world. Comrades Joe Carter and Albert Grotzer will be the speakers, and Manny Garrett, the chairman. The meeting will be held at the Stuyvesant Casino, 2nd Ave., and 9th Street, on Sunday, September 4th, at 8 P. M. Admission is free.

The Political Programs of the Petty Bourgeoisie

by LEON TROTSKY

Any serious analysis of the political situation must take as its point of departure the relationship between the three classes: the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie (including the peasantry) and the proletariat.

The economically powerful big bourgeoisie, in itself, represents an infinitesimal minority of the nation. To enforce its domination, it must ensure a definite mutual relationship with the petty bourgeoisie and through its mediation, with the proletariat.

To understand the dialectic of the relationship between the three classes, we must differentiate three historical stages: at the dawn of capitalist development, when the bourgeoisie required revolutionary methods to resolve its tasks; in the period of bloom and maturation of the capitalist regime, when the bourgeoisie endowed its domination with orderly, pacific, conservative, democratic forms; finally, at the decline of capitalism, when the bourgeoisie is forced to resort to methods of civil war against the proletariat to protect its right of exploitation.

THE POLITICAL PROGRAMS OF THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE

The political programs characteristic of these three stages: *Jacobinism*, *reformist democracy* (social democracy included) and *Fascism* are basically programs of petty bourgeois currents. This fact alone, more than anything else, shows of what tremendous—rather, of what decisive, importance the self-determination of the petty bourgeois masses of the people is for the whole fate of bourgeois society.

Nevertheless, the relationship between the bourgeoisie and its basic social support, the petty bourgeoisie, does not at all rest upon reciprocal confidence and pacific collaboration. In its mass, the petty bourgeoisie is an exploited and disfranchised class. It regards the bourgeoisie with envy and often with hatred. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, while utilizing the support of the petty bourgeoisie, distrusts the latter, for it very correctly fears its tendency to break down the barriers set up for it from above.

While they were laying out and clearing the road for bourgeois development, the Jacobins engaged, at every step, in sharp clashes with the bourgeoisie. They served it in intransigent struggle against it. After they had culminated their limited historical rôle, the Jacobins fell, for the domination of capital was predestined.

For a whole series of stages, the bourgeoisie entrenched its power under the form of parliamentary democracy. Even then, not peacefully and not voluntarily. The bourgeoisie was mortally afraid of universal suffrage. But in the last instance, it succeeded, with the aid of a combination of violent measures and concessions, of privations and reforms, to subordinate within the framework of formal democracy, not only the petty bourgeoisie, but in considerable measure also the proletariat, by means of the new petty bourgeoisie—th labor aristocracy. In August 1914 the imperialist bourgeoisie was able, with the means of parliamentary democracy, to lead millions of workers and peasants into the war.

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(Continued on page 4)

«Farmers Holiday» in Iowa

A New and Militant Type of Middle Class Revolt

The strike of the farmers in Sioux City has spread to other parts of the state, of Iowa and Indiana, and into nearby states. Truck gardeners and dairy farmers have joined the movement and threaten the law and order of the authorities. Minneapolis reports show the strike has reached the Northwest. This new strike action of this section of the petty bourgeoisie indicates the deep changes the agriculture of the United States is undergoing.

The reduction of wholesale food prices, the bosses' hold on the farms and the reduction of the purchasing power of the workers has upset the standards of the rich farm regions which were able to survive the constant agrarian crisis up to the present. In Sioux City and Council Bluffs, Iowa a higher plane of the struggle has been reached. Mass picketing, fights, and clashes with scabs and authorities are reported daily. In Council Bluffs the striking farmers marched upon the jail and forced the authorities to release 60 striking farmers. All reports indicate the strike is spreading.

Press reports from western papers show that in spite of minor ebbs and flows, the farmers revolt against conditions is growing. The farmers can no longer argue against the striking workers because now the striking farmers have joined them as allies in the struggle against the financiers and their henchmen.

August 22, the striking farmers stopped two trains enroute to Sioux City with livestock and milk. 400 farmers

of the Missouri valley agree to begin a blockade of highways leading to Omaha. On August 28, the press reports reinforced picket lines on all roads leading to Council Bluffs from the Iowa side. At Sioux City the 85 arrested strikers were released on habeas corpus proceedings, Iowa national guards are in readiness to be sent in any part of the state. The Nebraska farmers started picketing roads in and around Omaha. In Iowa, the state power against the striking farmers, arresting strikers, routing them with tear gas and general intimidation that striking workers are well trained in.

The farmers of Iowa, Nebraska, North and South Dakota and Minnesota are following up the strike movement in one form or the other. In other farm regions preliminary steps in this direction are being taken. The middle class state farm organizations are endeavoring to give leadership to the movements and link them up in a general struggle against the monopolists. Reports from Lewiston, Idaho inform us that 400 farmers in this rich wheat district are bound by agreement to sell none of their wheat for 60 days unless a profit can be made. They control 5 million bushels of wheat.

Significance of Farm Strike

What significance has the farmers strike? What is the relation the farmers strike has to the workers' struggles? A survey of this struggle is essential to prevent the vanguard from being shifted into opportunist channels by Stalinism

(Continued on page 2)

APPEAL FOR FUNDS!

Last week we informed you of the financial emergency. We told you how the Stalinists concocted the frame-up against us in an attempt to rebuild the crumbling walls between our comrades and the Communist workers in the party. Now the capitalist and socialist press have picked up the Stalinist frame-up against us and are using it against the whole Communist movement and particularly against the Left Opposition.

The emergency for the Militant is not over. The financial condition calls for renewed effort on the part of the Militant supporters.

In spite of the increase in members and sympathizers, the mass unemployed and the low wages reduce considerably the financial returns from our expanding activity.

The Militant is the main organ in America that upholds the banner of the Bolshevik-Leninists in theory and action. The suspension of The Militant, its delay, like last week, when the press broke down, or the retreat to a semi-monthly would be a blow to the whole international Communist movement. Unless we are able to meet the present difficult situation our press and movement will suffer. Collect funds for the Militant from your fellow workers! Readers of The Militant, arrange affairs for The Militant, picnics, house parties, etc. Rush all funds to THE MILITANT, 84 East 10th Street, New York City.

Strike in Lancashire Mills

Big Wave of Struggle of British Workers Rising

The cotton and textile mills in Lancashire district, have come to a virtual standstill. More than 135,000 workingmen and women engaged in the British textile industry have downed tools in response to a strike call and practically paralyzed one of the mainstays of the economic life of Great Britain. The capitalist press states that the scope of the strike will extend so far as to effect the existence of more than 10,000,000 people whose life depends upon the purchasing power of the textile operatives. British capitalism, astounded at the force of this general strike is moving all its power and influence to corral "public opinion", to discredit the strike and is prepared to move in with more decisive measures if necessary.

The purpose of the strike is ostensibly the re-instatement of 3,000 union members who struck while the misleaders of the British textile workers were conducting negotiations with the manufacturers who had abrogated the general agreement, concerning wages, hours and conditions. The parleys came to a standstill but nothing was done about the re-employment of these three thousand workers who placed no trust in their perfidious leaders. We learn, however, although it is but vaguely stated, that there is also the question of a 10% wage cut. The sick British labor fakers would never permit an official strike in sympathy with members that have flaunted their treacherous decisions.

In the recent period there has been more than one wage cut imposed upon the textile operatives, bringing their living conditions to the rock bottom level.

The British capitalists are desperately trying to rationalize their industry—at the expense of the workers—and they have brought all their trusties into action, the "labor government", the labor strikes of the Hicks, Cline strike, in order to prime themselves for an attack on the world market.

We can rest assured that if the fate of the strike is to depend upon the trade union "leaders" the sell-out is a foregone conclusion. The labor fakers who work in collusion with the bosses and their government lackeys will drive the workers back into as great a slough of misery as the bosses desire. Already they are rushing to "His Majesty" begging him to assert his "royal impartiality" and to "arbitrate" the strike. To the only ones that can really arbitrate the strike—the workers, who by their unflinching solidarity can force the bosses to yield—the British Labor fakers have no thought of appealing. That means class struggle. The fakers still having nightmares of the great general strike of 1926, are exceedingly aware of the militancy of the working class. What will the footstool of the British bourgeoisie, the king who is fed from crumbs off their table, arbitrate? In whose interest? The answer is self-evident—he who pays the piper picks the tune.

Only by dumping these fakers will the strike make any progress whatsoever. The British textile strike is one of the big battles that is shaking the capitalist world today. The opportunities for Communism are mounting by leaps and bounds. More power to the Lancashire strikers!

JOE COLBERT - LABOR'S MARTYR

It was back in 1927, during the great national strike, when the coal miners of the United States were making a gallant fight for the preservation of their union, that I first met Joe Colbert. That was an early September morning when 1500 strikers had gathered at Old Ben number 15 near West Frankfort, and persuaded the miners of that mine not to return to work under the separate agreement policy that would desert the heroic miners of Pennsylvania and Ohio and inevitably wreck our union. Joe was there for the first time actively participating in the affairs of his union. From then on he became a constant fighter for a more militant union until the morning he was assassinated by a guard from the mine where he was employed.

Colbert had been a trip rider in the mines and his missing right hand was the credential to prove that he had gone through the mill. The injury left a stub above the wrist but still his youth and robust health permitted him to work on the conveyors of the Chicago, Wilmington Franklin Coal Company.

In 1926 we elected Joe the president of our local union, for his courage and his constant struggle against the operators' abuse of conditions, endeavored him in the heart of his fellow men. Later he served in the capacity of Financial Secretary, then served three years as recording secretary and P. M. Committee man of our local in which capacity he served until his death. He was also Auditor of Sub-District number 9, United Mine Workers of America.

I had occasion to serve with Colbert on several committees. Acting on our local union's resolution committee for the International Convention held last January Colbert stood by a militant program and led the fight for the recognition of the Soviet Union and against the Criminal Syndicalism law. Some of the most constructive resolutions, numbering 36 in all, were presented to the International Convention by our delegation. Colbert collaborated with me in the presentation of these resolutions. During the district scale committee negotiations we were delegates and side by side we fought for an energetic program of struggle against the fakers within our union and the coal operators.

During my expulsion from the United Mine Workers of America for my activities in the National Miners Union, Colbert almost single handed struck Orient number 1 in solidarity with Mine 2, over an equal division of work. The strike took place during the rank and file movement in which Colbert played a constructive part. Colbert and Ansbury held the strike intact for weeks. And not until the operators had brought into play the Federal government, which arrested every active foreign-born miner were they able to break the strike for which seven Communists are now facing long prison sentences on the charges of violating the Criminal Syndicalism laws.

Colbert had become known throughout the mining regions. His courage, tenacity and leadership had developed thousands of friends throughout the coal fields of the state. At the same time he had aroused the enmity of the coal operators and their agents—the fakers within the United Mine Workers of America.

A Fateful Conversation

Returning home from the Bend conference of a week ago, where Colbert and I had again acted as delegates from our local union, we stopped at a filling station on the out-kirts of West Frankfort. There we observed James Sutton Company guards with shot-gun in hand. The following interesting conversation took place between Joe and the mine guard.

"Where are you going with that?" Joe queried.

"Goin' to look for rabbits", was the cynical reply.

"I assume that there will be plenty around here pretty soon", Joe asserted.

"What are you fellows going to do?", the killer asked.

"We are going to strike every mine in Illinois until they give us an honest count," Joe countered.

"Well, you fellows better not come out there," was the threatening rejoinder of the gunman.

"We will be out there in spite of all your army, there is nobody going to tell the Illinois miners to work under conditions that they never had an opportunity to decide upon", were Joe's last remarks as we went on.

The following morning deputy sheriffs arrested me and threw me into the county jail along with a student body that I was accompanying. That night I was released and the following conversation took place between myself and the state attorney:

"You had better not stay at home tonight", stated the S. A.

"Who is to tell me where I am to go and where to stay?"

"Well, I am merely telling you what I know, they are going to kill you and some other leaders of this movement if you do not watch yourself", said the S. A.

"This industrial war could not be any worse than a military war; if war was declared I would not be consulted as to whether I would go or not, therefore I refuse to be told what I shall do in a fight that determines the very life of thousands of my men", I answered.

"At any rate, I am telling you what I know," was the answer.

"Very well, since you, as the leading authority in this county tell me that my life is in danger I demand a permit to carry a gun for my protection," he replied.

"Can't do that, I am disarming people," was the last response of the state's attorney.

Threats Fulfilled

The next morning I learn that the threats were not bluffs. Joe was murdered with a full shot-gun lead right through his heart. Joe had gotten up early and was busily engaged picking mushrooms in the pasture near his home. He was accompanied by his father who had gone out to stake a cow. At 15 minutes of six, an open touring car appeared, the driver got out and called for Joe. Joe turned and started toward them. He no doubt recognized the three men in the car. When he arrived ten feet from the car, the gunman opened fire shattering his manly chest piercing his heart. Joe died almost instantly with a faint smile.

Joe's wife, Frankie ran out on her porch and the killers laughed openly in her face as her husband lay crumpled to earth.

The murder of Colbert by the gunman of the coal operators is part of the program of the Lewis-Walker-Edmundson combine in the attempt to force a wage cut down the throat of the Illinois coal miners. They feared Colbert because of his bravery and influence. It was necessary in their desperation to stop the rank and file movement from taking hold of the union for the movement threatens to engulf them forever for the miners—therefore desperate men use desperate tactics.

The death of Joe Colbert will be avenged. We, the militant miners of Illinois, pledged in mass funeral of 15,000 strong that we will carry the fight to the bitter end. Joe Colbert is dead but the things that he fought for will be realized as long as there is a breath of life left in the militant working class movement.

—GERRY ALLARD.

The Farmers Holiday

(Continued from page 1)

today as was the case in the past when Pepper, as a representative of the Right-Center bloc, lost the Communist movement into opportunism with his two-class party idea.

The crisis is throwing upon the surface new layers of rebels. These new layers crystallize around issues of immediate demands at hand. The Bonus March was a typical example of this. The Bonus Army with the exception of the minority Left wing, was a force made up of patriotic Americans, "Loyal Americans", who wanted relief from mass hunger and starvation. The Government answer to their cry for bread with bullets shifted the "army" and many of its sympathizers to the Left, and away from their patriotism.

The farmers' strike follows this new trail, but throws to the surface an entirely different layer of "enemies" of capitalism. The reorganization of agriculture—to coordinate it with industry—by the American imperialists pushed the farmers forward into struggle. Their outlook on property relations warps this movement, restricts it to a struggle attempting to hold in check the concentration and centralization of wealth. They want to turn the wheels of industry backward.

Workers' Strike and Farmers' Strike

When the workers strike it is a blow against capitalism, at the basic contradictions of the system, a blow at the relation of the exploiting machine owner and the exploited producing wage slaves. But the farmers' strike turns on a different axis. The farmers' strike does not unearth the same relationship to the basic contradictions of capitalism. The farmers' strike reveals the relationship of a section of the petty-bourgeoisie, the farmers, fighting another section of the capitalists who have monopolized the avenues between production and distribution. The workers' solution is forward to the social revolution. The "solution" of the farmers is an attempt to check the march of industry, to turn the wheels backward. This does not mean that we reject the farmers' struggles as reactionary. It means that it is doomed at the start to certain limitations and must be supported in this light, as an auxiliary struggle in the class struggle against the capitalists. Not a struggle on an equal basis with the workers' struggle, as indicated by the slogan of "Workers and Farmers Government", but as a struggle of allies in the fight of the workers to overthrow capitalism.

The Middle Class in the Crisis

Large sections of the middle class have already been ruined by the crisis and the attempted reorganization of American industry by the financiers. The farmer, as a section of this class, has been in a permanent crisis. The financiers have already won a section of the "new" middle class as flunkies. Not so with the farmers, who will fight to the end. It is not correct to contend that the imperialists have won the middle class as a whole to their side, nor is it correct to say the middle class will not survive this crisis. The problem is many-sided and not so simple. The whole middle class is divided and moving in many directions and no solution of their problems can be expected under capitalism and particularly from the leaders of the middle class. As allies of the proletariat, they are of value to the further development of society.

This new farmers struggle is on an entirely different plane when compared to the struggles of the former centuries.

The struggle against capitalism in America is the struggle of the workers, industrial and agrarian, black and white, etc. The farmers must be used as allies. The Communist workers must guard against the Stalinist attempt to elevate the farmers' strike above its proper level in the class struggle. The Stalinists attempt to elevate the farmers' strike to the same level of the workers' struggle against capitalism must be rejected, if we are to approach the problems of the farmers with a correct Marxian policy.

—H. O.

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By N. Lenin

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The Left Opposition at Work

Recent advances have been registered by the League in several directions. This is first of all due to our campaign for a Bolshevik policy in the present fateful situation of the German proletariat and our fight against the pacifist anti-war masquerade. Support in the party and Communist sympathetic ranks has come forward. Comrade Pappas issued his open letter, which has already been printed in these columns, and aroused considerable discussion. His arbitrary expulsion has resulted in protest by several New York party units. Our members have distributed a total of 30,000 leaflets on the German situation.

How Regime Reacts

The attitude of the party regime, culminating in the dastardly frame-up against us, intended to squelch this wave of support, has already proven to have the contrary effect. Quite a few new sympathizers to the Left Opposition have come forward. We do not mention names in this connection for very good reasons but some of these new sympathizers have influential positions in the party and its auxiliary organizations.

Some of this sympathy is expressed in letters sent to the office directly or to individual members. We quote a part of one such typical letter sent to a New York comrade: "The minute I read that story of the street meeting in the *Daily Worker*, I, of course, knew that it really was not so. I spoke that same day to two other party members who work in my shop and they also agreed that it could not be so. We do not know you so well but anyway we would not believe this, it has just so much more to us that we must study this question of the Trotsky program. This we will do and we wish you success for your ideas."

During the recent few weeks we have received ample proof that the Left Opposition views on the present vital working class issues have penetrated deeper into the party and its sympathizers' ranks considerable sections having registered a response, wanting to know, wanting to discuss. Secondly due to this the party leadership has become compelled to engage in somewhat of a discussion as, for example, in its recent New Year meeting on Germany and the discussion on "Trotskyism" now to be taken up in the Y. C. L. Thirdly, that the bureaucratic regime has become alarmed and become frantic is well illustrated in its attempts at physical retaliation, and base frame-up method.

PROSPECTS FOR DULUTH

The results of the successful mass meetings and anti-war demonstration in Duluth are excellent for further organization work for the Communist League. After the meeting previously reported in the *Militant*, the Party held an anti-war meeting at Court House Square recently in which we publicly advertised that we would participate. For this reason, all the speakers turned their guns on the Left Opposition, the meeting turned into an anti-Trotsky revival. We refused to be provoked, expect when one emboldened bureaucrat said, "I challenge comrade Bloomberg to come up here and deny this!" Bloomberg immediately accepted the challenge and moved to the platform. "No, no," shouted the speaker in regret, "we don't want to hear what you got to say!" "Why did you invite me?" asked Bloomberg simply and the crowd roared.

We issued a challenge to the Party, the following day to a debate on the question of their base slander that Trotsky is an enemy of the working class. 1200 workers came down to the square. This was one of the biggest mass meetings held on the streets of Duluth in recent times. This turnout decisively proves that the workers and especially the Left wing do want to know the truth about the struggle of Trotsky and the Left Opposition. What they want to know especially is how this relates with the day to day struggle of the working class. And this we were prepared to tell them.

The party bureaucrats had organized a squad of hecklers and even hoped to be able to capture the platform. But we hit every attempt squarely on the nose by exposing their tactics before the workers present. The workers understood the reactionary role the Party plays in organizing to break up meetings, and create disturbances and in mass threatened the individual party hoodlums to be quiet or go home. When a vote was put whether to go on with the meeting or not, a forest of hands voted yes, and a solitary hand voted no. The hoodlums feared to vote lest it would be construed as "participation" in our meeting. From that time on the din lessened. "What is your program?" shouted a YCLer. "That is exactly what we are here to explain, we answered, and proceeded to our program of unity of the working class as a whole on the basis of the united front.

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and of the Communist party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The party was decisively defeated in their attempt at disruption, but we were not able on this night to complete our speaking program. We therefore announced our third and concluding mass meeting for the following night, where about 800 workers assembled and listened attentively to our message. Comrade Avrin spoke on the Washington massacre. Comrade Bloomberg related the history and problems of the Left Opposition. Comrade Cowl gave the united front policy of the League in the organization of the Unemployed. The Party members this time listened without making a peep. Only once Gardner shouted: "Look what a jackass Bloomberg is making of himself!" The speaker snapped right back: "After your performance last night, there is no doubt in anybody's mind who is the jackass!" The crowd laughed their appreciation. A number of new party members and sympathizers asked serious questions after the program and discussed before the crowd until after eleven which is a late hour in this town.

The methods we used in handling the Party members were completely vindicated by the results we obtained. What remains to be done however is some intensive organization work in Duluth with the view of organizing a branch, a youth group and possibly an auxiliary. The Minneapolis comrades who have been organizing the work in Duluth will endeavor to follow up in an effort to establish a firm foundation for the Left Opposition in Duluth.

—CARL COWL

MINNEAPOLIS

Some time ago the Minneapolis "Farmer-Labor" Mayor appointed an unemployment relief committee composed of city politicians, businessmen and a sprinkling of "workers' representatives." Among the latter were our comrade C. R. Hedlund, of course given this "honor" without the least effort to obtain his consent or even to inform him before the appointment became public. The fact that the Farmer-Labor mayor should hit upon the idea of including Hedlund among his appointed committee is in itself an enormous tribute to our comrade. In inverted

form it is a recognition of the fact that his loyal and devoted efforts at the head of numerous rank and file revolts against corrupt union officials, against opportunist Farmer-Labor Party politicians as well as in strike movements, has earned for him the deep respect and confidence of the Minneapolis workers.

The question of comrade Hedlund's acting on such a committee, however, was an entirely different matter and he did not delay in completely dissociating himself from it in conformity with our League policy. The Farmer-Labor Party administration in the first place attained to its position largely due its promises for unemployment relief. After being elected it did exactly the same as its capitalist predecessors, a few miserable charity crumbs, even sponsoring a new innovation in the form of forced labor of the unemployed. The sprinkling of workers' representatives on the committee was designated only to give the working class stamp of approval to their disgusting schemes. Comrade Hedlund in his statement of dissociation from the committee made this clear, declared his complete lack of confidence in such a committee of city politicians and businessmen and demanded serious action for unemployment relief.

Comrade Hedlund stated that there must be immediate governmental relief—a system of unemployment insurance—the six hour workday without reduction of pay for those employed. Comrade Hedlund also pointed to the necessity of large scale credits to be extended to the Soviet Union, together with demands corresponding to the local situation in the city.

This our comrade declared that he would continue to fight for as a member of the Left Opposition but he added the one question which is assuming growing importance with every day passing by. He reiterated the imperative need of a united working class front in the struggle for unemployment relief, including with the revolutionary forces also the trade unions and workers' political organizations. This is the way to put the Farmer-Labor Party politicians to the test before the eyes of those workers who may still retain confidence in them.

Unemployed Activity in Retrospect

Three milestones mark the party's course in its unemployment work since Browder, a little more than a year ago, turned the helm away from the fight for unemployment insurance and set the course for immediate relief, to the exclusion of every revolutionary demand. These are: Browder's pronouncements in the *Daily Worker* of March 6 and 12, 1931, the T U U L - N E C resolution adopted in Pittsburgh on October 3 and 4, 1931, and now the Proposed Draft Program of Fighting Methods and Organizational Forms of the Unemployed Councils. These are the theoretical fruits of the course which has led into the opportunist swamp.

It will be remembered that February 25, 1931 marked the close of a year's nation-wide, fighting demonstrations for unemployment insurance under the leadership of the Communist party. February 25 marked a tremendous decline in the influence of the Communist party over the masses, insofar as its unemployment work was concerned. In the March 6th, 1930 demonstrations the party claimed a million and a quarter workers. In the February 25th, 1931 demonstrations it claimed only four hundred thousand. That both figures were grossly exaggerated goes without saying. But that the decline was great is equally true.

The great loss in influence, at a time when the crisis was deepening and the struggle against it should have been rising to greater heights and embracing broader masses of workers, presented the Stalinists with the necessity of making a turn. Marxists would have begun with an examination of their past policies to find in them the cause of their failure. Not so the Stalinists. The cornerstone of their faith is the dogma that the line is correct. To doubt it is heresy.

To Browder was entrusted the ideological legendarium of pronouncing a turn, yet absolving the previous line of any suspicion of error. This he sought to accomplish in a series of two articles in the *Daily Worker* (March 6 and 12, 1931), under the title: On the organization of Relief Work by Unemployed Councils.

The Turn

Browder called for the creation of food collection committees "to get food from the larger capitalists and corporations of the locality, particularly in those institutions where the unemployed were formerly at work." Anticipating failure for this idiotic nonsense, Browder provided: "When the committee is unable to get food from the corporations and large capitalists, they shall then begin to solicit small merchants and petty bourgeoisie generally, calling upon these elements at the same time to join the Unemployed Council in demanding relief from the government treasuries and in demanding unemployment insurance nationally."

Under the leadership of Browder and Co. the movement was plunged into systematic, organized beggary. It became a fish-wife haggling with the charities over pennies. The revolutionary link between the day-to-day, reform demands and the revolutionary goal was cast off like so much unnecessary ballast.

On the key questions of policy: of uniting the employed and unemployed workers, and working out broad organizational forms to include workers of all shades of opinion, regardless of their political affiliations; the success or failure to attain which is the measure of every unemployment program, Browder was silent. He let his readers infer that as with the line, so with its results in these essential questions.

"Two steps backward in order to make one step forward," said a worker, misquoting Lenin. Browder's directives were the first step backward on the road which has led inexorably to the opportunist swamp where the movement is bogged.

The T U U L - N E C Resolution

Contrary to the Stalinists' expectations the pursuit of this policy, the orientation of the movement on relief, the relegation of unemployment insurance to the background, the failure to organize a fighting movement of a shorter working day, for credits to the Soviet Union, did not see the unemployed councils "grow and stabilize themselves as powerful organizations." They continued to be weak and ineffectual instruments embracing only unemployed workers, and only workers sympathetic to Communism. With the exception of Chicago and several other cities they took no deep root in the masses.

By October the failure of the new turn was apparent to all. Time had demonstrated its bankruptcy. Yet the T. U. U. L. - N. E. C. resolution of October 3rd and 4th affirmed the correctness of the line: "The present developments do not require a change in policy of the T U U L."

That this whitewash was meant to apply to the unemployment policy as well as the trade union policy is evident from the text of the resolution. Our readers can find this monument of confusion and distortion in the files of the *Daily Worker*. It was published as a supplement to the issue of November 11, 1931.

The unemployed and "red union" movements are conceived in this document as separate movements. This marks a retreat from the previous policy of the party which confined the unemployed councils to the organizational control of the T U U L. This is a necessary step toward establishing the correct base for a broad movement for unemployment relief.

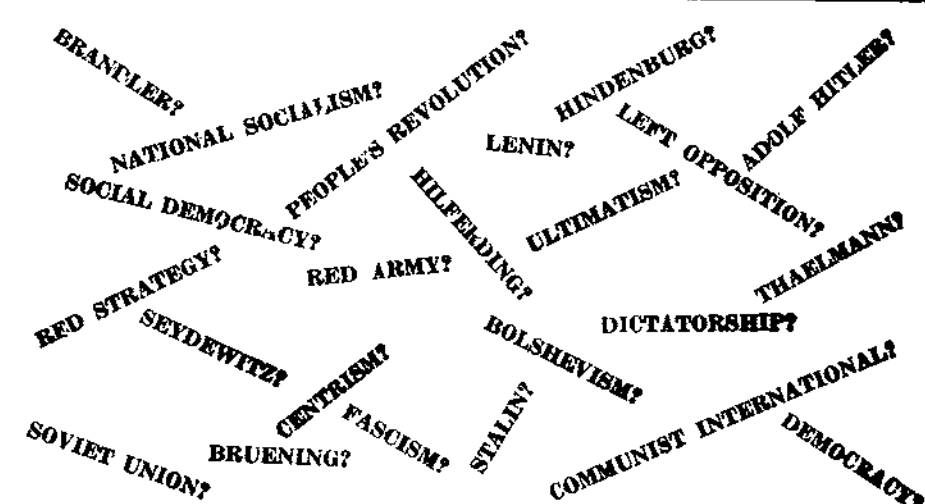
But the party has made the division a formal one. In its resolution it posed the question of uniting the unemployed movement with the "red union" movement. This is fundamentally incorrect. It is not at all a question of uniting the two movements but of building one united movement of employed and unemployed workers. This must be a broad movement, much broader than the as yet weak "red union" movement. It must embrace, in the first place, the organized labor movement. This means the A. F. of L. unions.

In the question of the organizational forms the resolution made no advance over the party's previous narrow conception of the united front as applied to the unemployed councils. The united front projected in the resolution is essentially a united front of unorganized, unemployed workers.

LEON TROTSKY

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WITH THE INTERNATIONAL LEFT OPPOSITION

Some Experiences of the Illinois Miner's Struggle and the Policy of the Communists

Greece

The economic crisis has been sharply aggravated in Greece, drawing in its wake the depreciation of the drachma, raising the prices of commodities and consequently the weakening of the consumers' power.

Since most of the public works in Greece are controlled by foreign enterprises and due to the difficulties the Greek government has had in paying its foreign debts, the work has ceased and the workers have been thrown into the arms of the unemployed. The consequences of the crisis strike directly or indirectly at the workers, the poor peasant and sections of the petty bourgeoisie as well, who can no longer accept the impossible living conditions which have surpassed all extremes.

Great Social and Revolutionary Struggles Ahead

Already in the months of May and June Greece has seen in the principle centers the upsurge and the rising of masses of workers. Unfortunately they are far from being organized and led by the Communist Party.

During the strike of the letter carriers, the railroad workers of Macedonia, the tobacco workers of Patras and the workers of Cavalla, they have shown that the proletariat is not only disposed not to tolerate the bourgeois repression but also that it does not fear to fight to stay the worsening of its situation and obtain better living conditions.

The workers have also shown that if they remained outside of the movement for the counter offensive to the bourgeois offensive, it was because they lacked a powerful vanguard, the forces of the working class being divided and having no guarantee of a unified force for success.

The Greek Bolshevik-Leninists believe it impossible that this movement will not have gigantic repercussions in other branches of industry and agriculture and that this agitation will not become more energetic and more general. They are issuing the slogan of transforming this movement into a general strike of a political character.

The Greek comrades of the Left Opposition are preparing for struggle. But what is the Communist party doing? What are its perspectives, its slogans and its preparations? What is it doing to apply the methods of struggle which correspond to reality?

The organization of Bolshevik-Leninists (Archio-Marxists) consequent upon its Marxist positions, after having examined the organizational situation of the workers has come to the conclusion that the working class needs firm organs of struggle, applying the slogan of the **united front**. This is explained in the following document, an appeal to the Greek workers.

AN APPEAL TO THE COMMUNISTS AND TO THE WORKING CLASS

"The workers can neither be mobilized nor can they struggle when their ranks are divided. The need for united struggle and for unity is making itself more and more felt in the conscience of the workers and becomes more and more imperative. The application of the tactic of the united front is the only guarantee for the success of the mass struggle of the workers. Our organization has advanced the slogan that the united front must embrace all workers' organizations independently of their political concepts, and the largest possible masses. Because of this, we consider that the only organ which will assume the leadership of the struggle must arise from the heart of the working class. With the present trade union which has so few workers and with the manifold political influences which predominate in the organization, the one excluding or restricting the existence of the other in the same union, we cannot guarantee that they will lead the present struggle successfully.

"Only in the small number of unions led by the Archio-Marxists does proletarian democracy exist. Our organization proposes the convocation of a Workers' Congress in every city where representatives elected by the factories and industries will participate. In the branches where no industries exist, representatives of each trade can be elected.

"The unemployed workers, organized into districts, are to delegate their own representatives. This Congress will

MILITANT BUILDERS

The Home Stretch

Do our Militant Builders remember that the comrade who stands highest in the staff at the end of the month receives a copy of Max Eastman's biography of comrade Trotsky, Portrait of a Youth? Very little time is left. A last spurt, comrades, to go over the top with a bang as they say in the sporting columns of the capitalist press.

NEW BUNDLE ORDERS

For some time now we have been watching the Chicago branch send in new bundle orders. New York occasionally adds one or two. But in Chicago they go at it hammer and tongs. We have an idea that it is principally due to the driving force of that unparalleled literature agent out there that bears the name, Sacharow. Readers of this column will see her name near the top or at the top of every drive or contest we conduct.

A number of new orders are coming in of their own accord, so to speak. This is a good sign. But it indicates that we are not realizing all that can be done in this direction. From which we draw the conclusion: to work. All those in favor get busy and send in new bundle orders; go around to the stand that already carries the Militant and increase their orders.

elect a council of representatives which will undertake the leadership of the workers' struggles, strikes, the fight against unemployment, for political and trade union freedom and will lead the working class in the counter-offensive against the bourgeoisie.

"These representative councils of all Greece will have to elect a central organization for the leadership of the whole struggle. The councils are to constitute the highest form of the united front, in which each political fraction of the working class movement will have the right to express its viewpoint on the basis of proletarian democracy and will at the same time be submitted to the discipline and resolutions of the council adopted by the majority.

"The councils are to be renewed at each Congress, which will be called as often as possible.

"To prepare for this Congress, our organization proposes the creation of a committee from the existing trade unions, which will concern itself with the organization of the Congress and other details of the election of representatives. This committee will convocate the Congress on the following platform:

1. "Adaptation of wages to the high cost of living.
2. Abolition of arbitrary dismissals and rehiring of all licensed workers.
3. Unemployment subsidies equal to wages—abolition of arrears.
4. Social insurance at the expense of the bosses and the government.
5. Protection of women and children workers.
6. 7 hour day without wage cuts.
7. "Adoption of working class legislation.
8. Equal salary for workers of both sexes.
9. Abolition of indirect taxation—increased tax on capital.
10. Annulment of the public debt.
11. Abolition of debts of refugees and poor peasants.
12. General amnesty—Abolition of special laws of counter-revolutionary suppression.
13. Political liberty (of press, speech, organizations and meetings).
14. Trade union freedom.
15. Abolition of laws for the use of the army against strikers, against Communists—abolition of resolutions for the dissolution of unions.

No organization which considers itself proletarian can refuse to collaborate on this platform.

"These problems are faced by the workers: they realize the necessity of fighting for their solution because they stand at the basis of their existence; they are questions which preoccupy them independently of their political opinions.

"These councils, higher than parties, higher than factions, than dissenting groups and groupings, will be capable of uniting masses of workers for common action.

"Comrades and fellow-workers:

"Each day the situation grows more and more serious. Life is growing in-

tolerable for us. Every day we are plunged deeper into poverty.

"The bourgeois causes and will continue to cause all the weight of the crisis to fall upon us; the needs of the struggle demand the creation of a united front of city and farm workers having as its organ the council of delegates elected by the Congress.

"In loyalty to its principles and obligations, the Bolshevik-Leninist organization will work on this basis with all its powers for the realization of a workers' united front and for the success of the Congress which will elect the council of delegates. Long live the workers' united front!

"For the expulsion of the bourgeois offensive!

"For political and trade union rights! "For the struggle against dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and for the installation of the proletarian dictatorship!"

The Greek Opposition is advancing the slogan of workers' and peasants' Councils while silence and inertia prevail in the C. P., which continues to practice its tactic of disintegration. Our comrades have been working for the establishment of a committee of temporary councils and are moving toward this goal through the trade unions.

This temporary committee of councils on June 22 called an enlarged meeting at which 1700 workers participated; they voted for its resolution to undertake action for general amnesty, etc.

It was decided to maintain the temporary committee, which stands under the leadership of the Left Oppositionists.

Belgium

The splendid miners' strike is continuing. The reformist leaders are continuing their maneuvers to destroy it. Our comrades, particularly in the Charleroi region, continue to lead the struggle in the front line. Five comrades, among them Lessail, are still imprisoned at Mons. Nevertheless, **La Voix Communiste**, the Opposition's paper, now appears every week and sells five thousand copies, in spite of the police persecutions.

The influence of our comrades is growing. The workers place more and more confidence in them and in the leadership they give in the struggle. The infamous slanders of the Stalinists are shattered in the face of this reality, on which every proletarian in Belgium can lay his hands. Immediately below is the latest bulletin on the situation, which appeared August 12 in **La Voix Communiste**:

Wednesday, August 12—Since a considerable section of the Limbourg miners, who have regrouped their forces and gone back into the struggle side by side with the miners from the other basins, has come out on strike again, the strike has become general throughout the country. The new important development of the week is the fact that the leaders of the Belgian Labor Party, of the Trade Union Commission and of the Trade Union Federation have openly pronounced themselves against the general strike and also against expressing

solidarity with the miners.

This threat of a general strike, which the bosses and government dread, has been dispelled for the moment. Consequently the ministry has been able to reply to the journalists that it considered the convocation of the mixed commission useless; in addition, the coal bosses failed to reply to the summons.

The bosses' attitude is significant: they have at their disposal the police, militia, the army, the tribunals—to defeat the strikers; and in addition, the leaders of the Belgian Labor Party and the syndicalists to keep the workers of other industries from solidarity with the miners, they count in this way, on putting an end to the miners' resistance.

But the miners are firm, in spite of the difficult conditions under which they are struggling; they are alone against the bloc of bosses, the government and the reformist leaders, united in the common will not to let the miners off the victory; but the miners are resolved to continue the strike, which they do not regard as useless and aimless, because they want to prove their determination to end the regime of famine which was imposed on them before strike.

Harder than ever must the miners expend all their efforts, in order to spread their movement to other industries, despite the trade union leaders.

This is the condition that must be realized to win a speedy and decisive victory over the bosses and government which, terrified by the general strike, retreated; but they are only awaiting the miners' defeat to begin their attacks against the whole mass of workers once more.

Spain

Not only was the Azana government not ignorant of the plans for a military coup d'Etat but underhandedly tolerated them. The abortive "revolution" of the Spanish bourgeoisie really is supported by the landlords and the cadres of the old regime; it is massacring and imprisoning the workers. The reaction of the popular masses to the hated militarists has been growing powerfully. It has even reached their accomplices in the Azana government.

At Barcelona our comrades of the Opposition immediately issued a leaflet, which they distributed in thousands of copies, and held very successful open air meetings. As soon as the authorities got word of this comrades Fersen and Robles were arrested.

Our comrades' leaflet declares: "The government has made use of the rebels (Monarchists) as agents of repression against the proletariat, strengthening the former and weakening the latter. Faithful to its conduct, the government, which is not in the least embarrassed by legal considerations when it is a question of imprisoning and deporting workers, involves the law to leave the generals unpunished. But the working class will not allow this, and, forming its united front, will demand the firing squad for the generals and the arming of the people to struggle against reaction."

The New York Marine Workers in Revolt Against the Stalinist Bureaucrats

The revolt against the Stalinist bureaucracy and their wrong policies in throwing up layer after layer of Communist workers who no longer intend to keep silent while the party and the industrial unions flounder in opportunism and adventurism. The following statement issued by J. Johannesen, member of the National Bureau of the M. W. I. U., shows how deep the fight against the corrupt Stalinist regime has penetrated. In all sections of the party and its auxiliary organizations these struggles against the opportunist policies and bureaucratic methods are springing up. Many of these struggles are in the beginning process.

Unless these comrades are able to trace these surface sores to the cause, the Communist movement and the Marxian wing will not gain by the first steps against the Stalinist revisionist. An increased number of these workers are tracing these errors to the source and are moving toward the Left Opposition, realizing that the policy of the Bolshevik-Leninist faction is the only policy that has gone to the root of the matter and stands on the Marxian principles.

Entirely too many of these Communist workers drop by the wayside. Some take a back seat in the party and keep silent, others drop out in disgust, others who have not assimilated the fundamentals of Marxism move either to the camp of the socialists or the syndicalists.

The methods of Stalinism in the Industrial Union play in the hands of the Syndicalist, while their general political strategy has rearmend the Social-Democrats.

For the past period the policies and action of the Stalinist in the Marine Workers have played into the hands of the syndicalists. Many of the most active syndicalists on the waterfront are former members of the M. W. I. U. who left or were driven out by the Stalinist policies which the workers have confused with Communism, with Marxism.

The main danger that the present struggle against the Stalinists in the Marine Workers Industrial Union must guard against is the relapse into the camp of syndicalism. That is not the solution to Stalinism. The policy of the Left Opposition, the Marxian policy, is the only remedy.

FELLOW SEAMEN:

The ship owners shifted the burden of the present crisis on to the shoulders of

the marine workers. Wages of the seamen have been cut down gradually to as low as thirty dollars per month for A. B.'s. The two-watch system has been reestablished on many ships. Crews have been cut about thirty percent. Work-days are the order of the day. Longshoremen and all other categories of marine have received similar treatment. Complete lay-offs and part-time work is wide spread in the industry. In New York harbor alone there are twenty thousand seamen "on the beach".

What has our union the M. W. I. U., done to fight these attacks of the bosses on our standard of living? Has the union ever made any serious efforts to give honest efficient leadership to the marine workers? The answer must be no. It has not. Therefore we must examine the history of the American marine industry of the last three years and also the history of the union. Thus we will be able to find the reason why the union failed to carry its self-appointed task of leading the marine workers in struggle.

The union was launched in April 1930 at a time when shipping was already on a great decline. Great enthusiasm prevailed among the seamen and especially among the delegates attending the convention. The convention, attended by bona fide rank and file delegates from ships and docks, through the steam roller methods employed, killed the union at its birth. The steam roller methods were used to foster upon the marine workers the bureaucratic regime of Mink and Co., who, through various grand stand plays, constantly covered up their political bankruptcy. No real program of work was laid down but the union launched out on an adventurous policy led by adventurers.

In 1930 the union had a membership of 5,000, today there is less than 400 nationally. Practically all those that there were ever active were driven out or expelled, for the simple reason that they opposed the putschist tactics of Mink and Co. Philadelphia, Houston, New Orleans and Boston speak for themselves. Several times the union came dangerously near the point of playing the role of strike-breakers (Boston longshoremen's strike, Grace line) due to the utter misunderstanding of the united front tactic and the inexperience of the leadership plus their irresponsibility. Not attempt what ever was made to fight the wage cuts of the seamen. Instead of or-

ganizing on board the ships, propaganda was carried on only on South Street, on shore. There are not ten functioning ships' delegates today. The struggle of the unemployed seamen has been waged solely for the purpose of making political capital in the form of headlines for the party but no organizational nor beneficial results have been gained for the marine workers. Prior to the hunger march, the seamen were called around demands peculiar to the industry. They were not allowed to present them in Washington. They were solely used for defense corps and for nothing else, the same as at other demonstrations.

International struggles have not been utilized to get the American seamen into motion. The German seamen's strike was sabotaged by Mink and Co. due to factional strife within the I. S. H. The struggle against imperialism war was taken up by staging burlesque demonstrations instead of organizing on the job.

The inner life of the union is at the lowest level possible. No trade union democracy, the right of discussion and constructive criticism is abolished, secretaries are removed against the wishes of the membership, no convention has been called although it is a year and half over-due.

The present national bureau elected itself. When the flames of revolt grew I was removed to Duluth and a campaign was launched against all those who tried to lead the union toward a course in accordance with the most fundamental principles of the class struggle. The national committee of the T. U. U. L. and the party press was bombarded by us with articles and protests. Mink and Co. grew desperate and for the purpose of establishing an adventurous and opportunist campaign ostensibly for immediate relief of the unemployed, nationalistic unemployed councils were launched claiming preposterously that every nationality has different demands. They did not organize as yet a Jim-Crow local in New York as was done when a Jim-Crow local was organized in Galveston—but that is only being inconsistent. Then when they set the whole-sale expulsions—to conciliate the resentment of the class conscious rank and file—a raid was staged on the Seamen's Institute. The man that was supposed to have baggage there actually had none. One man was shot, others wounded and what did it get the seamen? Nothing. To force the Institute to come across we must launch

In the present crucial battle of the Illinois miners one question stands out of decisive importance for the future of the American labor movement. It is the question of life or death to the last solidly organized section of the miners union in the soft coal territory. But it is so especially by virtue of the fact that we are here concerned with a basic industry, once well organized, and a union, once attaining to a high degree of militancy, composed entirely of basic proletarians as separate and distinct from the skilled strata of which most of the at present remaining unions are composed. In view of the enormous retreats made by the existing trade unions on every field, both in regard to loss of wages and working conditions as well as in loss of organized strength, this Illinois miners battle becomes decisive for the future.

It becomes decisive in more respects than one; but particularly by what is already clearly indicated, that a victory in this strike must necessarily open up a new chapter laying the basis for an entirely new method and practice of unionism. It must be a final and complete separation from corrupt, treacherous practices of the past and from corrupt officialdom.

A mere victory on the wage proposition with union conditions and leadership remaining as before would at best be only a short truce to be utilized for preparation of new betrayals.

Union Future Hangs in Balance

This strike has gone beyond the bounds of a mere ordinary shut down. There are virtual armies arrayed with mass picketing on a scale never witnessed before. There is additional importance in the miners being the very spearhead of workers resistance against the wage cut onslaughts, and in the double objective of their fight—to also decisively defeat the wreckers from within. It is a struggle of gigantic proportions.

The future of the Illinois miners union now hangs in the balance. To estimate its prospect it will be well to note some of the experience of the past, and particularly the all important question of policy pursued by the revolutionists. In this respect a comparison of the views advanced by the Left Opposition and the policy and practice of the official Communist party will prove illuminating.

The Illinois miners do not stand alone. There are sections in rebellion against the U. M. W. of A. administration in every field. Some having already definitely split away. Some showing already definite signs of these sections, as a temporary measure, at least a united front on minimum objectives, is still a crucial one. It was therefore completely in accord with the fundamental principles of working class interest and proceeding from a basis of revolutionary policy that we, at the time of the Pennsylvania-Ohio miners strike of last year urged a united front of these various sections to fight for their common immediate objective. The Pennsylvania-Ohio miners struck under the banner of the party controlled National Miners Union. The West Virginia miners were

simultaneously on strike under the banner of their independent union, and the Illinois miners were in revolt against the U. M. W. of A. officials. Our united front proposal to be organized through a conference of these sections was rejected by the official party. Now such a step is becoming an ever more pressing duty.

We can go back further into the history of developments. At the time of the Illinois miners break with the Lewis administration, cleverly utilized by the Fishwick-Walker-Howatt combination, we warned against any false illusions toward this combination but at the same time emphasizing the need of the left wing continuing the struggle within this mass movement. The official party pursued the opposite course and isolated its forces from the movement and from the union.

There was a repetition in the revolt following shortly after headed by the Edmondson forces. Once again a mass movement, though practically leaderless, a new opportunity. The course pursued by the Left Oppositionists in participating in that movement and to point toward the right direction for the future is now bearing its fruits. The Left Opposition Communists has now all the prospects for, and is taking shape as a force in reality, fighting for a correct direction to the present gigantic movement. The official party policy of boycott of mass revolts not entirely controlled by it has led it to its present fatal isolation from the Illinois miners.

This can be repaired still; but only by the official party leadership rectifying its mistakes and changing its attitude and policy. The course, which it must adopt has been very clearly indicated by the position we have taken. The correctness of this position has been fully vindicated by the event. The logic of the party position adds only one additional sad commentary further reinforcing this lesson.

The present Illinois miners' struggle must start a new chapter in the history of their organization. Only a complete break with the past, with the corrupt union bureaucracy, can secure the victory they have set out to win against the operators, against the armed state forces and against the official traitors. The Left Opposition is developing a force in this struggle capable of constantly more serious intervention, and it will show the way.

—A. S.

A Letter From China

We have received the following brief message from our Chinese comrades: Shanghai, August 2, 1932—

Several of our comrades (all Lenin students returned from Moscow) have been missing for eleven days. One of them is the chairman of the Organization Committee of the Chinese Left Opposition at Jieshi Park (west of Shanghai). We lost trace of them immediately after our last secret meeting. We believe that they have been captured by the "Blue Coat Society".

The Blue Coat Society is a new secret party. Its full name is the Blue Coat Society of the Kuo Min Tang of China. It is of about the same type as the Nazis in Germany. Its Hitler is Chiang Kai-Shek. Its basic nucleus consists of students recently returned from the Moscow Sun-Yat-Sen University, renegades from the party and students of the Wumpo Military Academy faithful to the Chinese Hitler. One of its mediums of activity is assassination. All the intellectuals of General Chiang's troop and many notorious politicians are flocking to this group. In short, it is the rising Fascist movement of China.

The History of the Russian Revolution is being published in Chinese... By the end of August or September, we hope to reestablish our legal Shanghai weekly.

Fraternalty yours,
CH.

Pioneer Publishers Notes

LITERATURE OF INTEREST

A new wave of sales in the publications of the League is sweeping over us. Our campaign on the German situation, on the Anti-War Congress, on the expulsion of comrade Pappas, and now on the frame-up charge of murder by the Stalinists has aroused new interest in our point of view. Orders are coming in. Our stocks are dropping. Some numbers are out. **Germany—the Key** is completely out of print. **The Revolution in Spain** is pretty nearly out. There are only some twenty copies of the **Real Situation** in Russia left. And so it goes. Now is the time to order.

TROTSKY'S COMPLETE WRITINGS

A number of sympathizers have sent in orders for bound volumes of Trotsky's "complete writings". We did not announce the Bound Volumes as his complete writings. We could not. It is our understanding that comrade Trotsky's complete writings which have not yet been collected would fill some sixty or seventy volumes. Some day we will bring them out in a uniform edition.

In the meantime we continue to advertise the Bound Volumes as a collection of nine of his recent writings; all of them dealing with the current struggle in the Communist movement in relation to the problems of the international proletarian revolution. And may we remind our readers once more that these Bound Volumes contain four pamphlets that are out of print and unobtainable otherwise; and that the Bound Volumes are going—?

—J. JOHANNESSEN.

Leading Functionary Exposes Stalinism in Greece

Wherever the Left Opposition raises its head, the Stalinist bureaucracy puts its machinery of slander, calumny and falsehood in motion against it. The stronger the Opposition movement, the fiercer the bureaucratic methods of the Centrists against them. As the readers of *The Militant* already know, the Greek Bolshevik-Leninists (Archio-Marxists) are the strongest Communist organization of that country.

Counting a few thousand members in every part of Greece, organized firmly under the tested Bolshevik plan (legal and illegal), enjoying a broad and powerful influence in the trade unions and in the mass organizations of the Greek proletariat, the Archio-Marxists have been a particularly uncomfortable thorn in the side of Stalinism. All the despicable methods of the international bureaucracy have been applied against them and still they continue to grow and take root.

The methods of open violence and physical destruction—these are the most recent methods of the Centrists against the Left Opposition. They are the methods of utter despair, they indicate the complete state of bankruptcy of the Stalinists. Of late, the successes achieved by the American Left Opposition (anti-war congress, Germany, etc.) have called forth especially sharp manifestations of these self-same flowers of Centrism bankruptcy and despair. The American Stalinists fight to pogroms against the Left Opposition, provoke police action against it—for the same reasons as the Greek Stalinists, because they are alarmed at the growth of its influence and sympathy in the ranks of the Communist workers.

Below we publish an account of the Stalinist methods of fighting the Left Opposition by a former member of the Greek C. P., who has since joined the Archio-Marxists. It is interesting and instructive because it paints a picture of Stalinist corruption that is universally applicable. The experience of comrade Bambakas, the author of this account, is undoubtedly the experience of numerous Communist militants all over the International and in the American party as well. Sooner or later, they too will draw their conclusions—just as this comrade did. The regime of Stalinist impotence, the regime of degenerated, disorganizing Centrism, the regime of physical violence against the Bolshevik-Leninists is doomed in advance. The organizers of defeat have seen their best days. The victory of the International Leninist Opposition is assured by history, nothing can prevent it.

THE STATEMENT OF COMRADE BAMBAKAS

What forced me to realize the dishonesty and corruption of those who do not follow the Communist line but rather the tactics of Stalin was the policy of the party toward the Archio-Marxists. In the policy of the party any means

Statement of Comrade J. Bambakas

whatever is justified provided it leads to the extermination of the Opposition.

In 1928, when for the first time the Archio-Marxists appeared in our district, the party decided to use methods of sabotage to prevent them from getting employment so that they would be compelled to leave the city. While, on the one hand, we were telling workers the Archio-Marxists were stool-pigeons, on the other hand, we told the bosses the Archio-Marxists were Anarchists and disrupters.

When it was reported to the district committee that these means of sabotage were not sufficient, that in spite of it the Archio-Marxists were making progress, the party decided to turn to numerous attacks. Arming them with knives and iron bars the party organized groups and sent them out on their attacks. These attacks still continue.

In the district of Gyficia, they attacked a shoe worker who was later brought to the hospital unconscious. While the leaders were celebrating their "heroic" victory, this comrade refused to reveal the murderers to anyone although he knew them.

ADMIT CONSTANT ATTACKS ON LEFT OPPOSITION

Another instance: at Suguglou another Archio-Marxist was attacked at the time he was speaking to a meeting of workers. Also, two Archio-Marxists were beaten up in Chaticia. Comrade Str—, fanatical by the leadership, fired a gun at a carpenter, member of the Opposition, but luckily the gun jammed. This comrade Str—, who later realized the corruption of the party bureaucrats, confessed this to the Archio-Marxists and to me.

Further: we attacked comrade Alfudi, a tobacco worker, at the time he was leaving his work, and beat him up badly. Comrade Alfudi is a well known member of the Y. C. L., with a splendid revolutionary record. He is now serving a two year term in the medieval dungeon of Itzidin and will be exiled for one year after the jail term is ended. This comrade was refused admittance to the jail collectives—(comrades in jails organize collectives which are supported by the I. L. D.—Ed.) because he was a member of the Archio-Marxists since 1928.

All the Archio-Marxists were under a continual vicious attack from our part, and had they not taken protective measures, there would have resulted many more victims. This was veiled, as you know, in the district committee.

These are not accidents nor isolated cases, but a part of the international policy of the Stalinist bureaucrats. When Stalin assassinates Blumkin and Zin-zadze and acquits Ramsin & Co., it is not at all surprising that the Greek Stalinists do not hesitate to soak their hands in the blood of two militant com-

rades, Lada and Georgopadatos.—(The above comrades were murdered on the way home from a meeting by a group of Stalinists who were hidden in a hallway.—Ed.)

Time and again the party sycophants accused the Archio-Marxists of being stool pigeons. Today, when hundreds of facts speak for themselves and the workers see in the face of the Archio-Marxists the true Bolsheviks, the party bureaucrats are forced to shift these accusations to only a few of the Archio-Marxist leaders. This is a miserable disgrace to the party bureaucrats, for not a single fact can prove the above accusations against the Left Opposition, while on the contrary a pile of facts prove that there are many stool-pigeons within the Communist party. Because of the corrupt conditions within the party, it is difficult to discover and expose them.

ARCHIO MARXIST EXCLUDED FROM PRISON-COLLECTIVES

I categorically declare I was not betrayed by Archio-Marxists, but by members of the district committee Y. C. L., Stambulis and Kokino. The former in a semi-covert form confessed to me when I was released from jail. The latter was caught in our trap which we had set for him and was proven to be a stool-pigeon.

Any betrayal that leaks out of the party is ascribed to the Archio-Marxists. The party bureaucrats poison the minds of the members against the Archio-Marxists to such an extent that even in their dreams they see the Archio-Marxists conspiring with the police. For this we can not blame the party members.

The attitude of the party against the Archio-Marxists in jail is absolutely shameful and disgusting. Comrades who courageously faced the courts and raised high the banner of Communism before the capitalist judges, for which they were sentenced to long prison terms, are not permitted to enter the jail collectives in spite of the decisions of the central committee of the I. L. D.—(brought about by the mass-pressure of party workers) not to exclude them.

PARTY MEMBERS RESENT EXCLUSION OF ARCHIO-MARXISTS

Why is this happening? The corruption is so great that the bureaucrats fear the whip of criticism from the Opposition. This attitude of the party against the Archio-Marxists is strongly condemned by every honest, thinking party member. Comrade Floros, who was jailed with five other Archio-Marxists but later released while his comrades still had to serve two year jail sentences and one year exile, speaks with great enthusiasm about the Archio-Marxists.

"The brave heroic attitude of Archio-Marxists before the courts and their comradely attitude in jail, left a profound impression on me," he said. And still the five Archio-Marxists are refused admittance in jail-collectives of Komotini.

In the Kavalla jail we instigated some soldiers, who were sympathizers of the movement, to attack the Archio-Marxists

in their cells. This dirty tactic must be fully stigmatized and condemned. How contemptible were the words spoken to the soldiers when the latter were informed that the Archio-Marxists were not jailed for revolutionary activities but were deliberately sent by the police in order to spy on the prisoners.

When the party and Y. C. L. members will fraternize with the Archio-Marxists, when they will break down the barriers that have been mechanically built up by the party then, and only then will they realize that the Archio-Marxists are the genuine and militant revolutionists, and they will understand the true meaning of the party's policy towards the Bolshevik-Leninists.

PARTY MUST CHANGE TACTICS

Under the present crisis great sections of the exploited masses are turning to the left, toward Communism. Will the party be able, even if its influence is strengthened, to utilize these conditions for the final victory? The strength of the party is measured not only by its influence but primarily from its internal ideological base and its organizational ability. No victory can be expected from an organization whose foundations are decayed and rotten. History has proven this and especially in the history of the Greek movement.

—J. BAMBAKAS.

Sec'y of Section Committee of Dramas, Sec'y of Y. C. L. of Kabalas, Member of Dist. Committee of Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace.

Party Voices on the Frame-Up

Condemn Disgraceful Action of Stalinist Leaders

We have received a number of letters from party members and sympathizers, expressing their indignation and resentment against the latest Stalinist frame-up against the Left Opposition. Voices are coming up from the ranks, speaking out clearly, denouncing the shameful, provocative actions of the party bureaucrats. We have no doubt that these voices will grow even more powerful in the future. The impotence of Centrism is revealing itself more and more every day. The eyes of the Communist rank and file are being opened. Below we give excerpts from a few of the letters we have received:

"August 27, 1932
"The moment I read the first article on the question in the *Daily Worker*, I was indignant like hell. I understand from the very beginning that some 'party hoodlums' busted up your meeting. This action of the party will not add an iota of prestige to its name, but instead will antagonize workers towards the movement. . . .
"I have spoken to some of the comrades in my shop and they also condemn the party for its provocative tactics. . . .
"I also want to state that nobody in the shop believes the statements in the *Daily Worker* and those that are in the movement or are acquainted with it know very well that the party is to blame more

than anybody else.
"I have read the leaflet (The leaflet issued by the N. C. of the Communist League with regard to the frame-up—Ed.) and I fully agree with what is written there.
"I sincerely hope that ideas of your organization will grow in the hearts and minds of all the workers. . . .
—PARTY MEMBER.

"August 25, 1932.
"The accounts given in the *Daily Worker* of August 23 and 24 of what took place on Avenue A and 7th Street at your meeting last Saturday night and the little hints and insinuations that go with it are outrageous. The editors of the *Daily Worker* seem to be intent on whipping up a lynch spirit against the comrades of the Left Opposition.
"No matter what disagreements we may have with the Opposition, such tactics are impermissible. I didn't believe that Stalinism is so corrupt. I never really grasped what you meant by Stalinism before. Such disgraceful methods could never issue forth from a healthy Communist movement. . . .
"The method employed by the *Daily Worker* shows that there is something wrong that goes deeper into the policy of the party. It is setting a good many of us thinking. . . .
"As Communists we cannot allow this shameful action to go on unchallenged."
Comradely yours,
—A. Y. C. L. E.

"August 27, 1932
"The accusations of the party against the Left Opposition are a plain frame-up. Nobody in the movement can take them seriously. . . .
"You must come before the Left wing workers and explain to them what happened and what the action of the party leaders means. They will listen to you and I am sure will support you."
—NEEDLE TRADES WORKER.

"August 28, 1932
"I wish to let you know that many of us, members of the I. L. D. and of the F. S. U. protest against the attitude of the *Daily Worker* and the C. P. in connection with your meeting on August 20 and the deaths of Semen and Krasuk.
"The leadership of the party is capitalizing the tragic deaths of these two workers to arouse hostile sentiment against your Opposition. The workers in the movement are sure will disapprove of this, just as they have in general disapproved of the party's methods of breaking up open air meetings of other organizations. . . .
"A leadership is bankrupt which has to resort to such methods."
—MEMBER OF THE I. L. D.

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WORLD UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE FIVE YEAR PLAN is out of print and is available only in the BOUND VOLUMES of comrade TROTSKY'S pamphlets.

Unemployed Activity in Retrospect

(Continued from page 2)

In one respect the resolution marked an advance over Browder's directives. The resolution restored the fight for relief to a more nearly correct basis. It placed on the agenda again the fight for unemployment insurance. It made it the central slogan. It reaffirmed the seven-hour day without motivating the demand by any reason or figures. And it added at the end of its program, the demand for "the development of trade relations with the Soviet Union, in order that the idle factories may work, fill the constantly growing demands of the successful construction of the workers' government and its Five Year Plan."

Around the slogans of the resolution the National Hunger March to Washington was organized. With this march and its repercussions the party resurrected the fight for unemployment insurance. In this sense the resolution marked a limping, half-step forward.

The Draft Program

With the termination of the Hunger March of last December the fight for unemployment insurance was again relegated to the background. And the fight for "more or less relief" as one placard in a demonstration announced, was more oriented on the road which led to the opportunist swamp.

It is now in full swing headed toward the Relief March, scheduled for September 10. Its demands, slogans and organizational forms are incorporated in a Proposed Draft Program of Fighting Methods and Organization Forms of the Unemployed Councils—A Manual for Hunger Fighters. It is issued by the National Committee of the Unemployed Councils of the U. S. A.

It is understood that this is not a Communist program in the sense of, let us say, a party election program. It cannot be a statement of Communist aims and receive the endorsement of workers in the unemployed movement who are just awakening to class consciousness. But it must present Communist ideas in an elementary form so that when they are applied in the class struggle they become steps toward the final, inevitable goal. If the program fulfills this requirement it is a Communist document.

But this is precisely what the Draft Program is not. It is enough to glance at the section, The Typical Issues and Demands, to realize that it is not a Communist document. The first typical demand is concerned with cash relief; the second with nephews; the third with breadlines and food-kitchens; the fourth with food for children; etc.

—T. STAMM.

(Continued in Next Issue)

Bourgeoisie, Petty Bourgeoisie and Proletariat - - - By LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from page 1)

THE DECLINE OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORMS

But precisely with the war begins the distinct decline of capitalism and above all, of its democratic form of domination. It is now no longer a matter of new reforms and aims, but of cutting down and abolishing the old ones. Therewith the bourgeoisie comes into conflict not only with the institutions of proletarian democracy (trade unions and political parties) but also with parliamentary democracy, within the framework of which arose the labor organizations. Therefore, the campaign against "Marxism" on the one hand and against democratic parliamentarism, on the other.

But just as the summits of the liberal bourgeoisie in its time were unable, by their own force alone, to get rid of feudalism, monarchy and the church, so the magnates of finance capital are unable, by their force alone, to cope with the proletariat. They need the support of the petty bourgeoisie. For this purpose, it must be whipped up, put on its feet, mobilized, armed. But this method has its dangers. While it makes use of Fascism, the bourgeoisie nevertheless fears it. Pilsudski was forced, in May 1926, to save bourgeois society by a coup d'Etat directed against the traditional parties of the Polish bourgeoisie. The matter went so far that the official leader of the Polish Communist Party, Warski, who came over from Rosa Luxemburg not to Lenin, but to Stalin, took the coup d'Etat of Pilsudski to be the road of the "revolutionary democratic dictatorship" and called upon the workers to support Pilsudski.

At the session of the Polish Commission of the Executive Committee of the C. I. on July 2, 1926, the author of these lines said on the subject of the events in Poland:

A FEW LESSONS OF THE PILSUDSKI "COUP"

"Taken as a whole, the Pilsudski overthrow is the petty bourgeois, 'plebeian' manner of solving the burning problems of bourgeois society in its state of decomposition and decline. We have here already a direct resemblance to Italian Fascism.

"These two currents indubitably possess common features: they recruit their shock troops first of all from the petty bourgeoisie; Pilsudski as well as Mussolini worked with extra-parliamentary means, with open violence, with the methods of civil war; both were concerned, not with the destruction, but with the preservation of bourgeois society. While they raised the petty bourgeoisie on its feet, they openly aligned themselves after the seizure of power, with the big bourgeoisie. Involuntarily, an historical generalization props up here, recalling the evaluation given by Marx of Jacobinism as the plebeian method of settling accounts with the feudal enemies of the bourgeoisie. . . .

Jacobinism, Social Democracy and Fascism - - The Political Programs of the Petty Bourgeoisie

That was in the period of the rise of the bourgeoisie. Now we must say, in the period of the decline of bourgeois society, the bourgeoisie again needs the "plebeian" method of resolving its no longer progressive, but entirely reactionary tasks. In this sense, *Fascism is a caricature of Jacobinism.*

"The bourgeoisie is incapable of maintaining itself in power by the means and methods of the parliamentary state created by itself, it needs Fascism as a weapon of self-defense, at least in critical instances. Nevertheless, the bourgeoisie does not like the 'plebeian' method of resolving its tasks. It was always hostile to Jacobinism, which cleared the road for the development of bourgeois society with its blood. The Fascists are immeasurably closer to the decadent bourgeoisie than the Jacobins were to the rising bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, the sober bourgeoisie does not look very favorably even upon the Fascist mode of resolving its tasks, for the concussions, although they are brought forth in the interests of bourgeois society, are linked up with dangers to it. Therefore, the opposition between Fascism and the bourgeois parties.

"The big bourgeoisie likes Fascism as little as a man with aching molars likes to have his teeth pulled. The sober circles of bourgeois society have followed with misgivings the work of the dentist Pilsudski, but in the last analysis they have become reconciled to the inevitable, though with threats, with horse-deals and all sorts of trading. Thus the petty bourgeoisie's idol of yesterday becomes transformed into the gendarme of capital."

To this attempt at marking out the historical place of Fascism as the political reliever of the social democracy, there was counterposed the theory of social Fascism. At first it could appear as a pretentious, blustering but harmless stupidity. Subsequent events have showed what a pernicious influence the Stalinist theory actually exercised on the entire development of the Communist International.*

IS THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE BIG AND THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE INDISSOLUBLE?

Does it follow from the historical rôle of Jacobinism, of democracy and of Fascism that the petty bourgeoisie is condemned to remain a tool in the hands of capital to the end of its days? If things were so, then the dictatorship of the proletariat would be impossible in a number of countries in which the petty bourgeoisie constitutes the majority of the nation

and more than that, it would be rendered extremely difficult in other countries in which the petty bourgeoisie represents an important minority. Fortunately, things are not so. The experience of the Paris Commune first showed, at least within the limits of one city, just as the experience of the October revolution has showed after it on a much larger scale and over an incomparably longer period, that the alliance of the petty bourgeoisie and the big bourgeoisie is not indissoluble. Since the petty bourgeoisie is incapable of an independent policy (that is also why the petty bourgeois "democratic dictatorship" is unrealizable) no other choice is left for it than that between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

In the epoch of the rise, the growth and the bloom of capitalism the petty bourgeoisie, despite acute outbreaks of discontent, generally marched obediently in the capitalist harness. Nor could it do anything else. But under the conditions of capitalist disintegration and of the impasse in the economic situation, the petty bourgeoisie tends, seeks, attempts to tear itself loose from the fetters of the old masters and rulers of society. It is quite capable of linking up its fate with that of the proletariat. For that, only one thing is needed: the petty bourgeoisie must acquire faith in the ability of the proletariat to lead society onto a new road. The proletariat can inspire this faith only by its strength, by the firmness of its actions, by a skillful offensive against the enemy, by the success of its revolutionary policy.

But, woe if the revolutionary party does not measure up to the height of the situation! The daily struggle of the proletariat sharpens the instability of bourgeois society. The strikes and the political disturbances aggravate the economic situation of the country. The petty bourgeoisie could reconcile itself temporarily to the growing privations, if it arrived by experience to the conviction that the proletariat is in a position to lead it onto a new road. But if the revolutionary party, in spite of a class struggle becoming incessantly more accentuated, proves time and again to be incapable of uniting the working class about it, if it vacillates, becomes confused, contradicts itself, then the petty bourgeoisie loses patience and begins to look upon the revolutionary workers as those responsible for its own misery. All the bourgeois parties, including the social democracy, turn its thoughts in this very direction. When the social crisis takes on an intolerable acuteness, a particular party appears on the scene with the direct aim of agitating the petty bourgeoisie to

a white heat and of directing its hatred and its despair against the proletariat. In Germany, this historical function is fulfilled by National Socialism, a broad current whose ideology is composed of all the putrid vapors of disintegrating bourgeois society.

THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE GROWTH OF FASCISM

The principal political responsibility for the growth of Fascism rests, of course, on the shoulders of the social democracy. Ever since the imperialist war, the labors of this party have been reduced to uprooting from the consciousness of the proletariat the idea of independent politics, to implanting within it the belief in the eternity of capitalism and to forcing it to its knees time and again before the decadent bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeoisie can only follow the worker when it sees in him the new master. The social democracy will not follow a lackey. The politics of reform teaches the worker to be a lackey. The petty bourgeoisie deprive the proletariat of the possibility of leading the plebeian masses of the petty bourgeoisie and thereby alone convert the latter into cannon fodder for Fascism.

Politically, however, the question is not settled for us with the responsibility of the social democracy. Ever since the beginning of the war we have denounced this party as the agency of the imperialist bourgeoisie within the ranks of the proletariat. Out of this new orientation of the revolutionary Marxists arose the Third International. Its task consisted in uniting the proletariat under the banner of the revolution and thereby to secure for it the directing influence over the oppressed masses of the petty bourgeoisie in the towns and on the countryside.

The post-war period, in Germany more than anywhere else, was an epoch of economic impasse and of civil war. The international conditions as well as the domestic ones pushed the country imperiously on the road to socialism. Every step of the social democracy revealed its decadence and its impotence, the reactionary import of its politics, the venality of its leaders. What other conditions are needed for the development of the Communist party? And yet, after the first few years of significant successes, German Communism entered into an era of vacillations, zigzags, alternating turns to opportunism and adventurism. The centrism bureaucracy has systematically weakened the proletarian vanguard and prevented it from bringing the class under its leadership. Therewith, it has robbed the proletariat as a whole of the possibility of drawing under its direction the oppressed masses of the petty bourgeoisie. The Stalinist bureaucracy bears the direct and immediate responsibility for the growth of Fascism before the proletarian vanguard.

PRINKIPO, August 4, 1932.

L. TROTSKY.

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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HELP MAINTAIN THE WEEKLY MILITANT!

Will *The Militant* continue to appear regularly? That is the question which looms before us and which we pass on to our readers and supporters. The conditions imposed upon us give us no other choice.

We sounded the alarm when the Stalinist bureaucrats attempted to incite a pogrom campaign against us, based upon its frame-up murder charge. We could pursue no other course than to ask for your help in the additional needs as well as the additional difficulties which this situation imposed.

As you are being informed elsewhere in these columns, some New York's capitalist papers, and their near relative, the Jewish *Daily Forward*, took the frame-up charge at face value for the purpose of utilizing it against the Communist movement as a whole. Also the New York police department has taken the tip from the Stalinist leaders. We are being investigated.

At the outset we can say very confidently that the frame-up charge will not stick, nor will serious party members of Communist workers believe it. But in an indirect sense it can well be utilized as a starting point for serious interference in the activities of the movement by the enemies of Communism. This we must be prepared to fight. In this connection you will all understand the enormously important role which the continued existence of *The Militant* will play.

Its existence is not at all secured. As a matter of fact the recent delays in its appearance were caused by shortage of funds and in several instances we have feared that a suspension would become unavoidable. Yet in the present situation, not only in respect to the attacks upon us, but also because of the growing intensity of the class struggle, as attested to by the Illinois miners struggle, we must get out more material and the scope of our activity is increasing. *The Militant* has an increasingly important duty to perform. We are now sending large supplies to the Illinois coal fields and we are issuing more leaflets. We have sent a couple of young comrades, organizers to Illinois. Our tasks are growing but our means are entirely too small.

The continued existence of *The Militant* is endangered. It must be secured. Hence our appeal to you. We have received some response to our appeal but it is entirely insufficient so far. We ask you, every reader of *The Militant*, to do your bit. We think it is a duty on your part. We can assure you that we shall leave no stone unturned at our end to faith-

fully live up to the confidence which you have reposed in our movement. But let us now hear from you. Send your contributions speedily to *The Militant* at 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

Stalinists Reject Offer of Help

CHICAGO.—

Following the Communist Party Central Committee's appeal in the *Daily Worker* of August 18th, the Chicago Branch of the Left Opposition sent the following letter to the District Campaign Committee. This letter is self-explanatory:

Dear Comrades:

The Chicago Branch of the Left Opposition has discussed the appeal of the Central Committee, C. P. U. S. A., which appeared in the August 18th issue of the *Daily Worker*, regarding the danger of the party not getting on the ballot in various districts through the lack of signatures. Aware that this danger exists in this district, we made the following decisions:

1. That we immediately secure the necessary material and involve our members and sympathizers in the collection of signatures.
2. To put at the disposal of the District Campaign Committee all of our speakers who shall be ready at all times to speak on street corners, at indoor meetings, or go before labor organizations to solicit support for the party campaign.
3. To take part in all phases of activity.

(Continued on page 4)

Miners Form New Union

Communist League Greet New Progressive Miners Union

The Communist League of America (Opposition) greets the formation of the "Progressive Miners of America." It represents a serious step forward for the American working class and one which is destined to mark the beginning of a new chapter, not only for unionism in the mine fields, but for trade unionism as a whole.

The action taken at Gillespie, Ill., on September 1, by the 273 delegates, representing 35,000 miners, in laying down a foundation and building a framework for the new union was made inevitable by the progress of developments. That action was correct and will be but more fully justified by future history. It can become an enormous asset to the working class in the serious struggles which it is about to face. It opens up the road to unity of action and final unification with the National Miners Union, the West Virginia Miners Union and with the other similar miners sections who have broken with the past corrupt practices and are attempting to eradicate the trail of wreckage and treason perpetrated by the official clique in control of the remnants of the U. M. W. of A. Pursuing this course the road will be open for the building of a powerful miners' union, national in scope, militant in make-up and solidly lodged on a class foundation. Such a course is obligatory upon the militant miners. There should be no doubt that the "Progressive Miners of America" will know how to advance surely and steadily along that road.

If the new union is to fulfill the great tasks that confront it, it is necessary immediately to take the following steps:

1. Flinging in the face of the disastrous, reactionary tradition of class collaboration under Lewis and Walker, the new union should base itself frankly and solidly upon the recognition of the class struggle and the practical program of action which flows from it.
2. The new union must break fundamentally with all forms of Lewisism, particularly by establishing in its own ranks the most democratic procedure compatible with union organization. To prevent the formation of a reactionary bureaucracy, the new union ought to be based from the start upon rank and file control of the movement.
3. The new union must be imbued with the knowledge that it cannot solve the problems even of the Illinois miners by confining itself to a district scale. The miners' problems are nation-wide in scope; their organization must correspond to this fact. Consequently, the Illinois union should promptly endeavor to associate into one big national union all the militant, progressive, radical and independent miners groups and unions now in existence throughout the land.
4. All tendencies to flirt with such out-and-out reactionary forces as Lewis or Walker, or with such unreliable props who play the game of the reactionaries, like Muste, Howat, Edmondson and their like have to be sternly resisted.

(Continued on page 2)

Raise Struggle to New Heights

National Unity -- Aim of Militant Illinois Body

Thirty-seven thousand Illinois coal miners assembled in extraordinary session voted to secede from the United Mine Workers of America and organized the PROGRESSIVE MINERS OF AMERICA. It was a dramatic moment in the deliberations of the state wide conference when Gerry Allard, secretary of the Policy Committee, made his report in behalf of the committee. He concluded his report by a tersely written statement analyzing the coal industry, the Lewis-Walker misdeeds with their "machine gun contract" and indicating these officials on five basic counts. Allard slowly read the recommendations of the Policy Committee:

"We propose that a definite break with the officers of the United Mine Workers of America be immediately carried out and that we proceed at once to set up an apparatus for the formation of a new union."

The convocation broke into a spontaneous outburst of applause and by unanimous vote of the conference the recommendations of the policy committee were adopted. The decision of the 273 delegates was the only constructive way out. They had exhausted all other recourse.

The above mentioned recommendations were the same made by the members of the Left Opposition at the St. Louis convention of last year. Events had strongly confirmed the perspective of the Left Opposition, which had been turned down by the Party bureaucracy and Muste elements who were in control of the convention.

The complete recommendations of the

Policy committee were accepted reading as follows:

THE REPORT OF POLICY COMMITTEE ELECTED AT GILLESPIE CONFERENCE SEPTEMBER 1, 1932

The crisis confronting unionism in the mining industry of Illinois makes it imperative that we assemble in a rank and file conference to solve the problems confronting us. The problem confronting us today, is whether unionism will continue to function in the mining industry of Ill., or whether the last remnants will be dominated and controlled by the Lewis-Walker forces acting as agents of the coal operators.

Our industry, is indeed, in one deplorable situation. Unemployment, mechanization, substitution of coal by other fuel along with other general and particular conditions present the coal industry as the most chaotic one in our whole economic system. The far reaching nature of the present economic crisis forcefully pictures to us that the future for those who depend on the coal mining industry is one that will mean the continuation of untold misery and destitution that has prevailed in our industry for over a decade.

Our once powerful U. M. W. of A. has for over 42 years championed the cause of the downtrodden miners of the land. Since Lewis has come into power our union has steadily disintegrated due to the erroneous and betraying policies enunciated by this despot who has bent all his efforts to the complete destruction of militant unionism in the coal mining industry. The history of the U. M. W. of A. under the Lewis-Farrington-Walker regime has been one of healthy devoted, self sacrificing struggle on the part of the rank and file, and on the other hand the most treacherous betrayals ever experienced in the labor movement. The mistakes and surrenders of our officials since 1919 are facts known to every mine worker throughout the whole jurisdiction of our organization.

The latest betrayals in Wyoming, Indiana, Illinois the policy of out-scabbing the scabs in West Virginia, the stifling of real unionist policies in the anthracite, is the continuation of a whole series of betrayals, that has wrecked our organization in every important field excepting Indiana and Illinois. Only heroic methods on the part of the rank and file can save the union.

(Continued on page 2)

British Left Comes Out Openly in Fight for Leninist Policy

The great historic events shaking our planet these days do not remain without their effects on the cadres of the Communist International. Everywhere in the world party of Communism, the militant, conscientious, Left wing elements are coming to the fore, alarmed by the discrepancy between the objective situation and the lethargy of the leadership, pressing forward along the road of the Left Opposition.

Among the latest of these movements within the Comintern is the struggle of the well-known "Balham Group", a group long active in the very forefront of the struggles of the British Commu-

nist Party and constituting one of the decisive party nuclei in the London district. The group at Balham has recently come to clashes with the bureaucracy under Pollitt over the question of the attitude of the Stalin regime toward the peasant anti-war congress of the petty bourgeois intellectuals headed by Rolland-Barbusse as well as on the German question. The Pollitts have retaliated with an "ideological" campaign which begins with the expulsion of the outstanding comrades of the Balham Group! These tried and tested methods of the Stalinist bureaucracy have proved of no avail in the past, they will help even less in the future. The Leninist ideas will not be suppressed! Nothing can stop their victory. We greet our British comrades as fellow fighters and extend our hands to them in international solidarity. Their fight is our fight. In spite of the bureaucracy, in spite of all its headless and desperate tactics against the Left, the Bolshevik-Leninists will not be deterred. Together, we will repulse our offensive!

The declaration of the Balham comrades follows below:

TO OUR COMRADES IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY FROM THE "LIQUIDATED" BALHAM GROUP

Dear Comrades:

"No other party or working class organization provides such opportunity of full and open discussion by all workers." With these words the Party pre-congress discussion was opened in last Monday's *Daily Worker*.

Two days later the London District Party Committee "liquidated" the Balham Group; expelled Reg Groves and Harry Wicks, and suspended Henry Sara. The principal charge against the group and against these comrades is that of "Opposing the line of the Party in relation to the World Anti-War Congress."

As part of our group work we have discussed such vital issues as the German position, the anti-war campaign and the state of our party; we have reached conclusions and have fought for them as a group. We have for some long time urged the opening of a party discussion and the holding of the long overdue party Congress. Now that the discussion has been opened, and the party Congress fixed for October, the Balham Group has been "liquidated", and its leading members expelled and suspended.

"Free and Full Discussion"—Phrase and Fact

What a contrast of words with deeds! Reassuring phrases about "full free and open discussion," but drastic action against those who advance serious criticism of the party's policy. The great tradition of Bolshevism, the method of Lenin—that of open discussion preceding party decision—is being replaced by orders from above, phrase-mouthing and bureaucratic stifling of criticism. Bureaucracy has already weakened our party leadership, to the T. U. U. L. and I. L. D. to appear at a public hearing together with us, to leave the case for the workers at large to decide.

Let the miserable Stalinists answer or admit their frame-up!

ger of a new world war: the lives of millions are at stake. Full and serious consideration of every stage of the struggle against war is imperative. Yet the criticism of this Congress advanced by this group has been refused publication, and even our right to voice such criticism denied. Because we maintain this right they attempt to drive us from the party.

On the Anti-War Congress

This World Anti-War Congress has been convened by Barbusse—the advocate of fusion between Amsterdam and the Comintern, and Rolland, the devotee of Ghandi. Around these two have gathered intellectuals, pacifists and Left socialists, the parlor defenders of the U. S. S. R. To seek allies among the most sincere and courageous of the petty bourgeois pacifists is one thing; to entrust to them the leadership of the struggle against war, is quite another. Yet this is what Pollitt, by signing the manifesto, has declared the Party agrees to do. Our group holds that the first task of the party is to build the workers' united front against war; for upon the international proletariat rests the defense of the U. S. S. R. A world anti-war congress must be a workers' congress initiated by the Comintern with the aim of bringing to our side the masses of the workers now organized under the banner of the Second International. But the present Congress is based upon a united front from the top, on a pacifist slogan of "resistance to war."

For this anti-war campaign our Party is distributing, not the message of Lenin but the Rolland-Barbusse appeal. The message of these two conveners of the Congress invoking the aid of all classes—this pacifist poison-gas—is distributed to workers by Communists all over Britain. Congress social-patriots are given advertisement as genuine anti-war fighters; and new victims are thus taught to trust old and proven traitors. Pollitt appears united with Maude Royden and all the other peace time war resisters. For the sake of "unity" with pacifists, careerists, humbugs, and politicians, Lenin's way of fighting war is pushed out of sight. For appealing to Lenin's method against Rolland and Barbusse at this time, on the eve of war, the Balham Group is liquidated and its point of view suppressed.

On Germany

While this criminal farce at Amsterdam is described as the fight against war, the actual danger grows greater. The growth of Fascism in Germany menaces the existence of the party and the workers' organizations and brings Germany nearer to the anti-Soviet bloc. What happens in Germany will decide for years ahead the fate of the European workers. Our group discussed the German situation, organized, through the local anti-war committee, solidarity meetings; demanded discussion throughout the party, and a wide campaign amongst British workers. But the party remained silent on the German events. Not until the von Papen coup d'Etat in July did the party move; and then it only hurriedly organized week-end meetings. Even today the party fails to respond

to the march of events in Germany. There are still no leaflets, no pamphlets, no solidarity meetings on this question.

On these and other issues we feel that we are justified in breaking the ban on real discussion. The falling party membership, the declining *Daily Worker* circulation, the absence of Minority Movement influence, proves a real discussion to be imperative. By discussion we mean, not formal acknowledgments of the correctness of the party line, but a critical examination of the line, and particularly of its operation during the last

(Continued on page 3)

Class Struggle in Germany

Hitler and Junkers Vie for Power in Germany

The past week has marked several aggressive steps of the German bourgeoisie on the foreign front. The pronouncements of Von Schleicher with regard to the military plans and ambitions of the Junker government have created quite a stir among the world powers. Nevertheless, the reaction against Von Schleicher's aggressiveness has not been too sharp. It is being taken generally as an attempt at bargaining by the German monopoly capitalists. The Reich imperialists naturally figure on propping up their military world positions while the situation is most favorable for them.

Temporary Neutralization of Social Forces

The temporary neutralization of the social forces in the country—working class versus Fascism—has lent the Junkers a certain balance, which they intend to exploit in their negotiations for concessions from the other governments. To be sure, the main aim of the German bourgeoisie remains the same: in the words of Schleicher—first of all to "settle accounts with the internal Schweinehund"—that is, with their working class enemy.

The capitalist class of Germany knows full well that to settle accounts with its proletariat, it will be immediately dependent upon its basis of mass support: the Nazi movement. And here too, capitalism is trying to force concessions. It is unwilling to give up its political independence entirely to the Hitler forces. It wants to strike a bargain with them. Hence we witness a situation in which the big bourgeoisie, while denying full government power to the Fascists, nevertheless stoops to some of their most outrageous demands. Thus, for instance, in the case of the five Nazi murderers of the worker Plezucuk, whose death verdict has been commuted to life imprisonment.

The Maneuvers of the Hitlerites

The Hitlerites, for their part, are content to wait. They realize that a direct and violent attack at the present time would incur, not only tremendous resist-

ance on the part of the broad working classes in one form or another, but opposition of large sections of ruling finance capital as well. On the other hand, they feel that they have amassed great power and they are disinclined to squander it recklessly. They prefer to hold out in all readiness until the big bourgeoisie sees itself forced to resort to them. And of that they can be quite sure.

In the meantime, the National Socialists are counteracting the attempts of monopoly capital at wringing concessions from them, by parliamentary horse-trading with the Catholic Center. Hitler announces very boldly that he will unite with any other party in votes of non-confidence against the present government and that he will not be stopped by ever so many consecutive dissolutions of the Reichstag. But behind the scenes, negotiations have already been set afoot to receive government support for the full assumption of power by the Nazis in the provinces of Prussia and Thuringia.

Domestic Actions of Von Papen

The Von Papen government, in addition to its drastic measures in external policy, is also forging ahead with its reactionary program on the domestic front. There are definite rumors abroad of the complete abrogation of the Weimar constitution. The voting age is to be raised to 25 years. An upper-and-lower house system is to be instituted. Vote by ticket based on proportional representation is to be replaced by vote for persons, etc.

On the industrial front, "labor service duty" or compulsory labor is to be introduced. All this with the active collaboration of the social democracy and the reformist trade union leaders of the A. D. B. G. (The German General Labor Confederation). The reformist leaders of the "Iron Front" are utilizing the conflict between the Junkers and the Nazis to spread new dangerous illusions among the masses about the possibility of defeating the Fascists with the cooperation of the Von Papen government.

(Continued on page 2)

Police Act on Stalinist Frame-Up

As we go to press, word has come from the authorities demanding the appearance of Hugo Oehler, organizer of the New York Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and Tom Stamm, chairman of the open air meeting on August 20th before the District Attorney! All workers, attention—be on your guard! Communist Workers, members of the party, make your voices heard now!

The shameless and unexampled frame-up of the Stalinist bureaucracy against the Left Opposition has reached a new stage of abominations! The Stalinists, campaign has been picked up by the police and is being used against the Bolshevik-Leninists!

We have pointed out in a previous issue that the dastardly and demagogic agitation of the *Daily Worker* of August 23 and 24 against the Left Opposition and the charges made therein that the Communist League is responsible for the tragic deaths of the workers Semen and Krasniuk, victims of the Avenue A and Seventh St. incident, could not be interpreted as anything but a provocation.

This past week there have been three investigations by the police at our National Office. The investigating officers themselves openly stated that they had come after receiving information in the form of a leaflet and verbally at the headquarters of the Downtown Section of the Communist party! This is to what the degenerate Stalinists have stooped—

The Left Opposition has asked for a working class hearing on the hair-raising charges brought by the Stalinist leaders of the official Communist party against it. They refuse to answer. But the police answered.

Pogrom Fails but Police Act

Their pogrom scheme, their scheme of inciting the Left wing and party workers has failed miserably. But from this a new and more disgraceful stage has developed, the stage of police investigation. Such are the results to date. Can anything more outrageous, can anything more damnable be imagined of people

who claim to belong to the revolutionary camp?

Only desperate bankrupts can act the way the American Stalinists are acting. Their whole utter impotence is revealed in this procedure.

They fear the threatening voice of the Communist rank and file, they fear to come before the revolutionary working class with their scandalous accusations, they fear to face the Leninist Left Opposition in the open!

Rank and File Aroused

But the Communist rank and file, the revolutionary workers will not permit this outrage to remain veiled in the dark. They will not stomach it. The party ranks are already as fit, bitter and resentful of the disgrace the bureaucracy is heaping upon the party.

The Communist workers are protesting within the party organizations. Unfortunately some, disgusted with the whole scurrilous affair, are simply answering with their feet—leaving the party.

Of particular interest is the unrest in the revolutionary ranks in the very section in which the tragic incident of Saturday, August 20th occurred. In the Unemployed Council controlled by the party and situated there, three comrades have resigned from the Executive in protest against the Stalinist frame-up against us!

The comrades tell us that the sympathy of workers in that section is rising for us and that no worker, who has seen us in action there, wants to believe the Stalinist slanders against the Left Opposition nor accept their appellation of "counter-revolutionaries."

Demand Open Workers' Hearing!

Let the workers speak. The Communist League (Opposition) is ready to answer for itself before them. Let the Stalinists give up their disgusting game and bring their charges against us before the workers. Let the workers judge! We reiterate here our challenge to the party leadership, to the T. U. U. L. and I. L. D. to appear at a public hearing together with us, to leave the case for the workers at large to decide.

Let the miserable Stalinists answer or admit their frame-up!

New Coal Miners' Union Organized

(Continued from page 1)

file will preserve the last basis of unionism in the bituminous fields.

In our district no agitation is necessary to convey to the membership the savagery, the terrorism and murder that have prevailed, as the methods of our high salaried officials in the attempt to force a wage cut, and sacrifice every important condition ever derived thru long years of bitter struggle.

Our international and district officials stand indicted on the following counts in direct violation of the oath of obligation, and the constitution of the U. M. W. of A.:

1. Refusal to adhere to the majority decision of the membership.
2. Refusal to carry out the mandates of the district convention.
3. Discrimination against foreign born members of our Union.
4. The outright robbery of the referendum vote on the Wage Scale.
5. Use of gangsters, police, sheriffs, state highway patrolmen, and all agencies of force and oppression, in murdering and terrorizing loyal members of U. M. W. of A.

Every method of discussion and persuasion has been exhausted in our honorable struggle to present our grievances within the organization.

We have petitioned for a special district convention, we have used every constitutional method to eradicate the destructive forces within our union. The answer of our officials has been more terror-fallings-clubbings-intimidation and wholesale expulsions of the true fighters that were the backbone of our organization. Having exhausted every method of constitutionality we have come to the conclusion that an energetic program of struggle must be formulated for the preservation of Unionism in the mining industry of Illinois and for the best interests of all dependent on the mining industry for existence.

Realizing the responsibility that history had placed upon us, we your POLICY COMMITTEE elected by state wide conference held in Gillespie, Ill., Sept. 1, 1932 to which was delegated the task of presenting a program herewith wish to submit the following report for your consideration.

I. We propose that a definite break with the officers of the U. M. W. of A. be immediately carried out and we proceed at once to set up an apparatus for the formation of a new union.

II. We recommend to the conference that the name of our new industrial Union shall be the PROGRESSIVE MINERS OF AMERICA.

III. We recommend that a temporary Executive Committee be selected by the conference consisting of one member from each sub-district. Also that one temporary Pres., one Temp. Vice Pres., and one temporary Secy. Treasurer be selected by the conference. These officials to act until such time that a referendum vote of our whole membership be held. These officers to serve for actual expense until such time that a constitutional convention be held, or that work is resumed. In the event that one of the officers' mine resumes operation he will be paid the basic scale and expenses until constitutional convention decides otherwise. Referendum for permanent officers to be held within sixty days after constitutional convention is held.

IV. We recommend that the check-off system be temporarily abolished until constitutional convention for further consideration of this matter and that dues and assessments be paid by individual members to Local Union Secretary who in turn will give the member a badge and card which will be furnished to every member joining the PROGRESSIVE MINERS UNION.

V. We recommend that one scale committee member be elected by this conference from each sub-district to work in conjunction with temporary executive officers and Temp. Officials in order to invite mine operators to a joint conference for the purpose of consummating a contract. Representatives from the solid shooting and strip mines be elected by general caucus of these miners working in this particular class of work. We suggest that no less than two from each classification be chosen as representatives.

We recommend that an official organ, named the "PROGRESSIVE MINER" be established and to be published weekly. The supervision of our Official organ, shall be left up to the executive Officials.

VII. We recommend that pending the securing of a wage agreement with the Illinois coal operators, by association or associations, that individual operators desiring to operate mines will be given a contract signed by the officials, as representatives of the "PROGRESSIVE MINERS OF AMERICA". This agreement to be temporary at the wage scale and conditions that existed up until March 31, 1932. It is understood that any operator must include all the mines owned and controlled by him and that all coal operators shall grant an equal division of work in all classifications of labor.

VIII. We recommend, that an attempt be made to get the attorneys of the "AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION" to render legal talent for the purpose of collecting death funds due our deceased brothers and also to supply all legal support necessary in the course of our struggle, against the coal operators and all enemies of our movement.

IX. We recommend that we have our state headquarters at Gillespie temporarily, until such time, that the executive offi-

cers of our Union decide otherwise.

X. We recommend that Pit Committees and Local unions settle all disputes on the basis of the contract. In the event, that it is agreed by both sides to refer the matter to higher tribunal; that two members of the district board of our union and two members of the coal operators association meet to decide any controversial matters.

The Salting Up of an Apparatus

The conference proceeded then to complete its task in setting up of an apparatus of provisional officers to take care of the new union until a constitutional convention be held. The date set for the convention will be October 3, at Gillespie. There the complete program of the PROGRESSIVE MINERS OF AMERICA will be set up. In the meantime a program of severing all relations with the United Mine Workers of America is to be carried out. Injunctions, legal tangles and law suits make it imperative that certain preliminary steps be taken for the establishment of the new order.

Claud Percy, of Gillespie, Tim Jones of Taylorville and William Keck, of Belleville were elected by acclamation for the positions of President, Vice-President and Secretary-Treasurer respectively. These officers are to serve provisionally until such time that a referendum vote can be held throughout the whole jurisdiction of the Progressive Miners Union.

Joe Perona, H. V. Machlin, Edward Pope, W. J. Roberts, Thomas Cowell, Barney Flaherty, S. L. Jones, George McClelland and Gerry Allard were elected Executive Board Members, also to serve provisionally.

Gerry Allard, Pat Ansbury and I. O. Dudley were selected to attend the conference of the Canadian rank and file miners that is to be held in Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, September 19th. The Nova Scotia miners pledged their whole hearted support, to the new movement.

Joe Goett, Dan Magill, Andrew Steed, Gerry Allard and Albert O'Brien were elected on a committee to present the cause of the Illinois miners and demanding that all rights of picketing meetings, riding on the highways be guaranteed. The committee will also demand from the state authorities an investigation of conditions in Franklin County where two members of the opposition faction were murdered and hundreds wounded.

The conference was in session for three days and deliberated on all phases of the mining situation. The ladies auxiliary were busily engaged in preparing meals for over 500 miners. The spirit prevailing at the conference was perfect. Never had a conference been held in the history of the Illinois coal miners where men, women and the whole populace were so harmonious in cooperating to the end of overcoming the horrible conditions that prevail throughout the mining fields of Illinois.

Some Necessary Criticism

The main weakness developed in the conference was the fact that the more capable leaders of the movement would not accept positions. Everyone serving as delegates were so deeply imbued over the bureaucracy that has existed in the miners union for years, that they believe to accept positions would make them out as office seekers. This was a wrong tendency. It is not too late however and it is hoped that a stronger leadership will be elected into the leading offices after the constitutional convention is held. "Rank and fileism" was prevalent in the minds of the best of leaders. Everyone wanted to fight and make the greatest sacrifices possible to build the new union but they wanted to serve as back privates and on the firing lines.

This was especially the attitudes of Pat Ansbury, Joe Pick, Joe Barrell, Joe Battuello, Joe Goett and other outstand-

ing leaders of the struggle.

The Communist Party, issued a statement attacking the conference and the leaders of the movement. Especially leveling their attacks of Gerry Allard, Pat Ansbury and Joe Goett. These three miners have been in the forefront of the struggle, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the brothers under terrible strain. Joe Goett was former provisional president of the Illinois miners appointed by John L. Lewis. His record is not of the best character. Yet he severed his relations in the Lewis administration and has been instrumental in solidifying the strike in the Peoria district which is now 100% on strike. He unhesitatingly endorsed the idea of a new union. Goett was in a position to center the most conservative elements around him and split the conference, but he refused to do this. What his future policies may be is difficult to determine at this time. However, it must be recognized that he was elected by his membership to attend this convention, and for over two years now he has been in the mines leading coal. He can only be classed as a rank and file.

Party Leaders Negotiate Secretly But Denounce Publicly

Pat Ansbury is unquestionably one of the most popular leaders in the Illinois

struggle. He is a militant trade unionist with a clean cut record. He enjoys the confidence of the broad section of the rank and file. He has for over a year cooperated with the Party in fighting the Criminal Syndicalist cases in Franklin County. The Communist Party has expressed confidence in him personally on more than one occasion. Several times leaders of the Party have conferred with him on the Illinois miners struggle. The main attack of the Party against him is the fact that he is a close personal and political associate of Gerry Allard. The Party has asked him to sever relations with Allard, but he has steadfastly refused to do so claiming that the Party was wrong in its policies in the mine struggle and that the policy of Allard's group were more applicable to the situation. At the present time a great price has been placed on his head by the enemies of the Illinois coal miners. He is resolute, resourceful and a dynamic figure, but his main weaknesses lie in the lack of theoretical understanding having only been active in the labor movement for two years. During the rank and file movement of a year ago he was a victim, losing his job at the mines and faced courageously deportation charges of the Federal government at the instigation of John L. Lewis' brother who is an agent of the department of justice. All through the convention he pursued a correct line of struggle against the operators and the Lewis-Walker forces.

—GERMINAL.

Allard Answers Party Bureaucrats

Christopher, Ill.

August 31, 1932

Dear Comrades:

I was approached the other day for the purpose of trying to come to an understanding with the party. John Shaw, organizer of the party, had a lawyer of the I. L. D. from St. Louis, Irving Spencer, bring a message advising me that all could be thrashed out so that the party and I would come to an understanding. I am willing to strengthen Communism, but have become firmly convinced that the way to build Communism is not through the bureaucrats of the party. The Daily Worker continues to conduct a campaign of lying, vilification and the silliest sort of publicity ever experienced by coal miners in the labor movement.

The rank and file miners are swarming to the Socialist party and believe me, it hurts my heart to see this gang of reformists taking in the best fighters of the labor movement here. Yet, when I speak of the Communist party, they point out the numerous articles attacking me and wonder how I have the gall to defend them in the face of the barrage of lies that have been leveled at my head.

I have made up my mind that the further away the Party bureaucrats keep their noses out of our affairs, the better it will be for the labor movement. We will demonstrate to the labor movement how a real miners union will be built in the United States. And the pride of this achievement will be the fact that the rank and file coal diggers built it. We appreciate cooperation from real working class organizations. The Left Opposition is continuously an inspiration. But the professional liars make personal issues out of our best fighters, while our comrades are being murdered, jailed and beaten. Well, that is too much for me ever to forget. I could not be honest with myself and with the labor movement to ever forgive such crimes.

Facts About Allard

A recent issue of the Daily Worker says that Allard and the Musteites are very conspicuously absent from the picket lines and it is only the pressure of the rank and file under the leadership of the party that forces the fakers to move forward. The facts are that Allard and his wife were the first ones arrested in the Illinois miners struggle

Herewith we are publishing a letter from comrade Allard which deals with the important question of our attitude to the official party. Its contents reflect comrade Allard's personal reaction in the present situation which require an answer and clarification. The answer we will publish in our next issue—Ed.

and participated in the first picket lines where they were picked off by the sheriffs.

A few more facts:

Allard was in the vanguard of the state marchers.

Allard worked three days and nights organizing the state march.

Allard is being hounded by killers of the underworld, called by the state forces the "brains" of the present movement. Allard is now doing work in Franklin County where no organizer dares set foot at the present time.

Allard is getting delegates from working mines to go to the state-wide conference at Gillespie tomorrow. Quite a task, by the way, in the face of two thousand deputies guarding Franklin County.

I will leave it up to the miners to decide on who is more devoted to the present cause. But as far as helping a Communist party of that kind goes, well, I believe that I am through. I know that this does not conform exactly to your attitude but I am caught in a movement that makes it necessary for me to come to this point. The party and Communism loses ground while a bunch of fakers and misleaders like the S. P. makes headway.

I have only one course to pursue in this fight and that is for me and the other sympathizers to fight for a militant revolutionary union program and for independent working class action.

Stalinist Bureaucrat Expelled in N. Y.

Some time ago, The Militant, in dealing with the situation in the Food Workers Industrial Union, gave some sketches of the Stalinist bureaucrats in its leadership. Among these sketches there was one of a certain Joe Newman, a racketeer type sheltered by the bureaucracy in the cooperative camps under the control of the party. Months after The Militant exposed this heinous funk, the District Secretariat of Dis. 2, New York, now, at last, announces the expulsion of Newman—nevertheless—only for the period of one year.

Newman will be remembered by Militant readers as the abominable Stalinist functionary, who in the summer of 1931, considered it proper and fit to settle a dispute with a worker employed at camp Kinderland—which the notorious Newman was "running"—by calling the State Troopers!

Upon the pressure of the Left Opposition and the rank and file of the F. W. I. U., Newman was suspended by the bureaucracy for six months last winter. For six months—so as to enable him to resume his abominable practices and obedient service to the top bosses when summer came around again. This time he is being expelled for one year! One year in which to rehabilitate himself for his regular job with the bureaucracy once more, next summer.

But the foodworkers will remain attentive and vigilant—let the Stalinist leadership rest assured of that. Newman was expelled for an allegedly wretched piece of bureaucratic impudence and headlessness. It is charged that, suspicious that some workers were absconding with property of the enterprise, he went ahead and in the most arbitrary fashion cut up the tires of an auto which these workers took him to account, a little scandal caused, the workers were cleared of the bureaucracy's unfounded suspicion and M. Newman was hauled on the carpet. His Stalinist protectors found the situation altogether too embarrassing and had to "double-cross" him; the expulsion followed, with the typical bureaucratic proviso: for one year!

The expulsion of Bureaucrat Newman is undoubtedly a victory of the rank and

C.L.A. Hails New Union

(Continued from page 1)

If the new movement is not to sink into a state of paralysis and finally be rendered impotent like so many rebel movements before it.

This was the direction clearly indicated by the Left Opposition and by its members and supporters actively engaged in the Illinois movement over a period of time. At the convention in St. Louis of last year our members recommended the building of a new union and a program of unity of action. It was rejected then by the Musteites in control of the convention, as well as by the Communist Party leadership who boycotted the convention. Our members continued their fight within the movement. And the correctness of the direction which we recommended then has now, in its first step, become vindicated not only by theoretical conclusion but also by the realities of the class struggle.

THE FUTURE PATH OF THE ILLINOIS MINERS

The sterling fighters of the Illinois coal fields, the thousands of miners who have proven themselves as worthy upholders of the early splendid traditions of the miners' union, have accepted this as their direction of travel. The road is already emblazoned with struggles of gigantic proportions, miners fighting tena-

ciously against the imposition of starvation wages, against the capitalist lackeys who attempted to sell them out and against the open and brutal terror of the henchmen in governmental positions. These miners have organized their fight with picketing on a mass scale never witnessed before thus giving a militant birth to their new union.

There is now a stronger basis available than a year ago. The miners have gained additional experiences which will fortify them against encroachments of new faker combinations who will inevitably attempt to tighten on the new movement. They will have learned to discard such false illusions of the past as the confidence given to the Fishwick-Walker-Hovatt combination, or to the leadership of self-styled progressives of the Edmondson type. In this sense the Illinois miners must watch the leaders who are thrown forward today and who have not been tested in the fire of struggle.

For the Illinois miners the destiny now lies in their own hands. But their union is still to face its test. The serious struggle with the rapacious operators is still ahead. So is also the case with the fight to a finish with the Lewis machine and above all the serious matter of future policy.

The Illinois miners have also learned some valuable lessons from their experience with policy pursued by the official party Stalinist leadership. It pursued the opposite course from ours. It rejected the policy of a genuine united front of approaching the existing independent miners' unions as bona fide bodies and of recognizing the Illinois miners' revolt as a genuine mass movement even though infested in the past with misleaders. It refused to recognize any other union than the one over which it itself held mechanical control, the National Miners Union. It failed, as a logical conclusion from this course, entirely in the essential task of developing and organizing the Left wing within the U. M. W. It boycotted and attacked revolt movements which were not ready to accept its mechanical domination and its wrong course. As a result of this the party is today isolated from the Illinois mine fields.

THE COMMUNIST DUTY IN COMING DEVELOPMENTS

The organization of the "Progressive Miners of America" and the objective possibilities for unity in the mine fields imperatively demand a change in this false course pursued by the party leadership. It is becoming more pressing than ever. The Communists must be in the vanguard of the working class struggle; but they have the additional serious obligation of leading in the correct direction. In this sense the party leadership faces a new test when the hands for unity of action is extended to the National Miners Union. That hand it must grasp and strive honestly for such unity.

Enormous tasks lie ahead in the mine fields. Great struggles are pending. However, this is but one of the focusing points at the moment. The workers elsewhere are not exempted. The capitalist rulers of the country still cherishing the hope of issuing out of the crisis by shifting the whole burden on to the shoulders of the working class are increasing their attacks. The American workers have suffered serious setbacks but they have not been defeated. A new stage of more intense struggles all along the line is in the making. To prepare for this the experiences in the Illinois mine fields furnish a valuable lesson. That is a lesson particularly for the Communist party.

Preparation for these future struggles, which will sore as day and night involve the present existing unions, demands that the Communists penetrate deeper into these unions. Every Communist must find his place there. Away with the policy of self-isolation and with all the rubbish of the "Third Period". In its place must be posed the question of a genuine united front policy and of trade union unity.

National Committee
Communist League of America
(Opposition)

Hitler & Von Papen

New Betrayals of Social Democracy Opportunity for Communists

The new betrayals of the social democracy and the temporary conflict among the bourgeois offer the Communists another excellent opportunity to rally the whole working class of Germany for united action, to prepare the proletariat for the deathblow against capitalism. Will the German Communist Party take advantage of the situation. That depends. In the first place, the whole Stalinist confusionism of "national and social liberation" must be thrown overboard. Instead of Thaelmann's dangerously nationalistic "People's Revolution Against Versailles", the German Communists must use the military formula of the conscious bourgeoisie — Schleicher's phrase about "first settling accounts with the internal Schweinehund"—against the capitalist foe. Now, more than ever "the main enemy is in one's own country."

Secondly, the German Communists must realize that it is high time to return to the Leninist united front tactic and to give up the bureaucratic ultimatum of the Stalinists.

Thirdly, international solidarity must be aroused in the widest possible forms, the Comintern must be brought into action. The need of the moment is a world congress of the Communist International with the participation of the Leninist Left Opposition.

—SAM GORDON.

LEON TROTSKY

WHAT NEXT?

Vital Questions for the German Proletariat

BRANTLEY? NATIONAL SOCIALISM? HINDENBURG? LEFT OPPOSITION? ADOLF HITLER? LENIN? ULTIMATISM? THAELEMAN? RED STRATEGY? RED ARMY? BOLSHIEVISM? COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL? DEMOCRACY? SEYDEWITZ? CENTRISM? FASCISM? BRUENING? SOVIET UNION?

With Germany on the edge of the volcano that threatens to erupt at any moment, Leon Trotsky's penetrating analysis of what is next on the order of the day in Germany is the most timely revolutionary document of the moment. It is priced so low for a quick sale. Order your copy now!

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Sept. Young Spartacus Out

The Special September International Youth Day issue of Young Spartacus is now off the press. This issue is an 8-pager. Featured is a reprint of the call for the first International Youth Day addressed to the working youth of the world by the Berne Conference of the International Union of Socialist Youth. There are also extracts from Lenin's article on the "Causes of the World War", and Trotsky's "Pacifism in the Service of Imperialism."

The September issue also contains an article on the original of International Youth Day by Albert Glotzer, a call to demonstrate with the Young Communist League, a review of the resolution by the Y. C. L. to the American League by Joe Carter, and a report on the convention of the Young Peoples Socialist League by comrade Gould. Cartoons and a snappy make-up help to make the issue an appealing one.

All comrades are asked to send their orders immediately to Young Spartacus. There are only a limited edition on hand. Order your copies and see that they reach your acquaintances and connections.

VOTE COMMUNIST!

Comrade Trotsky's Letter to the Weisbord Group

Comrade Weisbord:

Your organization on its own initiative has delegated you to get an exchange of views on questions which separate you from the American League which is the section of the International Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists). In the course of several talks you have explained the opinions of your organization over the fundamental litigious questions. You have proposed that I put down in writing my conclusions from the talks which we have had. In the following lines I shall try to do this without pretending in any way to exhaust the questions raised by you.

1. I am inclined to consider as the most important the question of the "Labor Party". Here it is a question of the essential instrument of the proletarian revolution. Every lack of clarity or ambiguity on that question is pernicious. The ideas developed by you for the defense of the slogan of the "Labor Party" I have criticized in a special document which I have given you. Here I deem it necessary to add only several words.

On the question of the Labor Party your organization is very near to the position of Lovestone which is notorious for its opportunistic. The Lovestone group is historic in its denial of the independent historic role of the Communist Party. That group approves up to today the policy of the Comintern in regard to the Kuo Min Tung and the British Trade Unions, that is to say, the capitulation in principle of Communism in the one case before the bourgeoisie and in the other case before the lieutenants of the bourgeoisie within the working class.

Your group, as far as I know, condemns the politics of the Stalinists in China and in Great Britain but at the same time it accepts the slogan of the Labor Party. That is to say: In taking or trying to take a Marxist position towards the past events in other countries you take an opportunist position towards the future of your own country. I believe that without a radical revision of your position in the central question of the party an effective rapprochement between your organization and the International Left Opposition cannot be affected.

2. Your group has rejected up to the present the definition accepted by us of the International Stalinist faction as Bureaucratic Centrism. You start out from the view that one can give the name "Centrism" only to those groupings which occupy the place between the official camp of reformism (Social-Democracy) and the official camp of Communism. Under this purely formalist, schematic, undialectical conception of centrism is hidden in fact a lack of clarity of the political position of your own group. You are concerned to efface the difference between the official party, the Right wing fraction (Lovestone group) and even the American League. This makes it easy for you to remain in an eclectic position and defend your right of a bloc with the Lovestone group.

That the Lovestone group does not represent a purely reformist organization is incontestable, but the question is in its tendency and political orbit. The Lovestone group represents a variety of Right wing centrism which is evolving from Communism to Social-Democracy. The German Socialist Labor Party (S. A. P.) which broke from the Social-Democracy, contains a more progressive tendency than the Brandierites although according to the theoretical formulae the last are apparently nearer to us. Statistically, the Lovestone group, the German Brandierites as well as the S. A. P. represent varieties of Right-wing Centrism. But dynamically one is different from the other and it is the dynamics which decide.

Certainly, in a number of partial questions, the Lovestone group has taken a position more correct than the official party but to conclude a bloc with the Lovestone group would mean to augment its general authority and by that to help it to fulfill its reactionary historic mission.

I shall not stop here to go into more details on the question of centrism. I permit myself to refer you to my last brochure which will soon appear in America (What Next?)

Without clarity in this most essential question in my opinion a rapprochement between your fraction and the International Left Opposition cannot be achieved.

3. Your criticism of the American League starts to considerable degree from wrong premises (the most important of which are given above). At the same time you give to your criticism a character so immediate, exaggerated and embittered that it forces us to see in you an ideological nuance not in the camp of the International Left Opposition but of its adversaries if not of its enemies.

Upon the bases of criteria which are partly false, partly insufficient and arbitrary, you deny, as I have said, the existence of differences in principle between the American League, the Lovestone group and the official party. With this you declare not only that the leadership of the League is classed in an opportunist position but also that the International Left Opposition as a whole is absolutely incapable of distinguishing between Marxism and opportunism on a most essential question. Is it that you are astonished after that, that the Bolshevik-Leninists demand what binds you to the International Left Opposition?

4. You stress with special energy the necessity of active participation on the part of the Left Opposition in general in the movement and the struggle of the working masses. Although at the present stage, the Left Opposition is, in the majority of countries, a propagandist organization, it puts forth propaganda not in a sectarian but in a Marxist manner, that is to say, upon the basis of participation in all the life of the proletariat. I am not able to admit that anyone of the leaders or of the members of the American League denies this principle. The question reduces itself to a great extent to the real possibility to which pertains also natural capacity, initiative and experience.

We are publishing herewith a letter by comrade Trotsky to comrade Weisbord, which was written as a conclusion to discussions held between them. In subsequent issues we will publish the answer of comrade Weisbord to this letter and a statement by our National Committee in regard to this answer.—Ed.

ner, that is to say, upon the basis of participation in all the life of the proletariat. I am not able to admit that anyone of the leaders or of the members of the American League denies this principle. The question reduces itself to a great extent to the real possibility to which pertains also natural capacity, initiative and experience.

Let us admit, for a minute, that the American League lacks this or that possibility in mass work. I am ready to admit that your group would be able in that respect to complete the work of the American League. But mass work must be on the basis of definite principles and methods. Until the time that, in a number of fundamental questions a necessary unanimity will be attained, disputes on "mass work" will inevitably remain lifeless.

5. Above, I have called the position of your group eclectic. By this I do not wish at all to express any condemnation as a whole which bars the possibility of a future rapprochement. The question is how often decided dynamically. You must openly, clearly and attentively revise your baggage so as to take care to uncover by that not only your manifest political faults but also the historical and principled roots of these faults. I have reacted with such warm praise to the thesis of the Second Conference of the American League on the Labor Party because in this thesis there was taken not only a correct position in the essence of the question but also there was given an open and courageous criticism of its own past. Only in this way can a revolutionary tendency assure itself seriously against a relapse.

6. Your group has raised up the slogan of an international conference with the participation of all the organizations and groups who count themselves with the Left. This way presents itself to me to be false to the roots. The International Left Opposition does not exist for the first day. In the struggle

for its ideas and methods it has purified its ranks of foreign elements. The international conference can and must start from the ideological work already accomplished and to fortify its results and to systematize them. To enter on the road which was proposed by your group would mean to make a cross over the past and to return to the state of original chaos. Of that we cannot even speak.

The Left Opposition is not a mechanical sum of vacillating groups but an international fraction created on the granite basis of the principles of Marxism. A rapprochement and a fusion with the International Left Opposition is not able to be obtained through organizational manipulations or through adventurist combinations a la Landau. I was glad to hear from you that your group has nothing in common with Landau and his methods. Precisely for this reason it is necessary to renounce once for all the thoughts of transforming the International Left Opposition into a Noah's Ark. It is necessary to choose another road less precipitate but more serious and certain.

Before everything you must keep clearly in mind that the road to the International Left Opposition leads through the American League; a second road does not exist. Unification with the American League is possible only on the basis of unity of principles and methods which must be formulated theoretically and verified by experience.

The best thing would be, in my opinion, if you would devote a coming issue of your organ to a critical revision of your ideological baggage, especially in regard to the litigious questions. Only the character of this revision (before all naturally its content but particularly also its form) can demonstrate just to what degree the practical steps on the side of unification are really ripe.

The most important extracts of your article could be printed in the International Bulletin as information material. Naturally the question will be decided by the American League. But all our sections will want to be informed. Not one of them will demand concession in principle from the American League. But however all of them will cooperate completely in the cause of a rapprochement and fusion if the existence of a common basis of principle will be confirmed. It is not necessary to say that I shall

be very glad if your trip here and our discussion will contribute to the going over of your group to the camp of the Bolshevik-Leninists.

—L. TROTSKY.

Postscript to the Letter to Comrade Weisbord

For the sake of better clarity I wish to add some remarks:

1. If I speak about the inadmissibility of direct or indirect support of the Lovestone group or the Brandierites in general I do not wish at all to say by that, that these elements could not, under any circumstances, find for themselves a place in the Communist ranks. On the contrary: under a healthy regime of the Comintern the majority of the Brandierites would have executed, without doubt, this or that useful work. One of the pernicious consequences of the Stalinist bureaucracy consists in this that it is compelled by each new empiric zig-zag, under fear of its own collapse, to push out of the party its allies of yesterday. Zinoviev and Kamenev represent highly qualified elements. Under the regime of Lenin they accomplished very responsible work in spite of their insufficiency which was well understood by Lenin. The regime of Stalin condemned Zinoviev and Kamenev to political death. The same thing can be said of Bukharin, and many others. The ideological and moral decomposition of Radek is witness not only of the fact that Radek is not made of first class material but also of the fact that the Stalinist regime can rely only upon impersonal chinovniks or morally decomposed individuals.

However, it is necessary to take facts as they are in reality. The Brandierites chased out of the Comintern, and their worst section (the Lovestone group) have proved themselves condemned to political degeneration. Their ideological resources are zero. Masses they have not and cannot have. As an independent group they are capable only of bringing confusion and decomposition. The sooner they will be liquidated the better. Which part of them will be transformed by this into Stalinist chinovniks and which into Social-Democrats is a matter of indifference.

2. The remark made above that the S. A. P. elements are more progressive than the Brandierites must in no case be submitted to an enlarged interpretation. About a political bloc between the Left

the movement the united fronts which the program projects must become united fronts of workers sympathetic to Communism, which is to say, no united fronts at all. More than this, because of the movement's orientation on relief unemployed workers for the most part, are drawn into the movement and the united fronts will be, are composed of unemployed workers sympathetic to Communism. The united front which begins so happily in the program can, in practice, turn out to be nothing more than another party auxiliary good for useful work in demonstrations, etc.

What remains is another milestone on the road to the opportunist swamp. The program in practice cannot bring us closer to our revolutionary goal. It leads in another direction. It will not serve to develop class consciousness through struggle because the struggle which it will conduct is conducting, is based on reformist premises. The program attempts to put a programmatic seal on the right to opportunism—it consummates the turn initiated by Browder last year. It is the second step backward.

One Step Forward

Against this opportunist course the Opposition has repeatedly warned. It has done more than that. It has offered a program in place of the ideological mess of porridge the Stalinists have served up. In its Open Letter to the C. C. of GPCSA, issued early in 1931, it enumerated six basic points of a Marxist program upon which to build a fighting working-class movement for relief.

It predicated it program on the absolutely correct assumption that the fight for relief must be a general class fight embracing both employed and unemployed workers. It rested its program on the obvious truth—for Marxists—that, for revolutionists, a relief program had to be linked up with the final revolutionary goal as a step toward that goal. As its third major premise it declared that the slogans of today had to prepare the movement for tomorrow and act as a bridge.

On this basis it placed in the forefront of its program the slogans of the six-hour day, five-day week with no reduction in pay; unemployment insurance at the expense of the capitalist class and its government; and long-term, large-scale credits to the Soviet Union. It called for a fighting movement around these central slogans and stated that such a movement could be built only on a genuine united front basis.

That this program was not accepted by the party ever—one knows. That, how-

Opposition and the S. A. P. with its actual obvious centrism leadership one cannot even speak. The progressive tendencies within the S. A. P. can be uncovered only by our implacable criticism against the leadership of the S. A. P. and also against the old Brandierites who are under it and who play within the S. A. P. a manifestly reactionary role.

We cannot put your American Left Socialists at all on the same plane even with the Centrist leaders of the S. A. P., who at least have broken with the Social-Democracy. By a correct policy of the Communist Party, the S. A. P., before its disintegration, could become a precious auxiliary instrument for the decomposition of Social-Democracy. As for the American Left Socialists we do not have the least reason to distinguish them from Hillquit that is to say, to see in them anything else than agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class.

3. In the question of the Labor Party you refer to the decision of the Fourth Congress. The Left Opposition stands entirely on the basis of the decisions of the first four congresses but distinguishes the decisions of principles and program from tactical and episodic decisions. The decisions of the Fourth Congress on that question could be only a tactical hypothesis. After that the hypothesis was submitted to a gigantic test. The Left Opposition grew, in a certain sense, from that test. The fault of your group consists precisely in that you ignore the work of the Left Opposition in this fundamental question.

4. The same thing applies to the question of Centrism. You refer to Lenin. But the task does not consist to refer to this or that quotation from Lenin which is concerned with other times and other conditions, but to use correctly the method of Lenin. In Lenin you do not find, naturally, anything about bureaucratic Centrism because the Stalinist fraction was formed politically after the death of Lenin. In the struggle with this fraction, the International Left Opposition grew. Also in this question, you ignore its critical activity.

5. I do not wish to say at all that your group defended in the past the unworthy methods of the Landau group. However, you are in error in thinking that this question is an internal question of the Left Opposition. The Left Opposition does not have and cannot have anything in common with the Landau group nor with those who support that group.

—L. TROTSKY.

English Opposition Expelled from Party

(Continued from page 1)

ter part of 1931. We hold that wrong party policy and bureaucracy in the party are responsible for its unsatisfactory position.

Answer to Threat of Expulsion

Unless we give up our point of view, we are threatened with expulsion. But we joined the Party believing it to be the only party for the workers; we still think this, and we shall hold both to our point of view and to the party. We shall not be harassed, as was Murphy, into deserting the party. We shall work to win the membership to our point of view. Expulsions and "liquidations" will not be the last word in this struggle. We shall fight within the party for reinstatement, we shall appeal to the Central Committee, to the party Congress, to the Comintern. Meanwhile, we shall constantly put before the party our criticisms and suggestions, and shall—in this area—keep a working for Communism and for the party, side by side with all other party members.

We do not want to return in order to "vote and keep quiet," we want to play our part in the struggle against wrong policy, against bureaucracy, and for the correct policy essential for Communist work for the revolution. Only by struggle can the party be changed from a paper-distributing, phrase-mouthing, resolution-passing machine, into a live and vigorous section of the International. We want to help with this job. We ask you, comrades, to demand our reinstatement as a group.

We are, comrades, yours fraternally,

THE BALHAM GROUP

Steve Dowdall	11 years' membership
Jim Barrett	8 " "
D. Groves	6 " "
F. Chaleroff	8 months' "
I. Mucci	8 " "
C. Whiting	8 " "
Harry Wicks	11 years' membership
Henry Sara	9 " "
Reg. Groves	5 " "
N. Dowdall	6 " "
M. Simmons	8 months' "
W. Pyne	9 " "

MILITANT BUILDERS

Well, the August contest is over. At the head of the staff stands a new name—comrade Weber of the New York branch. He tops the list with a total of four dollars in subs. To him goes, very reluctantly, the Eastman biography of comrade Trotsky.

Close behind him was a Minneapolis standby, comrade H. Schwartz; and close behind him were a number of comrades who usually score bullseyes in these contests. The staff record tells the story:

J. Weber	4
H. Schwartz	3
A. Weaver	2 1/2
W. Wynne	2
H. Mashow	2
M. Abern	2
R. Sacharow	2
J. Keller	2
L. Goodman	2
J. Edwards	1
C. Cowi	1
P. Schulman	1
H. Karsner	1
R. Ruskin	1
L. Schlossberg	1

The record by branches finds New York away out in front with 15 1/2 dollars in subs. In second place, displacing Minneapolis, comes Chicago.

New York	15 1/2
Chicago	6
Minneapolis	5 1/2
Philadelphia	3
Cleveland	2
Boston	1
Miscellaneous	7 1/2

In a week or so we will be back at you comrades with a brand new idea. It will put all of you on your toes and have you up early and late getting subs. While you are waiting breathlessly for our announcement suppose you run around and get new bundles orders. It is only a thin trickle. It indicates they are coming in of their own accord. But that if you go after them you can do it.

From Kansas City comrade Buehler writes very, very encouragingly "Farmers from Nebraska and Texas come and hunt us up now. Trotsky seems to be their favorite. Even cloth bundle books are in more demand now. Enclosed find check—". That's the language to talk. Farmers, workers, everybody wants to read The Militant. Let's give it to them. After the subs! Get bundle orders!

REVOLUTIONARY LESSONS AND WHITHER ENGLAND

The first of these two works by comrades Lenin and Trotsky is out. We have on more. But we still have a few of Whither England. This will probably be the last call on this book.

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Unemployed Activity in Retrospect

(Continued from last issue)

We do not mean to create the impression that it is incorrect to fight for these demands wherever they are issues. But by an almost exclusive concentration on these demands the larger objectives of the movement are lost sight of and these demands do not become steps leading toward the development of class consciousness and the raising of the struggle to a higher plane, but ends in themselves. They become reformist, opportunist demands. And they sow confusion in the minds of the workers by wiping out the essential differences between the revolutionary-Communist program, and the Socialist and other reformist programs.

This can best be seen from the text itself. The program is based on "a recognition of the fact that those who own and control the wealth and government are willing to allow millions to suffer hunger and want in order that their great wealth shall not be drawn on for relief." (Emphasis in the original). "The Unemployed Councils are the organs for the determined, uncompromising struggle against all who are responsible for and all who assist in imposing upon the workers the miseries that result from mass unemployment." Again: "In the effort to safeguard the masses from the effects of unemployment the Unemployment Councils organize and conduct the daily struggle."

It is in keeping that such "theoretical" opportunism should find its counterpart in the schema of fighting methods. Under the heading: How to Formulate and Fight for Immediate Demands, there is to be found the following axiom of opportunism: "It should be obvious that if we constantly appear in a given relief agency to dispute over the contents of every basket—the authorities will soon find it more convenient and safer to grant the demand for cash relief or more adequate relief as the case may be." (Emphasis in the original).

What working class content do these formulations and methods have? What is there in them to which a well-meaning, Christian clergyman cannot subscribe? Have the Stalinist authors of the program, like the Socialist Party, forgotten the class struggle? Who are the "all" who are responsible for mass unemployment? This is degeneration to liberalism. It makes of the occasional militant phraseology of the program a ghastly masquerade.

It is true that the program lists in its "basic" demands the "seven hour day" without reduction in wages" which it

does not motivate with figures or reason any more than did the T. U. U. L. resolution, and "recognition and unhampered trade relations with the Soviet Union". But they are present as window dressing. They are not explained in the text of the program, nor is their connection with the fight for relief established. They do not outweigh the excessive weight laid on the fight for relief as an end in itself.

The result is that no basis is established by the program for drawing into the movement the Socialist and A. F. of L. workers without whom no broad movement can be built. And, consequently, no directives are issued by the program to accomplish this vital task. The program thus makes the same blunder made by the T. U. U. L. resolution of last October. It is forced to present the two movements as separate, and it is forced to pose the question of uniting the two movements. Its solutions are a repetition of the solutions of the T. U. U. L. resolution which have been tested by time and found to be no solutions at all. In short the program does not advance us a single inch toward building one united movement of employed and unemployed.

But it does narrow the chasm separating the Communist relief program from the Wobblly charity-begging schemes and the Socialist reformist program dressed up in militant phrases. In this sense the program becomes not an instrument of clarity in the direction of class consciousness, but a vehicle of confusion.

This narrow conception of the unemployed movement is thus, of necessity, carried over to the organizational forms worked out for the movement. The unemployed committee is established by the program as the basic form of unemployed movement. "This is defined as an elected body to which is eligible 'any worker' . . . regardless of any other opinion or affiliation who agrees with the program adopted in the meeting (of workers) where the election takes place . . ." These unemployed committees are groups of "from three to fifteen workers who have been elected by a body of workers in any given place . . ." The committees elect delegates to a larger territorial Unemployed Council.

This formulation seems to establish the basis of a united front. But it is only an appearance. There are some fatal limitations to this happy beginning. With no basis laid for drawing the Socialist and A. F. of L. workers into

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Alliance or Struggle Between Social Democracy and Fascism?

To understand the interrelationship of the classes in the form of a schema, fixed once for all time, is comparatively simple. The evaluation of the concrete relations between the classes in every given situation is immeasurably more difficult.

The German big bourgeoisie is at present vacillating—a condition which the big bourgeoisie, in general, very rarely experiences. One part has definitely come to be convinced of the inevitability of the Fascist path and would like to accelerate the operation. The other part hopes to become master of the situation with the aid of a Bonapartist military-police dictatorship. No one in this camp desires a return to the Weimar "democracy".

The petty bourgeoisie is split up. National-Socialism, which has united the overwhelming majority of the intermediate classes under its banner, wants to take the whole power into its own hands. The democratic wing of the petty bourgeoisie, which still has millions of workers behind it, wants a return to democracy according to the Ebertian example. In the meantime, it is prepared to support the Bonapartist dictatorship at least passively. The social democracy figures as follows: Under the pressure of the Nazis, the Papen-Schleicher government will be forced to establish a balance by strengthening its Left wing; meanwhile, an alleviation of the crisis will perhaps ensue; the petty bourgeoisie will perhaps "sober up"; capitalism will perhaps decrease its frantic pressure upon the working class,—and with the aid of God everything will once again be in order.

The Bonapartist clique actually does not desire the complete victory of Fascism. It would not by any means be disinclined to utilize the support of the social democracy within certain bounds. But for this purpose, it would have to "tolerate" the workers' organizations, which is conceivable only if, at least, to a certain extent, the legal existence of the Communist party is to be allowed. Moreover, support of the military dictatorship by the social democracy would push the workers irresistibly into the ranks of Communism. By seeking a means of support against the brown devils, the government would very soon become subject to the blows of the red Beelzebubs.

The official Communist press declares that the toleration of Brüning by the social democracy paved the road for Papen and that the half-toleration of Papen will accelerate the arrival of Hitler. That is entirely correct. Within these boundaries, there are no differences of opinion between ourselves and the Stalinists. But this precisely signifies that in times of social crisis the politics of reformism no longer turn against the masses alone but against itself. In this process the critical moment has at present come into play.

Hitler tolerates Schleicher, the social democracy does not oppose Papen. If this situation could really be assured for a long period of time, then the social democracy would become transformed into the Left wing of Bonapartism and leave to Fascism the role of the Right wing. Theoretically, it is not, of course, excluded that the present, unprecedented crisis of German capitalism will not lead to any conclusive

solution, i. e., either end with the victory of the proletariat or with the triumph of the Fascist counter-revolution. If the Communist party continues its policy of stupid ultimatum and thereby saves the social democracy from inevitable collapse; if Hitler does not within the near future decide upon the overthrow and thereby provokes disintegration inside of his own ranks; if the economic conjuncture takes an upward trend before Schleicher falls—then the Bonapartist combination of Paragraph 48 of the Weimar Constitution, of the Reichswehr, the semi-oppositional social democracy, and semi-oppositional Fascism could perhaps maintain itself (up to a new social impetus, which is to be expected in any case).

But offhand, we are still far from such a happy fulfillment of the conditions, which form the subject of social democratic day dreams. It is by no means guaranteed. Even the Stalinists hardly believe in the power of resistance or the durability of the Papen-Schleicher régime. All indications point to the decomposition of the Wels-Schleicher-Hitler triangle even before it has begun to take shape.

But perhaps it will be replaced by a Hitler-Wels combination? According to Stalin they are "twins, not antipodes". Let us assume that the social democracy would, without fearing its own workers, want to sell its toleration to Hitler. But Hitler does not need this commodity: he needs not the toleration, but the abolition of the social democracy. The Hitler government can only accomplish its task by breaking the resistance of the proletariat and by removing all the possible organs of its resistance. Therein lies the historical role of Fascism.

The Stalinists confine themselves to a purely psychological, or more exactly, to a purely moral evaluation of those cowardly and avaricious petty bourgeois who lead the social democracy. Can we actually assume that these inveterate traitors would separate themselves from the bourgeoisie and oppose it? Such an idealistic method has very little in common with Marxism, which proceeds not from what people think about themselves and what they desire but from the conditions in which they are placed and from the changes which these conditions will undergo.

The social democracy supports the bourgeois régime, not for the gains of the coal, the steel and the other magnates, but for the sake of those gains which it itself can obtain as a party, in the person of its numerically great and powerful apparatus. To be sure, Fascism in no way threatens the bourgeois régime, for the defense of which the social democracy exists. But Fascism endangers that rôle which the social democracy fulfills in the bourgeois régime and the income which the social democracy derives from this rôle it plays. Even though the Stalinists forget this side of the matter, the social democracy itself does not for one moment lose from its sight the mortal danger with which a victory of Fascism threatens it—not the bourgeoisie, but it—the social democracy.

About three years ago, when we pointed out that the point of departure in the coming political crisis in Austria and in Germany would in all probability be

fixed by the incompatibility of social democracy and Fascism; when, based upon this, we rejected the theory of social Fascism which was not disclosing but concealing the approaching conflict; when we called attention to the possibility that the social democracy, a significant part of its apparatus along with it, would be forced by the march of events into a struggle against Fascism and that this would be a favorable point of departure for the Communist party for a further attack, very many Communists—not only hired functionaries, but even quite honest revolutionists—accused us of . . . "idealizing" the social democracy. Nothing remained but to shrug our shoulders. It is hard to dispute with people whose thought stops there, where the question first begins for the Marxist.

In conversations, I often cited the following example: the Jewish bourgeoisie in Czarist Russia represented an extremely frightened and demoralized part of the entire Russian bourgeoisie. And yet, insofar as the pogroms of the Black Hundreds, which were in the main directed against the Jewish poor, also hit the bourgeoisie, the latter was forced to take up its self-defense. To be sure, it did not show any remarkable bravery on this field either. But due to the danger hanging over their heads, the liberal Jewish bourgeoisie, for example, collected considerable sums for the arming of revolutionary workers and students. In this manner, a temporary practical agreement was arrived at between the most revolutionary workers, who were prepared to fight with guns in hand, and the most frightened group of the bourgeoisie, which had got into a scrape.

Last year I wrote that in the struggle against Fascism the Communists were duty-bound to come to a practical agreement not only with the devil and his granddam, but even with Grzesinsky. This sentence made its way through the entire Stalinist world press. Was better proof needed of the "social Fascism" of the Left Opposition? Many comrades had warned me in advance: "They are going to seize on this phrase". I answered them: "It has also been written so that they seize on it. Just let them seize upon this hot iron and burn their fingers. The blockheads must get their lesson."

The course of the struggle has led to Von Papen getting Grzesinsky acquainted with the inside of a jail. Did this episode follow from the theory of social Fascism and from the prognoses of the Stalinist bureaucracy? No, it occurred in complete contradiction of the latter. Our evaluation of the situation, however, had such an eventuality in view and had assigned a definite place for it.

But the social democracy this time, too, avoided the struggle, some Stalinist will object. Yes, it did avoid it. Whoever expected the social democracy, over the head of its leaders and their carrying-on, independently to take up the struggle, and, at that, under conditions in which the Communist party showed itself even incapable of struggle, naturally had to experience disappointment. We did not expect such miracles. Therefore we could not lay ourselves open to any "disappointments" about the social democracy.

Grzesinsky has not become transformed into a revolutionary tiger; that we will readily grant. But nevertheless, there is quite a difference between a situation in which Grzesinsky, sitting in his fortress, sends out police detachments for the safeguarding of "democracy" against revolutionary workers and a situation in which the Bonapartist savior of capitalism puts Grzesinsky himself in jail, is there not? And are we not to take this difference into account politically; are we not to take advantage of it?

Let us turn back to the example cited above: it is not hard to grasp the difference between a Jewish manufacturer who tips the Czarist policeman for beating down the strikers and the same manufacturer who turns over money to the strikers of yesterday to obtain arms against the pogromists. The bourgeois remains the same. But from the change in the situation there results a change in relations. The Bolsheviks conducted the strike against the manufacturer. Later on, they took money from the same manufacturer for the struggle against the pogroms. That did not, naturally, prevent the workers, when their hour had come, from turning their arms against the bourgeoisie.

Does all that has been said mean that the social democracy as a whole will fight against Fascism? To this we reply: part of the social democratic functionaries will undoubtedly go over to the Fascists; a considerable section will creep under their beds in the hour of danger. The working masses also will not fight in their entirety. To guess in advance what part of the social democratic workers will be drawn into the struggle, and when, and what part of the apparatus they will tear along with them, is altogether impossible. That depends upon many circumstances, among them, also, upon the position of the Communist party. The policy of the united front has as its task to separate those who want to fight from those who do not; to push forward those who vacillate; finally to compromise the capitulationist leaders in the eyes of the workers in order to consolidate the fighting capacity of the latter.

How much time has been lost—aimlessly, senselessly, shamefully! How much could have been achieved, even in the last two years alone! Was it not clear in advance that monopolistic capital and its Fascist army would drive the social democracy with fists and blackjacks toward the road of opposition and of self-defense? This prognosis should have been unfolded before the eyes of the entire working class, the initiative should have been taken for the united front and this initiative should have been retained firmly in our hands at every new stage. It was not necessary to shout, nor to scream. An open game could have been played quietly. It would have sufficed to formulate, clear and clear, the inevitability of every next step of the enemy and to set up a practical program of the united front, without exaggerations and without haggling, but also without weakness and without concessions. How high the Communist party would stand today if it had assimilated the A B C of Leninist policy and applied it with the necessary perseverance!

—L. TROTSKY.

On the Proletarian Revolution in the United States

The accelerated pace of the decay of capitalism in the present period, regardless of the ebbs and flows, raises more sharply the question of the coming American revolution. Many workers dismiss this question with a sentence or two. It is either around the corner; a general strike will usher it in; or the revolution in America is decades away. Communists cannot leave this question unanswered. We cannot draw a blue print but we can define the general features of the coming revolution, to enable us to work out tactics and strategy leading toward revolution.

In the post-war period it was the duty of the Communists to settle the question of the state because the leaders of the Second International revised the Marxian concept on this fundamental problem. It was necessary to reexamine the state, explain what it is, and tell the workers that our road to power leads through revolution, to the smashing of the capitalist state and to the establishment of Soviets and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. For the vanguard this is a settled question, especially since the 1917 revolution. Under Lenin and Trotsky this abstraction was brought to life in Russia, but under Stalin the concept of Soviets and of the Dictatorship is kept in the abstract for all other countries.

Unless the Marxists proceed to clothe this abstraction with at least the general outlines of the American form we will be lost on the road between here and power. Up to the present we have not accomplished this task. Due to this shortcoming the Communist party, first under the leadership of the Right wing and now under the leadership of Stalinism has presented tactics and strategy leading in the wrong direction, a direction which will, if continued, prevent us from establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

American Revolution—When?

It is our task to explain the American form, its peculiarities as well as the relations to the first Soviet Republic, not only from the standpoint of the Dictatorship, but especially from the point of view of the process on the road to power. In this respect we can present variants which are possible and eliminate what is not possible. This will enable us to offset the incorrect, harmful, non-Marxian trend of Centristism today.

At one period in the development of the Marxian current in America, before the 1917 revolution, many "Marxists" were positive the revolution would proceed from the maturing highly developed capitalist countries rather mechanically, in their industrial order. The Russian

revolution of 1917 and what followed corrected this non-Marxist theory, but in its place the mechanical materialists, grading as Marxists, have developed the theory that the United States will be the last to have the social revolution, because it is too strong, because it is so highly developed. Marxism gives no grounds for either concept, but some middle-headed Communists do.

The idea of strong links and weak links of the capitalist chains does not flow mechanically from the idea of highly developed and under-developed capitalist countries. Backward countries are not strong links of the capitalist chain but it is false to think that developed countries are strong links of the capitalist world system. Such a concept does not explain the contradictions in this decay stage of capitalism. Germany as a highly developed capitalist country is the best example to refute such mechanical reasoning.

The World Position of U. S. Imperialism

In the present stage the American imperialists play a dominating role in world politics. From this world position flow the factors undermining this strong link of world capitalism. It is laying the basis, with coming sharp turns in world events, to America's becoming a weak link of the chain.

Will the Communist party be equal to its task? Only we can answer this question. The economic foundation of American imperialism no longer rests upon the thousands of world capitalism: in South America, Asia and Europe as well as the whole North American continent. The contradictions of the world capitalists have become the contradictions of American capitalism.

The redivision of the world markets becomes the burning problem of the world imperialists. The revolutionary storms of any nation become of utmost importance for the capitalists in America. American wealth and capital today require a world police force and a world outlook. The economic stability of the United States depends upon the economic stability of world capitalism. The internal contradictions of American capitalism are so great that the American imperialists are forced into deeper water for a solution, and this in turn shakes the whole structure.

The developing civil war in Germany, with the danger of a Fascist dictatorship hanging as a living menace over the Soviet Union and the world proletariat, looms as a military guarantee and a breathing spell for decay capitalism. The contradictions between the imperialist

powers themselves and the contradictions between the imperialists and the Soviet Union are bundled up into a knot in the present German situation. The relation of the German situation to the U. S. will be taken up later.

Our Approach

We must approach the coming revolution in the United States from two angles. First, a theoretical analysis: to consider what kind of a revolution is in store for the United States. Second: a review of the line of march of the party under Stalinist leadership in order to find out if Stalinism is leading in the correct direction.

The American revolution of 1775 was a product of the birth stage of capitalism. The coming revolution will be a product of decay capitalism. The first American revolution was a struggle to establish the bourgeois system. The coming revolution in America will be a struggle to destroy the capitalist system in America. The first revolution was a war between a rising colonial bourgeoisie and its mother country.

The American colonies were unhampered by feudal carry-overs and were able to plow forward swiftly. But the American revolution did not settle all of the problems of the rising bourgeois class. The problem of state power was not entirely to their liking. In Europe, the capitalists were forced to share their power with the feudal landowners. In America the capitalists were forced to share their power with the chattel slave owners. Both groups of capitalists had to compromise with other exploiters because a new enemy, the proletariat, was developing from the left. The bourgeois revolution could not be considered complete so long as the class did not have the state power in their hands, as their own instrument of suppression.

No sooner were accounts with England, the mother country, settled, after 1812, than the struggle between the two American exploiting classes, the rising capitalists and the chattel masters, took on new and sharper forms. A struggle for state power, for example control developed. The carry-over in America was more backward than that which the capitalists of Europe contended with, a backward system warping the substance of the struggle with the race issue, cloak the class problem in the race form.

The Capitalists and the Civil War
Every expansion move the American capitalists made met with resistance from the plantation owner of the South. Only by compromise and joint expeditions of conquest were the capitalists of the north able to push westward. Such

of the bourgeois revolution and settled the question as to who was master of the state. Following the let-up of the post-war dictatorship against the landowners in the South, the world crisis of 1873 ushered in a new period for American development. The capitalists moved forward with rapid strides—towards monopoly capitalism.

A Third Edition of the Bourgeois Revolution?

The question must now be asked: Will America have a third edition of the bourgeois revolution? Are there still carry-overs, are there democratic demands the capitalists must fight for in America, as they did in Russia, in Spain, and in other countries? To say that all of the democratic demands have been realized for all the people of the United States is the height of ignorance but to confuse this with the question of the necessity of a third edition of the bourgeois revolution is even worse.

There are democratic demands and economic needs large sections of the workers and the farmers have which cannot be fulfilled under capitalism. We must fight for these demands as workers. The capitalists are not fighting for

these demands. Whom are they struggling against for these democratic demands? The democratic demands and the economic needs of the Negroes, Mulattoes, Asiatic, Mexican, the foreign born and Indians are not even questions of a bourgeois stage of the coming proletarian revolution, no matter how short its duration. American conditions have not only passed beyond the February period of Russia in 1917 but have also passed beyond the bourgeois stage of the October revolution.

The capitalists of America do not share their power with other exploiters. Other exploiters obtain part of the plunder as subordinated flunkies. Sharing profits as subordinated plunderers does not in any way signify sharing power, as for example, the sharing of power by the landowners, in Europe and Asia. In America there are no exploiting classes preventing the "good progressive" capitalist from carrying out the democratic demands and economic needs. It is the capitalists who thrive and maintain their system by the prevention of the carrying out of the democratic demands and economic needs.

(To be continued)

Chicago Stalinists Reject Offer of Help

(Continued from page 1)

ity after the filing of the petitions up to election day.

We, therefore, request you to immediately supply us with the necessary blanks and instructions for the obtaining of signatures, and to notify us of any meeting to which we can send our speakers and to, in general, indicate to us any activity that we can conduct to help make this campaign a success.

This stand is taken by us in all sincerity, our object being to lend all assistance in the campaign of the Communist party of which we are a faction. We are not deterred in our decision by the fact that our delegates were forcefully ejected from the party United Front Conference. That we have differences on the political contents of the six adopted slogans; criticize the complete lack of the real vital slogans which would connect the immediate demands with the goal of proletarian dictatorship; that we criticize the general course of the campaign whose slow progress is symptomatic rather than accidental; all this does not shake us in a resolution to do all that lies within our power to help bring the Communist position before the masses.

We stand ready to carry out work. Are you ready to accept our proffered help?

We await your immediate reply.

Fraternally,

Organizer, C. L. of A. Chicago Branch

Several precious days elapsed during which the Party made frantic appeals for signatures but no reply came to our letter. A committee from the Branch went to the party district office to find out the reason. It seems that our visit was totally unexpected, since there was no strong-arm reception committee on hand to throw out the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyites", who for some unknown reason wanted to help collect signatures in order to put the party on the ballot.

The spokesman for the Committee, comrade Giganti, reminded the acting district organizer, John Williamson, about our letter and requested to know the reason why we had received no response. The worthy D. O. cracked a smile and stated that they had received our letter and would take it up and let us know their decision. Comrade Giganti thereupon drew Williamson's attention to the short time left for the signatures to be filed and stated that the Left Opposition was willing to set to work immediately to collect signatures providing we were supplied with the necessary blanks. But Johnny very coolly replied that they had no blank petitions on hand, and

that we need not fret; the District would take up our letter and let us know.

After the interview had terminated thus, we left. All of us were greatly astonished at the fact that the District Campaign headquarters should be all out of petition blanks. Of course the thought that Johnny was merely stalling never entered our minds. Neither did we imagine that possibly Johnny was afraid to commit himself definitely on such a very ticklish point, because some aspiring fellow bureaucrat might, on some future occasion, use it against him. But now after a week has almost gone by and still there is no answer, we are becoming very suspicious.

Meanwhile, members of the Left Opposition, who are members of party auxiliaries and T. U. U. L. unions are collecting signatures and turning them over to these organizations. At our street corner meetings we speak on the election campaign and urge the workers to vote Communist. In contradiction to the semi-Social Democratic speeches of the party which concern themselves entirely with immediate demands, we present the Leninist position on parliamentarism. The bureaucrats' attempts to isolate us from the party ranks and from the working class will not succeed. By our practical activity as well as by the popularization of our theoretical stand, we shall draw the party masses ever closer.

—BANZEL.

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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New Wage-Cuts Start

Accentuated Attacks on Workers Prelude to 4th Crisis Year

The fourth winter of the crisis is at hand. The fourth winter of hunger and starvation for millions of unemployed workers in the United States. Many of these workers are eager to know just when a revival will bring back prosperity so they can obtain employment. Many of these workers are looking to the Wall Street boom with hope that it is the first sign of the revival.

Regardless of a brief upturn or a prolonged protracted crisis the fact remains that neither condition holds in store any promises for the workers in their present unorganized condition. While the press speaks of an upturn the bosses are giving the workers an introduction to the fourth winter by a new wave of wage cuts in the basic industries. The defensive struggles of the workers have not yet been transformed into offensive struggles. Much preliminary activity will have to be carried on before we can accomplish this, even with a brief upturn. The capitalists are still on the offensive.

The last three years of the crisis have witnessed drastic inroads into the standard of living of the workers. Mass unemployment, wage cuts, speed-up and worse conditions are the general while victorious defensive struggles to retain part of the gains of the past has been the exception. Now the fourth winter is to be baptized with a wage cut in the basic industries. This will be followed by wage cuts in all the other industries, with a worsening of the conditions of the workers unless we follow the heroic example of the Illinois miners and fight back.

If one really wants to look for more fundamental conditions paving the way for revival, one must look deeper than the stock market, or the price movement and look to more basic factors. One of these factors is the reorganization of labor power to industry at a much lower wage scale. The American capitalists have been successful in reducing the cost of necessary labor in production. All signs indicate that they are preparing the fourth winter for further reductions of the cost of necessary labor in order to increase the surplus labor to counteract the falling rate of profits and enable the capitalists to retain more production in the form of surplus value.

The soft coal miners were slated for a drastic wage cut primarily in the remaining organized fields. They intended to smash the last stronghold of the U. M. W. A. The officials of the U. M. W. A. have already given their consent but they forgot to take into consideration the workers who rebelled against the bosses and their agents in the ranks of the union. The establishment of a new union and the mobilizing of the workers against the wage cuts have strengthened the workers' struggles. Much will depend upon how the workers in the other basic industries act to the pending wage cuts.

The operators and "union leaders" of the Anthracite region met in New York to discuss a 20 to 25% wage cut. The union committee headed by John L. Lewis, "gave no inkling as to its attitude but it is understood a strong protest would be made against the operators' proposals," says the New York Times. Nothing but betrayal can be expected from Lewis and Company. The only road for the anthracite miners, is to follow the lead of the Illinois miners and join hands with them.

The second meeting of the Operators and the Labor Fakers resulted in a "frank discussion" and was a "constructive meeting," according to the New York Times. The Labor Fakers did not oppose the "wage modification" but instead proposed a CUT IN TAXES FOR THE BOSSES TO AVOID WAGE REDUCTIONS.

In the Railroad section of the American Industries the railroad executives propose a second wage cut. The railroads were so successful in their "United Front" in the last 10 per cent wage cut that they want to increase it by another 20 per cent. The leaders of 21 unions are "amazed" by the idea of another cut. But it is their own sell out in the last negotiations which helps make the present demand possible. The railroads have laid off an increasing number of workers, at least 100,000 since last February, rather than reduce hours and employ more workers as desired by the Unions.

On Monday, September the 5th the Longshoremen and Ship Owners held a conference in New York. The Ship Owners insisted that a big wage cut is necessary if they are to compete with other shipping lines. Joseph T. Ryan, president of the Longshoremen's Association and Tammany boss says the men will be "reasonable". But it is well to remember that Ryan like Lewis is an agent of the bosses and nothing but betrayal can be expected from him.

In New York, Mayor McKee's economy drive has made drastic inroads on the workers' standards. He demands wage reductions all around: the 36,000 teachers, however, have announced they will resist.

The Stock market had its boom and in a few days ran up a paper profit of over 7 billion dollars but at the same time unemployment has increased, wages are going down, retail trade has fallen off over 30% from a year ago and carloads for the week ending August 13th were down more than 30% from a year ago.

The wage cuts announced in these basic industries are the opening guns of a wage cutting campaign that will sweep the whole nation, down to the lowest paid sections of our class. Twice before in the present crisis such organized wage cutting campaigns have run their course throughout the country. Each time they have been started by talk of a return to prosperity and each time the first guns were fired at the steel, railroad or coal mine workers.

American imperialism is reorganizing industry. They are reorganizing industry at the expense of the workers. If they succeed and thereby become enabled to compete on the international market with other imperialists there will be some "prosperity" for the capitalists. This does not include the workers. The capitalist prosperity will mean a new form of greater exploitation, mass unemployment and misery for the workers.

SIX VOTES AGAINST 2 THOUSAND

Stalino-pacifism Wins in Amsterdam

Six delegates, those of the International Left Opposition, voted to reject the pacifist manifesto of the notorious Amsterdam Barbusse Congress. Not because they reject the struggle against war but because they remain true to the Leninist position against any shoddy compromise with pacifism. Even if these two thousand delegates had not been, for the most part, doctors' widows, sopranos, bureaucratic clerks and the like, the relationship of numbers would have been no reason for a Communist surrender of principle. It is precisely in the question of war that revolutionary Marxism had to base itself upon meager forces. In spite of that, it arrived at victory. In this case, it was a question of two points primarily: to advocate clearly the revolutionary standpoint towards the war question and further, to sound the alarm before this international forum about the fact that the best fighters of the civil war against imperialism are today languishing in exile and imprisonment.

This aim was attained. The sidewalks all around the place where the Congress was held in Amsterdam, were inscribed with our slogans. Not a step could be taken without encountering slogans like "Bring Trotsky back to the U. S. S. R.!", "Long live Trotsky and Rakovsky!", etc. Our material was in everybody's hands, in spite of every attempt to terrorize our comrades. The speech of our Indo-Chinese comrade, Ra, delivered on Sat. amidst the greatest applause, was, significantly enough, omitted from the Congress bulletins. Our comrade Molinier of France, as representative of the Congress War Victims, was howled down in the Sunday discussion, and another French comrade was manhandled, so that even the President had to apologize, but all of this only with the result that the same evening everybody spoke only about Trotsky and Muenzenberg had to wheel into position his whole artillery of falsehood against Trotsky, the "pacifist".

The Left Opposition was represented by Greek organizations like the Carpenters' Union, the Iron Workers' Union, the War Victims, etc., and several French organizations. Because of police and material difficulties, our Greek comrades were compelled to transfer their credentials to proxy delegates abroad.

Our declaration to the Anti-War Congress, published in the Militant two weeks ago, was distributed in hundreds of copies to all the delegates, translated into the German, French, English and Russian languages. So also were a mass of other leaflets and pamphlet distributed. At the time of voting, our comrades presented a special declaration, advocating the Leninist struggle against pacifist confusion. On the basis of the Congress, we succeeded in convincing numerous Communist workers that the "Trotskyists" are the best representatives of Lenin's teachings. Two thousand to six figures to be proud of in these times of Stalinist degeneration and demoralization!

In coming numbers, we will present a detailed report of the Congress.

VOTE COMMUNIST!

Urgent Appeal

Last week we addressed the question to our readers and supporters: "Will The Militant continue to appear regularly?" We were compelled to address it to you. We had no other choice. We can record a few responses to our appeal; but entirely insufficient. We must say frankly that the continued regular appearance of The Militant is very seriously endangered.

Our obligations have increased and with them our expenses. Our opportunities for new gains are enhanced but we have not the means to take advantage of them. We are now printing enlarged editions and shipping bundles to the mine fields. That we must continue. We have a couple of young organizers there building up The Militant circulation and building our organization to help in this vital struggle. We had to get out additional material to fight back the Stalinist pogrom campaign. We are moving

forward on these opportunities available but the creditors are threatening to close down on us. As a matter of cold fact we cannot meet our expenses unless you come to our assistance.

You would not want to see The Militant discontinued or any enforced retrenchments upon its regular appearance. But that is what we face, and that we say to you openly and frankly. Unless our readers and supporters assist, there is no other way out. We know you can do something either in the way of a contribution yourself, or by enlisting some of your friends and comrades to help. But that much we absolutely depend upon you to do. We leave the decision in your hands. If you want to secure the continued appearance of The Militant you will do your utmost. If not we will be compelled to retrench. Your assistance is urgently needed!

Trotsky Barred from Czechoslovakia

After reports that Leon Trotsky would be granted permission to spend a few weeks in Piestyan Spa, Czechoslovakia, purely for the purpose of improving his health, it is now announced that "Czech Nationalist propaganda against Leon Trotsky's proposed visit to the Piestyan Spa apparently has been successful. . . . At a Cabinet council today Minister of the Interior Sziavik, who is an Agrarian, declared he would be unable to take responsibility for M. Trotsky's safety at Piestyan. The Consular Service also states it is unable to grant M. Trotsky a visa as he does not possess a passport" (New York Times, September 15' 1932.)

So much for the counterfeit democracy of the Czech republic, vassal state to the country which "embodies" the traditions of democratic revolution, France. Nor was very much else to be expected from the puppet states of imperialism in view of the attitude of their masters. Comrade

Trotsky now has the distinction of having been refused, not merely the right of asylum, but even the opportunity to enter a capitalist country for a short period for his health—a refusal now undersigned by the British Labor government, the French republic, Holland, the Germany of the social democracy and the Catholics, the "republic" of Spain—and the Soviet Union.

Upon the announcement that permission had been granted, the Stalinist press, of course, launched another of its old stink-bombs against the Opposition: "Trotsky has been invited to Czechoslovakia to help lead the imperialist struggle against the Soviet Union." Villification of this sort cannot conceal, try though it may, the crime committed by Stalin in sending comrade Trotsky into the midst of the Russian White Guards concentrated in Constantinople under the rule of Stalin's bosom friend, Kemei Pascha.

An Open Letter to John Watt

Standpoint of the Left Opposition in the Present Miners' Struggle

John J. Watt,
Springfield, Ill.

Dear Comrade Watt:

The purpose of this letter is to review the outburst that occurred on Friday, Sept. 8, at the local Socialist party branch at which you were the main speaker, and also to give you my opinion of what I think of the whole affair.

First a brief resume of your speech: 1. You began by saying that you were very glad to hear the message that was delivered on the previous night by the Socialist party candidate for Governor of Indiana (Powers Hapgood) and the Socialist party organizer of West Virginia (Most), that the only reason the Socialist party got such a small audience was because the miners of Springfield did not know that such distinguished socialists were in Springfield and if the miners of Springfield really knew that they were in town that the largest hall in Springfield would have been filled.

2. That you were not affiliated to any political group. That there was some good in all groups together. 3. Then you went on to a general expose of the general economic situation in the country and the mining situation in particular. Reading from a mass of documents—the Illinois Miner—United Mine Workers Journal—and the Congressional Record.

4. You answered the mis-statements that are being circulated against you. 5. You criticized the miners for the way they are carrying on the fight against Walker-Lewis coal operators.

(a) That instead of marching to West Frankfort, they should have marched on Lewis' and Walker's homes.

(b) Instead of signing up individual coal operators with the Progressive Miners Union, to strike until able to get a district contract.

(c) And a number of other points. 6. You brought forth your proposals for winning the strike and building the P. M. U. of A. Such as:

1. Broad United Front.
2. Mass Demonstrations
3. 8-hour day, 6-day week.
4. Re-instatement of expelled.
5. Etc.—etc.

7. You ended your speech with the reading of the United States Declaration of Independence.

In my reply to your speech, I tried to stress the following points:

1. That the present miners' struggle is part of the general political struggle against capitalism. That only with the living weapons that Marx, Lenin and Trotsky gave us through their teachings and their actions can we understand correctly the role which the working class as a whole must take part in.

2. The fight of the Left wingers in the new Miners' union must be class struggle, a class collaboration.

3. I closed the Socialist party lead-

ership as indirect agents of Lewis-Walker, who are the agents of the coal operators.

(a) The National Committee's (of the Socialist party) decision on the Illinois miners' struggle which is: "Hands off the internal struggle between the miners and union officials."

(b) The part played by Jack Hindmarsh, Richard Glover and Jack Reed, all leading Socialists, in trying to defeat the miners in their fight against the coal operators and their hunks, the Lewises and Walkers.

(Continued on page 4)

«Pacifism» at Work in Gran Chaco

Some figures which have leaked out of the League of Nations give away the whole capitalist ballyhoo about disarmament. The war which is raging in the Gran Chacos is only the latest form of the struggle between Bolivia and Paraguay, which they began in 1923, and which is a reflection of the greater and profounder struggle of the world-wide imperialism, British and American. Since 1923 this dispute has been pending before the League Council, of which Britain is a member. In the same year the dispute was submitted for settlement to the Pan-American Commission in which the United States is the dominating member.

Both of these "peace" bodies have made desultory plays at "settling" the dispute. At the same time they have been shipping munitions in increased quantities to both countries. With charming impartiality the United States sold, between the years 1928 and 1930, \$49,000 worth of powder to Bolivia; and \$24,000 in machine guns to Paraguay.

The two countries were a futile market for munitions shipments for Belgium, Chile, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, and the United States. Yet all of these countries did not fail to place themselves on record as opposed to the forcible settlement of disputes and some of them signed by the Kellogg Peace Pact. But business is business and a treaty is only a scrap of paper. Capitalist pacifism and morality are intended for the workers to keep them faithful slaves of the capitalist juggernaut. As for the rest it is a question of cold calculation around profits and the political, diplomatic, and military positions and maneuvers necessary to maintain the profit.

Preparations are now being completed for the launching of the Workers' School of the Communist League of America (Opposition), which will open its classes in approximately one month. Further announcements on the School will be made in an early issue so that all those interested in it may obtain full details.

Unity Is Urgent Need of Illinois Miners

National Class Struggle Union Will Win!

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

A great many of the present leaders of the new Progressive Miners Union expect to solve the present coal problem in Illinois within the limits of capitalism in Illinois, that if the "Reds" keep their feet and hands out, they will be able to settle their differences with the Lewis machine and the coal operators. Then again, efforts are made to push the political struggle into the background, as for instance the attempt by Buck Roberts who was acting as chairman at the Taylorville meeting, to gag comrade Mayer who attempted to speak about the conditions of the miners in the S. U. Buck was prevented because of the militancy of the miners. Then again, the attack against the International Labor Defense at the Gillespie convention because it was a Communist organization. And again, the statement issued by Gillespie headquarters with reference to Foster speaking in Gillespie which declares as follows:

"We, the U. M. W. of A. of Illinois,

are fighting against the illegal contract forced on us by our officials and will not allow any outsiders to interfere with our policy adopted at our la. state-wide conference held in Bendis."

The plain brutal truth is that if the miners of Illinois mean to build a new militant miners' union and secure better conditions they must not only put up an intense struggle against the coal operators and the Lewis machine; not only be prepared to endure hardships; but the Illinois miners must broaden out on a more comprehensive scale. In other words, the Progressive Miners Union in building and leading the miners of Illinois must find allies, sympathizers and supporters from the working-class. Not only unity with miners in other states, but a united front with all working-class organizations. Further it is necessary to set before the miners the class struggle in sharp and simple terms, so that they may be able to understand the true nature of the capitalist system. Finally they must endeavor to bring about a fighting combination with the railroad and other workers.

Who Is Leading?

This is a brief characterization of the miners who are taking a leading part in directing the affairs of the Progressive Miners Union.

Dan McGill, the leader of the Springfield group. Democrat. While President of the Springfield Central Labor Body (A. F. L.) ran for senator from this district on the Democratic ticket. Was removed by President Green as president of the Central body because he supported Walker-Fishwick and was against Lewis.

Ed. Mabie, was one of Lewis' leaders in Springfield until this present struggle. Delegate to the last convention of Lewis' at Indianapolis. Joined Socialist Party in the last two weeks.

Bryon Hampries. Lived in Springfield for many years—never took any part in any struggle against any officials until the rank and file convention that nominated him for Vice-President. Always against all "Reds". As is apparent, an opportunist of the worst type.

Buck Roberts. Formerly a mine boss. 100% American. Springfield.

Wm. Keck, Belleville, Socialist. Secretary of the Rank and File Union and now Secretary of the Progressive Miners Union. Known to be sincere and honest.

Alex Fraser & Andy Steed. The two always go together. Product of the British Minority Movement. Leaders of the Gillespie sub-district in the present struggle. Good timber in any movement.

Joe Goett, Peoria, formerly sub-district president of the Peoria sub-district, and then vice-president of Lewis' provisional officials in Illinois.

Pat Ansbury, formerly a Lewis supporter against Fishwick-Walker fight. Took an active part in the rank and file Union that was organized at Belleville and when the Rank and File Union merged with Walker's clique, Pat was elected Board Member from the Franklin county sub-district. Aggressive fighter and has guts. Got his experience in the British Labor movement. In my opinion, it was Ansbury that started the present struggle against Walker and Lewis when Ansbury organized the Franklin county march on Springfield of 3,000 miners, a few days after the miners found out that Walker had signed the first contract. It was that march which aroused the miners of Illinois. I don't know his present status politically. But in all of his speeches that I have heard he already brought in the class issue and called for a broad united front with all working class organizations. At the Gillespie convention where the Progressive Miners Union was formed, the International Labor Defense offered defense and the services of their lawyers and it was Ansbury that made the attack against the I. L. D. because it was a Communist organization. Of course, much of the bitterness against Communism is due to the past mistakes of the Stalinists and due to its present mistake of creating a condition in which the party drives all its would-be allies, and close supporters and sympathizers away from Communism.

Role of the Socialist Party

True to its historic role as capitalist agents in the ranks of the workers, the Socialist party, in the present struggle in the Illinois coal fields is giving support to Walker and Lewis who are the agents of the coal-operators. The National Committee of the Socialist party has made a decision that the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party will take no sides in the struggle between the miners of Illinois who are fighting coal-operators, and their agents, the Walkers and Lewises, but leaves it open

WHERE IS 7th WORLD CONGRESS?

What Is Happening to the C. I. ?

The Communist International was founded in March 1919 as the General Staff of the World Revolution. In the days preceding the death of Lenin and the removal of Trotsky and the Left Opposition from effective participation in the councils of the International, it lived up to this proud title. From the Communist International and its Congress emanated words of inspiration and guidance to the international revolutionary vanguard. No situation was allowed to pass without the energetic and timely intervention of the world Communist leadership.

Such an intervention, along the lines set out by Lenin and the other great founders of the Comintern, is perhaps more imperative at the present time than at any other period in the past several years. The convulsions shaking the structure of world capitalism in the present crisis demand a clear line of revolutionary action, expressed by those who have the authority and the responsibility that goes with it. The threat of war in Manchuria, connected as it is with all the problems of the Chinese revolution, add greater weight to the demand for international direction. On top of these and other acute questions, is the problem of Germany, the key to the international situation.

The Silence of the Executive

Yet the Executive Committee of the Communist International remains entirely silent. Not a single pronouncement has appeared in its name in the eventful month after month that have passed in recent times. The individual national parties, a "secretariat" here and there, express or half-express an opinion on the burning problems of the international proletarian movement, but the "General Staff" maintains its rigid, ominous silence.

Why? Because the Stalinist clique which has usurped the leadership of the Comintern hopes thereby to escape the responsibility for the catastrophes which its present course is preparing with its exorable certainty. Stalin is as silent as the tomb into which he has converted the Comintern—the movement of which he is today the "acknowledged leader." The Comintern itself is silent. Its silence is not merely in violation of its own statutes, but it is a political crime of far-reaching historical consequences.

Left without guidance, or the possibility of coming together in order to take counsel, judge the situation and subject the preceding course to a minute, critical examination with the aim of changing it, the international Communist movement is floundering about in the storm of events without chart, sails, rudder or helmsman.

The absolutely imperative initial step that must be taken in order to emerge from this blindness and impotence is the

Convocation of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern!

The First Congress was held on March 2, 1919. The Second World Congress was held on July 19, 1920. The Third Congress opened on June 22, 1921. The Fourth Congress was held on November 5, 1922. As we see, in Lenin's time the World Congresses of the Communist International were held at intervals of one or two years. (Continued on page 4)

The Opposition at Work

Shachtman's Meetings in Chicago

CHICAGO.—A series of successful meetings held here during the brief stay of comrade Max Shachtman resulted in a spurt forward for the Left Opposition in Chicago. The largest meeting held was one in Humboldt Hall where with the intense heat of the evening, more than 100 workers appeared and listened with close interest to the unfolding of the Left Opposition's standpoint on the German events, which was followed by a number of questions from all over the hall on various problems affecting the views of our group. Very few of the many Party and Y. C. L. members and sympathizers present showed that blind hostility which the bureaucrats seek to instill in them, and comrade John Edwards, chairman of the meeting, received a warm reception when he exposed the frame-up launched against the opposition in New York in connection with the death of two workers at the 7th Street meeting. A good collection was taken up for the Militant.

At the end of the same week, a comradely supper party was held at the home of comrade Mashow, which was filled to the very doors with League members and sympathizers, and even Party members and friends. Shachtman spoke on the role of the Left wing in the Communist movement and the historical tasks imposed upon it by the bankruptcy of the Stalinist regime. Here too several questions were asked and answered to clarify the standpoint of our movement. Some twenty-five dollars were taken in as a result of the get-together and all those who attended left in good spirits.

Youth Meetings

Shachtman also met with the members of the Young Spartacus Club which has been formed here around a group of Young Oppositionists who were expelled from the Young Communist League by the desperate bureaucrats, although they were among the most active and advanced comrades in the League. Shachtman gave an outline of the development of the revolutionary youth movement in America and the task to be performed by the young Oppositionists coming into our movement. The youth organization here is advancing rapidly despite all attempts of the Stalinists to dam our progress. Threats made by the latter have not availed to stop the fraternization of the young comrades in both organizations, and increasing sympathy among the Y. C. L. members is being constantly manifested.

The Spartacus Youth Club also held an open meeting which was attended by more than 50 comrades, most of them young comrades, who came to hear Shachtman speak on Anti War Congress masquerade of Stalinism. Until midnight the questions and answers flew thick and fast between the speaker and the Stalinist representatives, one of whom disgraced himself thoroughly, as well as the League of which he is an active functionary. He argued in favor of Communists joining capitalist ministerial cabinets as "a step toward taking power." Also, he declared, the fact that Tang Ping Shan, as Minister of Agriculture in the Hankow government in 1927, headed an army to suppress the peasant uprisings was to be explained by the fact that "Communists must do anti-militarist work!" So said is the low state to which the militants in the Stalinist movement have been debased, that even the friends of the Stalinist who were present urged him to remain silent and virtually apologized for him on the floor. The Young Spartacus Club comrades, in addition, are beginning to make headway also among the members of the young Socialist organization who have been moving towards Communism but have been repulsed by the antics of the Stalinist bureaucrats. The Opposition places great hope in the development of the youth movement, especially in Chicago, where an excellent group exists. The need for drawing more working youth into the group is keenly felt and measures will be taken to meet the situation.

The following night, Shachtman spoke on "Problems of the Development of the U. S. S. R.," upon the invitation of the Educational Committee of the north side section of the National Students' League. At the last minute the Y. C. L. priest-hood tried to maneuver the meeting in order to prevent Shachtman from speaking. Another speaker was arbitrarily sent to the meeting so as to shut out the Oppositionist, but the trick did not succeed. The audience of 50 students, workers, Party and League members, voted by a majority to hear the scheduled lecture and comrade Shachtman was able to proceed under the chairmanship of comrade Nathan Gould, one of the most active militants of the Young Communist League who was recently expelled. The interest of the audience may be gauged by the fact that the meeting was adjourned at 1:30 in the morning, after hours of discussion and questions.

A day later, Shachtman spoke briefly at the meeting of the Chicago branch of the Opposition on the growth of the movement in Europe, Asia, the American continents and South Africa. The lateness of the hour prevented more than a short discussion. At the same meeting plans were laid for the winter's activities of the Chicago League which are to be facilitated by the acquisition of a regular headquarters, the holding of forums and other meetings, etc.

South Side Meeting

The last Sunday of his stay was occupied by two more meetings for Shachtman. The first took place at the South Side Forum in Washington Park, where Shachtman again spoke on the German

situation, the danger of Fascism to the Soviet Union, the German and international working class, and explained the standpoint of the Opposition. Several hundred workers were in attendance, and although he spoke during the dinner hour, they listened attentively to the very end.

The same evening Shachtman spoke on the role of the Left Opposition at a foundation meeting for the "Friends of the Militant Club" which has been organized by friends and sympathizers of the Militant in Chicago. All those who were present pledged to join the club. The Labor Day week-end prevented a full attendance by many who had signified their intention of becoming members, and it is expected that the Club will grow rapidly and become a rallying center for the radicals in Chicago. Doctor Ruby was selected as secretary and plans are being made for the elaboration of activities for the coming fall and winter period.—X.

Opposition Expands Its Activities

With the rising tide of the class struggle everywhere the Left Opposition is striving to carry out the tasks imposed on it by its historic mission. It is breaking new ground wherever the objective situation and its forces enable it to. The small size of its membership still imposes on it a certain modesty in its efforts. But these are only, we may say, the accords from which will grow the revolutionary oaks of tomorrow.

Most important of our present activities is the work we are doing in the Illinois coal fields. There we have excellent prospects and a tremendous uphill struggle. But the party's false and damaging policies in the past period have estranged the bulk of the miners from Communism with the result that they look on every spokesman for Communism with suspicion. Against this obstacle our comrades in the field, both those who live and work there and those who have gone out as field organizers, are striving to redeem the lost prestige of Communism.

They are trying to organize branches of the L. O. and groups of sympathizers. They are following up the shipments of the hundreds of Militants we are making weekly to establish a base for a wider circulation. And they are trying to establish workers' correspondence direct from the miners themselves.

All reports from the field to date tell a story of the great work being done in the front rank of the struggle. The reports tell, too, an alarming story of the swift rise of the Socialist party and the isolation of the Communist party, held back from its rightful place at the head of the struggle by the incorrect policies of its leadership. What is needed from us is a great effort to put forward the banner of Communism. For this we need organizers, literature and money. We are asking our sympathizers to help immediately with donations. Rush all funds to the MILITANT, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

Davenport, Iowa

Recently, possibilities for work for the Left Opposition have developed in Davenport, Iowa. Comrade Satir from Chicago has gone to Davenport. He will also do organizational and propaganda work in Muscatine, and Council Bluffs. Reports from that area tell another story of a political group making political and organizational capital of the blunders of the Stalinists. This time it is the Proletarian party which is trying to salvage for its own ends the wreckage left behind by the Stalinists. Watch the Militant for reports of comrade Satir's work. Two comrades from the Minneapolis branch are working in Des Moines together with comrades in the party. They are distributing Militants and literature and are sowing the ground for future organizational reaping. Watch the Militant for reports of their work.

N. Y. Picnic A Success

The New York picnic was a success. The weather was the best we could ask for, allowing a large turnout of comrades and sympathizers who were well taken care of by the food committee's organization of the banquet and refreshments. The Young Spartacus Club trimmed the League team and won the ball game.

Comrade Shachtman spoke on the Left Opposition, dealing with the German struggle. The Friends of the Soviet Union and the Tremont Workers Clubs held picnics in adjoining plots. Friendly discussions were held by comrades all day, but the climax was reached when over fifty of these workers came over to listen to our speaker. The discussion period was lively, interesting and orderly. Many Stalinist sympathizers left the discussion with a better understanding of the Marxian position of the Left Opposition. The Communist worker of the Centrist faction is showing greater interest in our meetings, our indoor meetings, our street meetings and our picnics. The Militant received \$40.00 from the picnic.

FAIRY TALES AND FAIRY TALES

A returned delegate has said that the most absorbing thing at the Barbusse Amsterdam Congress was the remarkable way Martin Anderson Nexo, Danish writer, had of telling fairy tales. An even more remarkable thing is the manner in which pacifist fairy tales are being told today by the Stalinists in the name of Communism.

The Four Portraits of Chiang Kai-Shek

What Happened to the Ones Sent to Stalin, Rykov and Voroshilov, and the One for . . . Trotsky

EXTRACTS FROM THE ARCHIVES OF STALINIST UNITED FRONT POLICY

On April 5, 1927, Stalin defended his alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek before a select meeting of party officials in the Moscow Hall of the Columns. "Borodin is vigilant!" Through the intermediary of a vigilant agent he hoped to co-ordinate the struggle of the classes and to utilize it. On April 11, 1927, Chiang Kai-Shek after having smashed the proletariat, carried through his coup d'etat in Shanghai. Shortly before the overthrow, Chiang Kai-Shek still found time to exchange portraits with Stalin, Rykov and Voroshilov, through the medium of Stalin's personal agent in China, Bubnov. It should not be forgotten that in those days the Kuo Min Tang belonged to the Communist International with an advisory vote. The fourth portrait of Chiang Kai-Shek was intended for an exchange with . . . Trotsky. The Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. not only sent along Chiang Kai-Shek's portrait with a note to Trotsky but also categorically demanded that Trotsky promptly send back to the Secretariat his own portrait for transmission to Chiang, with a corresponding dedication. Behind this whole action, it is plain, stood the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The supposition advanced in the Trotsky letter reproduced below, that all this was happening "without the knowledge of the leading persons" is naturally meant ironically. We already know that Stalin did at that time exchange his portrait for that of his Chinese ally. Here is Trotsky's letter:

To the Eastern Secretariat of the E. C. C. I.
Copy: To the Presidium of the E. C. C. I.
and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee:
Nr. 45-c

Returned from leave of absence, I found the photograph of Chiang Kai-Shek sent me through the Eastern Department of the E. C. C. I. and the request promptly to send him my autographed picture. Had I received such a request through the Foreign Office then, regardless of my attitude toward this request, I would find the fact itself explainable. But it is absolutely incomprehensible to me why the Eastern Department of the E. C. C. I.—the international organization of the Communist vanguard of the proletariat—occupies itself with such a thoroughly compromising matter as the spreading of portraits of Chiang Kai-Shek, on top of that—as a result of a malicious irony of fate—on the eve of the coup d'etat carried out by him. I do not doubt that this job, unseemly for the E. C. C. I., was done by some employee of the Eastern Department not empowered to do it, without the knowledge of the leading persons and especially of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I., as a consequence of which I deem it necessary to bring this distasteful affair to your attention. The picture of Chiang Kai-Shek I am herewith returning.

With Communist Greetings
April 18, 1927 L. TROTSKY.

A Reply to Comrade Allard

Dear Comrade Allard:

Your letter of August 31 (published as an answer to the party bureaucrats in last week's Militant) calls for some clarification. First of all let us say that we fully recognize the enormous provocation from the bureaucratic party leaders to which you have been subjected over a period of time. You have acted as a militant on the firing line and in the leadership of a mass movement fighting for correct policies. This is the reason for the provocation. In view of your reaction is understandable; but your conclusion is faulty.

The Party and Its Errors

Our attitude to the party we must define correctly and precisely. We defend the Communist party at all times, but we defend none of its mistakes. Our defense presupposes a fight against the false views, tactics, methods and policies of its leadership. In this sense we make a distinction between the party and its bureaucratic leadership, and only in that manner can we correctly defend the party.

This is not a new conclusion which we have come to just recently. On the contrary, it has formed a basic principle of the Left Opposition platform since its inception, and all experiences so far have fully substantiated its validity. This conclusion proceeds from our recognition of the great role assigned by history to the Communist party. The proletarian revolution is inconceivable without the leadership of the Communist party. To prepare for the attainment of that goal the every-day working class struggles require the active intervention and direction of the Communist party. In order to illustrate this latter point we need only cite the situation at present existing in the Illinois coal fields.

You have there a powerful movement now marching in a progressive direction. It is made up of workers who have learned many bitter lessons and who have therefore broken with the past. Its leadership is composed of elements of various views and tendencies, ranging from the outright conservative of capitalist ideology to the Communist view. These various tendencies will pull in different directions with the conservative ones applying the brakes upon the progressive development which is so necessary, and driving the movement backward. While a solid rank and file control is essential for the success of the new union it is just as necessary that it have a leadership conscious of its tasks and capable of pursuing a genuine progressive course. Is there any possible way of guaranteeing this without a Communist nucleus functioning actively, constantly exerting its influence and clearly showing this direction. You will readily agree with us that all genuine Left wingers should function in an organized manner within this mass movement to help insure a correct course. But that would also be a hopeless task without the initiative of a Communist nucleus. Needless to add that in general, in the decisive struggles which will face the new union, this responsibility of the Communist forces only multiplies. These examples we believe are sufficient to emphasize the role, the duty and the tasks of the Communist party in the revolutionary perspectives as well as in the every-day working class problems.

Blunders of Stalinism

However, and here we come to an extremely important question, it is precisely in this role and in these duties that the Communist party has failed most glaringly since its leadership fell into the hands of the Stalin regime. We have repeated time and again the examples of the fatally false policies pursued by this regime in the Chinese revolution of 1925-27, in the British general strike of 1926 and now being repeated in the extremely critical situation in Germany today. It is repeated again in workers'

struggles of today in America, though on a smaller and less decisive scale. From these false concepts and wrong policies flow the bureaucratic method and practices which not only stifles the party and renders it impotent, unable to develop and grow in objectively favorable situations, but strangles its activities and the movements it influences and controls. This prevents the party from fulfilling its great historic mission, it prevents it from functioning as an active factor giving correct direction to the every-day struggles. It alienates the workers from the party.

Despite all this, or we may say particularly because of this, our duty becomes the more clearly outlined. We recognize that the Communist party can fulfill its historic mission and its tasks of today only through a correct Marxian orientation. We know how essential the Communist party is, and that it is the only workers' political party. This is why we make the distinction between the Communist party and the mistakes of its leadership. This also defines our attitude to the party. We do not assume to function in its place in the sense of taking over the duties of the party. But we must combat the wrong reactions of workers who, because of these mistakes, turn against the ideas of Communism. We must uphold the banner of Communism, and hence, to regenerate the party, to restore it to the basis of Marx and Lenin becomes the fundamental objective. Combining this with our active participation in the class struggle, in the solution of the every-day problems of the working class, we will carry forward the banner of Communism and fight for the realization of its ideas. This is our task to which we must devote ourselves in earnest. It proceeds through the kind of struggles in which you and others of our comrades are now so actively engaged.

Question of United Front

It is in direct accord with the above that we also want to correct the statement in your letter of invitation to "the rank and file of the National Miners Union" (for a united front). Maintaining this attitude would be to imitate the mistakes of the Stalinist bureaucrats, in reversed form. The National Miners Union we consider as a bona fide workers' organization. Moreover it is a Left wing union. Our attitude to this union as well as to the other unions named by you must be that of a genuine united front. Hence we must approach these unions, and especially the Left union, officially. In our united front policy, as an organization to be invited through its elected leadership, simultaneously urging the rank and file membership that the invitation be accepted.

Hoping this will help to clear up these few points. I remain

Fraternally yours,
ARNE SWABECK.

Watch the coming number of the Militant!

JAPAN

Beginning in the next issue of the Militant, we plan to publish a series of timely articles on the developments of capitalism in Japan and the present situation in that great imperialist power of the Orient. The series of articles is by Louis Weber who has devoted himself to an extensive study of Japanese conditions and developments and especially in view of the recent events in Manchuria, the theme of the series acquires extraordinary importance and interest.

Letters from Militants

Shipstead Exposes His Bankruptcy

MINNEAPOLIS.—Yesterday, Sunday, September 4th, the Minneapolis Central Labor Union held its annual labor picnic at Powderhorn Park with its program of sports, refreshments and speaking. The writer together with other members of the Communist League attended the picnic to listen to the speakers and to place our constructive criticism on the political bankruptcy of their utterances while mingling with the workers present.

During the entire program, speaker after speaker reminded the workers of their plight of mounting taxation and growing unemployment, of the heavy concentration of wealth in the last twenty years on the one hand and growing poverty with all its attendant miseries on the other. But not one single statement was made by any of them which I heard as to what the workers ought to do about it.

Senator Henrik Shipstead, who has spent ten years in the U. S. Senate as a Farmer-Laborite and during that time has traveled extensively in America and Europe for his own entertainment, was the main speaker of the afternoon. The platform was equipped with amplifiers to convey the words spoken at the microphone to the thousands of workers, unemployed and partly employed, who waited in vain for instructions as to what to do with their economic ills. It was a splendid opportunity for anyone permitted to use that microphone to spread ideas to large numbers of workers eager to listen and learn. The equipment was there, the workers by the thousands were there but those who could and would give them advice were carefully kept from the platform. Instead it was used by labor bureaucrats, public officials and Farmer-Labor politicians who either had no advice to offer the workers or lacked the courage to do so.

Shipstead Exposes His Political Bankruptcy

The Senator spoke at length on the laborer and his labor power which the Creator had given him at his birth and collected at his death. That the creation did not stop on the sixth day as stated in genesis, but that labor continues to create and produce. He spoke of wealth concentration, unsound financing on and off the gold standard and inflation and deflation of money, etc., etc. He also informed the workers of the misery and suffering which flows from prolonged and growing unemployment. This was, no doubt, refreshing news and very instructive to the thousands of Minneapolis workers who have been out of jobs for the last two years and stood in line for soup and charity. After his lamentation on bad conditions and poor statesmanship at Washington he abruptly ended his talk by paying his compliments to Governor Olson, who was absent speaking somewhere else. So after the workers had patiently waited and listened to the flow of words from the amplifiers telling them of their suffering they were all of a sudden left there standing by the Senator without one single suggestion or practical proposal as to what to do about their growing difficulties.

Of course we Communists did not expect anything else from the characters who spoke but, no doubt, many of the workers did. We as Communists and trade unionists went to the Minneapolis labor picnic to get more and concrete evidence of the political bankruptcy of those who spoke and whom the great masses of workers have so far followed and supported for political leadership. This cumulative evidence we as Communists use in a practical way to help and direct the workers, step by step, towards the proper goal through the proper medium, the Communist party, with a Communist program.

The League members distributed a large number of the leaflet issued by the National Committee on the German situation and handbills announcing our open forum meeting next Saturday, at 1530 East Franklin Avenue and our "Hard Time Weiner Roast" at Glenwood Park next Sunday, September 11th. "The Attitude of the Farmer-Labor Party towards the Farmers' Strike" will be the subject for discussion at the open forum meeting, and "The Civil War in Germany Today" will be the subject discussed at the Glenwood Park affair. By attending both of these meetings workers, employed or unemployed, will get information concerning their problems which they were unable to get from those who were privileged to speak at the well attended picnic of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union.

—O. M.

Another «Leader» Against War

LOS ANGELES.—

Among the chosen leaders of the "World Congress Against War" appears the name of Upton Sinclair as one of the organizers of the movement, along with H. G. Wells—another smug little bourgeois philistine, as Lenin once contemptuously referred to him.

Sinclair's shifty "revolutionary" record—as a proletarian propagandist of Prohibition, socialism and patriotic pacifism—is pretty well known, even to his friends and comrades on Daily Worker and the New Masses; but the following data may be of interest to your readers—other than the Stalinists (who have to read The Militant on the sly, to keep posted on the revolutionary situation).

In opposition to the official stand taken by the Socialist Party of America—in which he was and is a shining light—Sinclair issued a manifesto or "round robin" letter during the World War, mobilizing the intellectuals in the party to come out openly in support of the Allies. The leading Socialist workers were appealed to, to take sides in the greatest organized slaughter of human beings in the history of the world. Many of the most prominent Socialists in America responded to the call. Spargo, Walling, Stokes, (Ghent, A. M. Simons, Charles Edward Russell, Frank Born, Allan Benson (one time Socialist candidate for President)—and other "Marxist" renegades—joined up with the forces of imperialism, and devoted their talents to the service of their capitalist masters—in persuading the workers to destroy one another "to make the world safe for Democracy!"

In 1918, during the progress of the war, Upton Sinclair—the great champion of peace (in peace-time)—declared to the writer, in just these words, that "the salvation of society depends on how many Germans we can kill!"

As a confirmation that these were the true sentiments of this professed pacifist, I have in my possession a letter, dated Pasadena, California, June 22, 1918, which Upton Sinclair wrote—and sent to me through the U. S. Postoffice, where it was opened by the authorities—condemning my attitude toward the war. In this letter, he said:

"I do not like misunderstandings and I will therefore make my position clear.

"I take this war seriously. I believe that it is the greatest crisis in history, and that the cooperation of every lover of liberty is imperatively required. You do not agree with this. You regard the war with contemptuous indifference, and you declare your intention to remain aloof from it.

"I am a Socialist, and consider it necessary to sacrifice one's personality to the community."

(Signed) "U. SINCLAIR."

This is not a mere hysterical outburst of ill-considered opinion—as might be expected from this quarter. It is the calm and reasoned expression of the author's "sincere" conviction and belief (at the time)—though some of us may be utterly unable to understand or follow his line of reasoning. It recalls the distinguished writer's freak war-time magazine—or private journal? of opinion—"Upton Sinclair's", which came to an early end in the heroic effort to give birth to "Wilsonian Socialism".

This is one of the men to be trusted again to tell the workers what to do in case of war!

When the threatened war breaks out between the forces that stand for reaction and those that make for progress—between the forces behind the falling structure of capitalism, on the one side, and those representing the rising power of the dispossessed workers of the world, on the other—we shall know where to look for these peace-loving patriots, who are always ready to "sacrifice" themselves, and their professed principles, for the benefit of their country and their class. They will be found in the camp of the enemy, exhorting the workers to be faithful to their masters and fight for their "freedom"—to work and to starve—driving them unwillingly into another ruthless war, "to preserve Humanity", "to stem the tide of Asiatic barbarism", "to save Civilization from Communist chaos and ruin."

In the last war, it was the ferocious "Huns" our young men were taught to fear and forced to fight—because they ate little Belgian children alive when they couldn't get rabbits; and they were on their way to America to take away our wives and daughters. In the next one, the "Yellow Peril" will be the scare and cry raised to stir the masses into war frenzy; the "Bolshevik Beast" will be the bugaboo spread throughout the western world by the yellow capitalist press—with the help of hypocritical howlers for peace, prosperity and human brotherhood—under capitalist control.

The self-sacrificing socialist patriots and the humanitarian capitalist pacifists will fall into line when the bugle blows—and "do their bit" in the coming war "to make the world safe" for Democracy.

W. A. NELSON COLLIER.

FULL REPORTS ON AMSTERDAM CONGRESS

Just as the forms for this issue are being locked up, the mail brings us a detailed report of the deliberations of the Barbusse Congress in Amsterdam and the role played in them by the Left Opposition delegates. The brief summary contained in this issue will therefore be extensively supplemented in the next number with the newly-arrived report. All readers are urged to be on the lookout for this extremely important material.

THE MILITANT

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Weisbord's Reply to Trotsky's Letter

Comrade Trotsky:

The Communist League of Struggle has carefully considered your last letter to our organization. In considering this letter we also had before us the report of our representative, comrade Albert Weisbord who has just returned from his visit to you and to the various sections of the Left Opposition.

We are very happy to note that friendly relations have been able to be established and we feel that much misunderstanding has been wiped away and a practical basis laid for the entrance of our organization into the Left Opposition through unification with the Communist League of America.

Your new letter has, first of all, cleared the ground of a good deal of matter that stood in the way of our mutual coming-together and has taken an entirely different approach to us. No longer are our views so misunderstood that we are charged with deriding publishing work or opposing mass action to propaganda. No longer is the charge made that we are connected with Landau in Europe or with Lovestone in America. In this respect we are also happy to note that many of the reasons given by the leaders of the American League against us, have been ignored by you and thus tacitly repudiated. No longer, for example, is the charge made that we want to help Gandhi in India, that we are opportunists on the question of China, that we belong with Paz (who has now, we hear, joined the Socialist Party) etc. Quite the contrary we are glad to learn that though the top leaders of the American League aided people who wrecked our headquarters and stole our library and documents and even now welcome these wreckers at their meetings, and though one of these leaders had declared that only the rope could be the medium between us and that we acted as agents blowing the whistle for the police, you have welcomed our representative and in your letter opened the door for entrance into the Left Opposition. On our part we shall do all we can to join forces with the Left Opposition.

First of all we wish to admit that on the question of the Labor Party we made a serious error in that our group had declared in its general theses: "The Communists at this time especially must not drop the slogan of a Labor Party."

Our error was serious in that in calling for the formation of the Labor Party we were making the same error, in a sense, as the Right wing and the Comintern had made in its various adventures in which it had denied the legitimate role of the Party and had acted as coolies for the reformists.

Our group had taken the following position:

1. The Europeanization of American politics must bring about an inevitable and imminent development of a mass party of workers destined to change the political face of the U. S. Historically, such a mass party has taken three forms, namely, a Socialist party, a Communist party, and a Labor party. The question now arises which form is probable as the next step in the political history of the working class in the United States, where there is at present no mass Socialist party or Communist party and where as yet the Labor party does not exist?

2. There is no question that the great sharpening of the inner and outer contradictions of American capitalism gives the basis for a tenseness of relationships, a restlessness of the mass which can enable both Communists and Socialists to grow greatly. It is a fact, however, that despite the great and unprecedented severity of the crisis and of its effects, the American working masses have not been effectively reached by them. Such a growth of a revolutionary Communist party is certainly not out of the question this depends both on the sharpening of the capitalist contradictions and the policy of the Communists—not the formation of a Labor party inevitable. Nevertheless the existing situation is such that the American workers will be compelled to take independent political action of their own so as to try to counterpose their class interests to those of the bourgeoisie and to strive to ameliorate their conditions. That such political action may very likely take the form of a Labor party can be seen by the great movement for a Labor party which sprung up after the last crisis in the United States in 1921.

3. The formation of a Labor party at the present time would mark a great step forward for the American working class. This is true precisely because the present situation shows it would be formed not due primarily to the great growth of Communism in America which the employers fear and wish to forestall, but primarily as a symptom of the beginning leftward drift of the masses who are still illudined by democracy and still misled by reformists and who form a separate Labor party despite the bourgeoisie. Entirely different from a Socialist party, the Labor party in its inception is really not a Party at all but an amorphous mass movement. In fact, the Labor party, in one sense, can be conceived as an integrated series of united fronts by which the masses launch their own independent struggle against the bourgeoisie on every-day concrete questions. The Labor party although serving as a barrier to Communism yet under the present circumstances sets the masses against the will of its reformist leaders, on the road to overcoming those very barriers of reformism. This amorphous political mass movement called the Labor party serves as an arena within which the Communists can wrest the masses from the reformists.

Where we made our error was in concluding from these premises, the general which we still hold to be correct,

Statement of the Communist League of Struggle

that it was necessary for the Communists to help organize that Labor party. What we failed to realize was that the Labor party was an amorphous mass movement that rapidly became a PARTY, that it was more than an integrated series of united fronts but a PARTY, or to put it another way, we failed to realize that in INTEGRATING this series of united fronts we were creating another PARTY, reformist and dual to the Communist. We failed to understand that all united fronts created by us must be specific and definite, while a Labor party is a PERMANENT organization with aims that vary, an organization that to the masses carries an entirely different meaning than ordinary united front. In this respect your recent article on the Labor party question has proved of great value in correcting these errors in the position of the Communist League of Struggle.

It is no more the task of the American Communists to organize a petty-bourgeois Party standing between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the form of a Labor party, than it would have been for the Chinese Communists to have helped organize the Kuo Min Tang in China. The Kuo Min Tang also symbolized the Europeanization of politics—Chinese politics—and it also historically marked a progressive step forward for the Chinese masses and provided an arena for Communism (as indeed it might be conceived that even the creation of a Socialist party might do in some countries) yet history has decisively shown us what criminality it would be if the formation of such a Kuo Min Tang (or hypothetical Socialist party) were due to the actions and propaganda of the Communist themselves.

A party exists for the seizure of power. Every worker knows that. To ask him to organize a Labor Party is inevitably to give him the conception that the Labor party is the instrument for seizure of power. Such a conception paves the way for all the monstrous crimes committed by Stalinism and the Right wing.

However, we must declare that in your letter to us we believe you have criticized us too severely. You must know that for over two years, up to very recently, the Communist League of America also had the same slogans as we did on the Labor party question, changing its thesis only at its last national conference. Yet all that time, the Labor party question was not considered a decisive one, capable of barring a group from the Left Opposition and it was not, therefore, because of this question that the Communist League of America or the International Secretariat at first rejected collaboration with us. For the first time, then, through your letter to us, we have learned that you considered this question a decisive one.

In respect to this matter of "decisive questions" permit us to add that there are other questions which we consider decisive and which you should put to the American League. To mention only two of these questions: Is it so "decisive" that a League should be run by people who voluntarily turn over the names and addresses of members and sympathizers, subscribers to their paper, to the United States government? Is it not "decisive" that on such a burning question in the United States as the Negro question, the American League now for close to four years has taken no official position, taking the ground it must "study the question" (great consolation to the struggling Negro masses)? Certainly all questions can be "decisive" once they are developed and expanded upon and brought into general relation with the general theoretical program of the organization. But what must be kept in mind in relation to the Labor party question in America is:

1. There was no large-scale movement for a Labor party actually being organized and that our error therefore was concerning a contingency rather than an actuality and this made it easier for us to fall into error.

2. It was never the position of the Communist League of Struggle to behave even remotely as Stalin in acting as the coolie for the Kuo Min Tang. We have constantly stressed the necessity and historic independent role of the Communist party. It was our intention to utilize the Labor party movement for the building up of a strong Communist party that would soon liquidate and make antiquated the Labor party rather than that we should become subordinate to it. We never had the theory that "hand in hand with the Kuo Min Tang" (or Labor party) we would accomplish the revolution. For us the Labor party was no substitute for a Communist party. Rather have we constantly stressed that only by a relentless fight against the opportunism embodied in a Labor party would the workers be able to cross over the bridge the Labor party offered them, and move to the Proletarian Revolution.

However, since the Labor party was not actually formed we were not able to show in practice how entirely different our whole conception and action was from that of the Right wing.

Finally we must declare our confusion on the question of the Labor party was also due to the fact that the Comintern in the time of Lenin had taken a position similar to ours not only in regard to Great Britain but specifically and concretely in regard to America and the American Labor Party. In the light of these specific decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, which we believed correct we felt we could not change our views at least without a long and thorough discussion with

the leading sections of the International Left Opposition, which we have only just now had the opportunity to have. We cannot be condemned for being late in revising our views when you yourself have only recently written on the subject, not having mentioned it even in your first letter to us.

We cannot leave this important question of the Labor party without calling attention to several errors in the position of the Communist League of America. The American League, in its last thesis, has declared that the question of a Labor party has less of a timely significance than in the past. How can this position be reconciled with your opinion that the question of the Labor party has now become decisive for the American groups adhering to the Left Opposition? Does the American League believe that the Europeanization of American politics which you have stressed as imminent will take only the form of mass Socialist and Communist parties as in Germany? Such an analysis is far from a realistic appreciation of the American situation at the present time and is far from being born out by the facts. The Communist League of Struggle wishes here to reiterate its view that far from being less important the Labor party question will tend to become even more and more important in the ranks of the working class.

You declare in your statement on the Labor party question that you cannot affirm that the creation of a Labor party would be a progressive step in the United States because you do not know under what circumstances such a party would be created. It is also our position as well as yours that even if it were objectively a progressive step it is not our duty to help organize such a party, or proclaim its progressiveness, but on the contrary, its insufficiency and ambiguity and limitedness and its historical role as a hindrance to the proletarian revolution. Nevertheless the question goes deeper than a tactical one. The question stands in what historical period in American politics are we in America at the present time? You imply that the more probable perspective in America is the huge growth of a Communist party putting such pressure on the employing class that the Labor party would be organized by capitalist elements solely as a weapon against the Communist party.

We believe such an analysis is not correct. Certainly there are great possi-

bilities, never utilized by the Stalinists, for the large growth of the Communist party in the U. S., but certainly also in the light of present day facts and conditions in America we can not agree that the most probable perspective to which we can turn is that the Labor party, like the Zinoviev Unions under the Czar, will be organized mainly as a deliberate move against Communism. As we see American conditions today (tomorrow may compel another analysis based on new events) we can declare that out of the great complex of social forces leading to the formation of a Labor party, the primary leading force will be the movement of the working class to the left on the road of independent political class action against the capitalists and even if such a movement were to have in it capitalist elements who are primarily concerned in utilizing the Labor party against Communism and even if those conscious anti-Communist elements were dominant, yet the Labor party movement itself would be unleashing those very forces destined to overthrow all anti-Communist plans. To conceive of the Labor party primarily as a movement carefully controlled by capitalists and formed to meet the menace of Communism rather than primarily as a spontaneous movement of the workers against the capitalists is to distort the picture. Taking such a view, we believe it was incorrect for the American League to make it merely an "open question" whether, under such circumstances the Communists should participate and work within the Labor party.

Of course, as the Labor party is not organized yet in America, this is music of the future. Yet we wish to call to your attention that the American League has taken an un-Leninist position on the whole question of the united front, even though on the Labor party question the American League did reach a correct conclusion. We have, for example, reported to you how, contrary to your opinion, the American League is against the idea that the Communists in India should enter the Indian National Revolutionary Congress; how, contrary to your opinion, the American League failed to send delegates to general united front meetings called by labor organizations outside the Communist party and how it failed to organize united fronts where possible. If we have erred on the Labor party question, it was also because we zealously wished that the Left Opposition in America actively participate in the life of the American working class and enter into all its concrete battles.

(To be continued)

Outcome of the Belgian Miners' Strike

The Belgian working-class is at present engaged in one of the greatest and most important struggles it has witnessed for years. The whole mining proletariat is striking! To understand the full importance of this fact, it is sufficient to remember that the coal-mining industry in Belgium is one of the most important of all.

For months, the owners, encouraged and supported by the social trade union leaders' apathy and consent, were applying successive cuts in wages. Most of the miners, moreover, were working four or five days a week. Notwithstanding all the dangers of their work, the miners and their families were literally driven to poverty and want.

This situation couldn't last and when a new cut was to be applied, the strike broke out in several pits of the Borinage. The trade union leaders did not advocate the extension of the strike, but, passing ahead of their leaders' treacherous advice, the miners of the rank and file, in the local sections of their trade unions, unanimously voted for the strike and its extension to the other districts and industries.

This elementary mass movement was not foreseen by the leaders, and it wasn't conducted by them, it was imposed upon them by the lightning will of the miners themselves. All that was left to the reformists was to follow, and so they did, trying by all means to regain over the miners the control that had slipped out of their hands.

Strike Extends

The strike was extending rapidly. Within any direction at all, the miners, men and women, occupied the streets, marching and cycling from one mining village to another, to cease work. In a few days, all activity was stopped in the whole district of the Borinage, the Center and Charleroi, including the metallurgical works, glass factories, tramwaymen, etc., and the strike was extending towards Liege and Brussels. But this magnificent mass movement of solidarity of all workers towards their brother miners, was to be brutally cut off by the socialist leaders' treason whose tactics it always was to divide the working class in struggle, inducing it to fight separately for its own special claims. Indeed, as the metal workers arrived at a partial agreement with the bosses as to their wages, and as some promises were made to the miners, the trade union leaders ordered the men back to work and all workers, except the miners, obeyed, being faced with the threat of not receiving any strike indemnities.

By now, still more than 100,000 miners are on strike, some of them since more than two months, but their fight is brought to a deadlock and their chance of victory greatly endangered by the socialist's maneuvers.

From the beginning of the strike, the repression of the bourgeois government brutally prevailed. Police forces, gendarmery and troops were massed in the mining districts, preventing manifestations, savagely provoking and even killing several workmen during street riots. Especially fierce were the searches and arrests directed against all those suspected of Communism. Several members

of the Communist party and the Opposition were arrested.

A Lesson to the Workers

It was a great occasion for the working class to learn and see by itself who its defenders are, especially for the young, who hadn't even yet experienced a great proletarian struggle. They can now see by themselves what the several organizations who pretend to group the young workers with the aim of fighting for their righteous claims, have done.

The "Young Christian Workers" organization, numerically the greatest youth organization in Belgium, dependent on the Catholic party (conservatives), at its recent congress, doesn't even think it necessary to mention the existence of a strike in Belgium!

The Young Socialists tried, it must be said, to conduct an anti-militarist campaign. As in Belgium military service is compulsory, and all young men of twenty have got to enter the army, and were now obliged to patrol with machine-guns in the mining villages, and even to replace the working men like strike-breakers, keeping the mines in repair and loading coal wagons, the young Socialists appealed to the soldiers not to shoot their brother workers.

As to the Young Communists, the Stalinist politics have been so disastrous, that the Communist party is hardly existent in Belgium, and its influence very confined indeed. Many of their leaders being arrested as soon as the strike broke out, they were hardly able to do any revolutionary work at all during the strike, this especially on account of their tactics of "Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition", which had cut them completely off from the centralized organizations.

And so it appears, that it was left to the young Oppositionists, to lead a real revolutionary action during the strike. But our youth group is numerically very feeble, and apart from its anti-militarist action, couldn't work separately during the movement, but all of our comrades were at their place at the sides of the adults.

The Opposition, in fact, has done splendid work during this movement, greatly increasing its influence, especially in the district of Charleroi, one of the four mining districts, where it is practically leading the whole movement, through the strike committees. And the Opposition having been able to test in the action, its own capacities and the revolutionary capacity of the working class which seemed so low, can feel confident in the future.

—NORA.

NEXT ISSUE

The next issue of the Militant will contain another one of the articles in the series forming the new book on Germany by comrade Leon Trotsky, "The Only Road". The forthcoming chapter is entitled:

The Twenty-One Mistakes of

Thaenmann

The Elections in Greece

Left Opposition Holds Aloft Banner of International Communism

The beginning of this year witnessed an intensification of the crisis in Greece, with no prospect of amelioration, since the main revenues of the country: exportation of tobacco and raisins, drafts from the immigrants of America decreased and its main industry, shipping, is crippled by the lack of world trade.

Premier Venizelos, the famous lackey of British and French imperialism, vainly appealed to his masters for a loan in order to meet the payments of amortization and interest on the State's debts. In spite of his dramatic appeals (possibility of a Communist dictatorship in case he fails) his masters did not need his services as they did during the war and after, when he enthusiastically supported the French General Staff with a few Greek divisions in order to help crush our proletarian fatherland; and therefore they totally ignored him.

The Bolshevik-Leninists (Archio-Marxists) of Greece issued a Manifesto last March to the party and the working class outlining the events that took place in May with a correct Marxist prognosis and stressing the necessity of uniting the working class in workers' councils in order to resist effectively the capitalist offensive. The Stalinists refused any kind of co-operation and criminally neglected to undertake any sort of preparation. The Stalinists confined their activities to pointing to the police many militant Oppositionists, and asking the capitalist warlords to remove from the prison cell, lecturers every Archio-Marxist, including some invalid comrades. Their sole concern is the creation of artificial barriers between the workers of the party and the Oppositionists.

In the meantime the financial crisis sharpened and Venizelos was forced on April 25th to abandon the gold basis of the drachma and immediately an inflation took place with the obvious result of sending the prices of foodstuffs to the sky without a corresponding increase of wages. The working masses were unable to purchase even bread. Dissatisfaction was brewing among the workers, poor farmers, and state employees and the Opposition again urged the Stalinists to form workers' councils, but to no avail.

On May 25 many spontaneous uprisings took place in the agrarian sections of the country, trains were halted and looted by peasants. The reformists called a general strike which embraced even the State employees. Venizelos was forced to resign and his successor Papanastassiou the leader of the Workers' and Farmers' Party, got the co-operation of the reformists and called off the general strike, as was expected. Squadrons of the British and French fleet rushed to the Greek waters ready for any emergency. Papanastassiou was removed by the big bourgeoisie as soon as the crisis passed its danger point. Venizelos undertook again the premiership promising to the masses a general election for September 25.

Factory after factory closed its gates and thus tens of thousands of workers were added to the unemployed list. Even the Government's public works, the so-called productive works, aimed to absorb part of the unemployed, were discontinued. This unprecedented crisis embraced the petty-bourgeoisie also and not convinced by the timid and capitulating attitude of the party, it is beginning to orientate itself towards the Monarchists.

The Popular Party of Tsaldaris (monarchist) launched a vigorous campaign and so far is making great inroads in the camp of the agrarian masses also.

The progressives under Kafandaridis and Papanastassiou's Workers' and Farmers' Party are opposing for obvious reasons the Venizelos party where formerly they themselves belonged. Also a new party has appeared on the political scene, the Agrarian Party, led by reformist elements.

The big bourgeoisie aims with these theatrical combinations to deceive the masses by drawing the attention of the latter from their severe misery and orienting their attention to an election struggle not based upon the class struggle to revive the old political passions not upon the class struggle but upon the question of the king and "democracy". The prospects of a Royalist landslide similar to the one of 1920 are not at all likely.

The only revolutionary party on the political arena is the Communist Party of Greece, even though it conceals itself behind the banner of a so-called "Workers' and Peasants' Bloc." In spite of the confused and opportunistic form of its platform the Marxian criticism of it by the Archio-Marxists, the Left Oppositionists of Greece are conducting a vigorous campaign among the workers and poor farmers of Greece. The Stalinists have resorted for support to every discredited element in the labor movement and some paper unions, but refuse so far to accept the support of the Left Opposition in the election campaign. The Archio-Marxists called mass meetings throughout Greece urging the workers to support the candidates of the Communist party and appealing to the party members to exercise their pressure on the bureaucrats to stop this criminal attitude.

We are sure that the party members in many sections of Greece will follow the revolutionary example of the district of Lesbos and thus succeed in winning the majority of the working class and poor farmers from the clutches of the reformists and other reactionary elements. Last year, the candidate of the Communist party of the island of Lesbos, comrade Achilles Contaros, accepted the support of the Archio-Marxists and succeeded in polling one-third of the total

votes and approached thousands of workers in the heart of the most reactionary section of Greece.

The formation of workers' councils in Greece is imperative and must take place immediately, because the result of the elections will prove that no party will master a parliamentary majority and therefore in the pretense of a Royalist coup d'Etat the bourgeoisie will resort again to the services of the Military League to put an end to the fragmentary democratic rights that the workers still enjoy. The refusal of the Stalinists to co-operate with the Oppositionists in this important work places all the blame squarely upon their shoulders.

—AR. CALDIS.

Unity Urgent Need of Illinois Miners

(Continued from page 1)

to each individual branch of the Socialist party in the Illinois coal fields, to make any decision that the branch may see fit. Such is the "leadership" that the Socialist party gives the workers. Of course, the real purpose of such a decision is to help Walker-Lewis and the coal-operators to put over the wage cut. And the leading members of the Socialist party in the Illinois coal fields understand clearly the purpose and are loyally carrying out the decision of the National Committee of the Socialist party.

John Hindmarsh, leading member of the Socialist party in Illinois and a henchman of the Walker-Lewis machine was thrown out by rank and file miners from his local union because he tried to force the miners to accept the wage cut and go back to work under the Lewis-Walker company union. Richard Glover, member of the Socialist party and Editor of the Illinois Miner, the official mouthpiece of the Walker-Lewis Union, is also very active in trying to put over the wage-cut for the Peabody Coal Co. Then there is Jack Reed, member of the Springfield Socialist party and one of the members of the Lewis-Walker scale committee that made up the contract which the miners are now fighting against. Reed voted for the wage-cut and signed the present outrageous contract. He has refused again and again to face the miners of Springfield and explain why he did not carry out the instructions of the miners of Springfield. Then again, there is Adolph Germer, one of the leading Socialists in the state of Illinois and Editor of Rockford, Ill., Labor News. He, too, is very active in trying to defeat the miners in their fight against the combination of the Lewis-Walker and the coal-operators. Such is the role of the leading members of the Socialist party, true agents of the coal-operators in the ranks of the workers.

Communist Party

Due to the incorrect policies pursued by the official Communist party leadership, the party has been unable to unite the miners under the banner of class struggle. Instead of consistently and systematically trying to build united fronts with allies, sympathizers and supporters of the Communists and the Left wing, in order to defeat the main enemy, the American Stalinists, consistently and systematically attack every individual and drive them further away from Communism. The result of their incorrect bureaucratic policy, is isolation from the miners to such a point that the miners will not even listen to their proposals. The Stalinists have only one miner who is really active in the new miners' union and he doesn't dare to come out openly and declare himself a member of the Communist party.

The miners have great forces against them, yet the spirit and militancy of the Illinois miners was never as great as it is today. They have been winning some kind of a victory from the coal-operators almost every day. The struggle has not yet reached its height. It will probably be a long drawn-out struggle. Quite a number of the small independent coal operators have signed up with the Progressive Miners Union, yet the key to the whole Illinois mine situation is Franklin and Williamson counties. If the P. M. U. can break the power of Lewis in these two counties, then Lewis' union is done throughout the country. And I believe there is a good chance to break the hold of Lewis in these two counties—the conditions under which the miners of Franklin and Williamson counties must work will force the miners themselves to fight. The important thing is to keep the mines that are out on strike solid. —JOE ANGELO

MINERS! Read

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The Checking of the Stalin-Thaelmann Policy Against Their Own Experience

From the Series of Articles in the Forthcoming Book 'The Only Road' :—by Leon Trotsky

Tactics can be checked in the critical and most responsible moments. The strength of Bolshevism rests upon this, that its slogans and methods find their supreme confirmation as soon as the course of events demands bold decisions. What value have principles which must be renounced as soon as the situation assumes a serious character?

Realistic policy bases itself upon the natural development of the class struggle. Sectarian policy endeavors to prescribe artificial regulations for the class struggle. The revolutionary situation signifies the highest accentuation of the class struggle. Just because of that, the realistic policy of Marxism, in the revolutionary situation, exercises a powerful force of attraction upon the mass. The sectarian policy, to the contrary, becomes all the weaker the more mighty is the impetus of events. The Blanquists and Proudhonists, taken by surprise by the events of the Paris Commune, did the opposite of what they had constantly preached. During the Russian revolution, the anarchists were forced to recognize the Soviets, that is, the organs of power. And so on without end.

The Comintern supports itself upon masses who were won over in the past by Marxism and fused together by the authority of the October revolution. Only, the policy of the present leading Stalin faction seeks to command the class struggle instead of investing it with political expression. This is the essential feature of *bureaucratism* and in this it coincides with *sectarianism* from which it distinguishes itself sharply in other features. Thanks to the strong apparatus, to the material means of the Soviet state and to the authority of the October revolution, the Stalinist bureaucracy has been able, in comparatively calm periods, to impose for a length of time artificial measures of restraint upon the proletarian vanguard. But to the degree that the class struggle condenses itself into civil war, the bureaucratic prescriptions come into increasing collision with unrelenting reality. Faced by sharp turns in the situation, the arrogant and inflated bureaucracy easily lands in a muddle. If it cannot command, it capitulates. The policy of the Thaelmann Central Committee in recent months will some day be studied as a model of the most pitiable and miserable headlessness.

Since the "Third Period" it was held to be inviolable that there could be no talk about agreements with the social democracy. It was not only inadmissible to assume the initiative in the united front, as the Third and Fourth World Congresses taught—but even proposals for common actions emanating from the social democracy had to be rejected. The reformist leaders are "sufficiently exposed." The experience of the past is sufficient. Instead of pursuing policies, the masses must be told history. To turn to the reformists with proposals means to acknowledge them capable of fighting. That alone would be Social-Fascism, etc. Thus intoned the ear-deafening melody of the ultra-Leftist barrel-organ in the last three-four years. And look: in the Prussian Landtag, the Communist fraction proposed on June 22, unexpected by all and by itself, an agreement with the social democracy and even with the Center. The same thing was repeated in Hessen. In face of the danger that the Præsidium of the Landtag might fall into the hands of the Nazis, all the consecrated principles flew to the devil. Isn't this astounding? And isn't it debasing?

To explain these goat-leaps, however, is not so difficult. As is known, many superficial liberals and radicals continue to joke their whole life long about religion and celestial powers, only to call for a priest when they face death or serious illness. So also in politics. The mark of Centrism is opportunism. Under the influence of external circumstances (tradition, mass pressure, political competition), Centrism is at certain times compelled to make a parade of radicalism. For this purpose it must overcome itself, violate its political nature. By spurring itself on with all its strength, it not infrequently lands at the extreme bourne of formal radicalism. But hardly does the hour of serious danger strike than the true nature of Centrism breaks out to the surface. In so delicate a question as the defense of the Soviet Union the Stalinist bureaucracy always built much more upon the bourgeois pacifists, English trade union bureaucrats and French radicals than upon the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. Scarcely did an external danger approach than the Stalinists promptly sacrificed not only their ultra-Leftist phrases but also the vital interests of the international revolution—in the name of amity with uncertain and false "friends" from the genus of lawyers, writers and simple drawing room heroes. United front from above? Under no circumstances! At the same time, however, the Top-Commissar for Ambiguous Affairs, Münzenberg by name, fished around after the coat tails of all sorts of liberal jabberers and radical tripe "for the defense of the U. S. S. R."

The Stalinist bureaucracy in Germany, like in every other country—except in the Soviet Union—is extremely dissatisfied with the compromising leadership of Barbusse in the affair of the Anti-War Congress. On this field, Thälmann, Foster and others would prefer to be radical. Yet in their own national affairs, every one of them proceeds according to the same model as the Moscow authorities: at the approach of a serious danger they cast off the inflated, falsified radicalism in order to reveal their true, that is, their opportunistic nature.

Was the initiative of the Communist Landtag fraction, as such, false and inadmissible? We don't think so. The Bolsheviks more than once proposed to the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists in 1917: "Take the power, we will support you against the bourgeoisie if it should resist." Compromises are admissible and, under certain conditions—obligatory. The whole

question lies in what aim the compromise shall subserve; how it looks to the masses; what its limits are. To confine the compromise to the Landtag or the Reichstag, to regard as an independent aim whether the president will be a social democrat or a Catholic democrat instead of a Fascist, means to sink completely into parliamentary cretinism. Completely different is the situation when the party sets itself the task of the systematic and planned struggle for the social democratic workers on the basis of the united front policy. A parliamentary agreement against Fascist predominance in the præsidium, etc., would in this case constitute merely one component part of the extra-parliamentary fighting agreement against Fascism. Naturally the Communist party would prefer to resolve the whole question at one blow outside of parliament. But preferences alone are not sufficient where the forces are lacking. The social democratic workers have demonstrated their faith in the magic power of proceed. The former mistakes of the Communist the July 31 vote. It is from this fact that we must party (Prussian referendum; etc.) extraordinarily facilitated the sabotage of the united front practised by the reformist leaders. A technical parliamentary agreement—or even only the proposal for such an agreement—must help free the Communist party from the accusation that it is collaborating with the Fascists against the social democracy. This is no independent action, but solely the clearing of the road to a fighting agreement or at least to the struggle for a fighting agreement of the mass organizations.

The difference between the two lines is entirely obvious. The joint struggle with the social democratic organizations can, and in its unfoldment it must, assume a revolutionary character. The possibility for an approach to the social democratic masses can and must be paid for, under certain conditions, even with parliamentary agreements at the top. But for a Bolshevik, this is merely the *admission price*. The Stalinist bureaucracy acts in the opposite manner: it not only rejects fighting agreements, but still worse, it maliciously destroys those agreements which arise from below. At the same time, it proposes to the social democratic deputies a parliamentary accord. This means that at the moment of danger it declares its own ultra-Leftist theory and praxis to be worthless; only it does not replace it with the policy of revolutionary Marxism but with an unprincipled parliamentary combination in the spirit of the "lesser evil."

We will indeed be told, the Prussian and Hessian episodes were a mistake of the deputies and were made good again by the Central Committee. In the first place, a decision so important in principle should not have been taken without the Central Committee: the mistake falls back completely upon the latter as well; in the second place, how explain that the "steel-hard," "consistent," "Bolshevist" policy, after months of blustering and screeching, of polemic, of villification and expulsions, at once gives way at the critical moment to an opportunistic "mistake"?

But the matter is not confined to the Landtag. Thälmann-Remmele have absolutely renounced themselves and their own school in a much more responsible and critical question. On the eve of July 20, the Central Committee of the Communist party adopted the following decision:

"The Communist party, before the proletarian public, addresses to the S. P. D. to the A. D. G. B. and to the Afa-Bund the question if they are prepared to carry out, together with the Communist party, the general strike for the proletarian demands."

This so important and unexpected decision was made public by the Central Committee in its circular letter of July 26 without any commentary. Can a more annihilating judgment be made of its whole preceding policy? The approach to the reformist summits with the proposal of joint actions was but yesterday declared to be social-Fascist and counter-revolutionary. Because of this question Communists were expelled. On this ground the struggle against "Trotskyism" was conducted. How then was this Central Committee suddenly able, at one stroke, on the eve of July 20, to bow before what it had the day before banished? And to what tragic state has the bureaucracy brought the party when the Central Committee could dare to come before it with its amazing decision without explaining or justifying it!

The policy is tested upon such turns. The Central Committee of the German Communist Party in reality demonstrated to the whole world on the eve of July 20: "Up to this moment our course was good for nothing." An involuntary but completely correct admission. Unfortunately, even the proposal of July 20, which overthrew the preceding policy, could in no case yield a positive result. An appeal to the summits—independently of the present answer of these summits—can be come of revolutionary significance only when it has been previously prepared from below, that is, when it is based upon the whole policy in its totality. But the Stalinist bureaucracy repeated to the social democratic workers, day in and day out: "We Communists reject any connection with the S. P. D. leaders" (see "Antworten von Thälmann"). The unprepared, unexpected, unmotivated proposal of July 20 was suitable only for exposing the Communist leadership by revealing its inconsistency, lack of seriousness, inclination to panic and adventurist leaps.

The policy of the Centrist bureaucracy helps the adversary and enemy at every step. Even when the mighty pressure of events drives a new hundred thousand workers under the Communist banner, it takes place in spite of the Stalin-Thälmann policy. Precisely because of this the coming day of the party is in no way assured.

—L. TROTSKY.

An Open Letter to John J. Watt

(Continued from page 1)

4. I disagreed with your criticism of the West Frankfurt Miners March. I admit that the march was not organized properly, but nevertheless, the miners have accomplished more by the West Frankfurt march than they would if their march on Lewis-Walker was wholly successful.

5. I disagreed with your criticism of the separate local agreements that are being signed by the P. M. U. I also believe in district and national agreements, but, under the present conditions and circumstances the local agreements is the best tactic for the present time.

6. I did not think that it is the proper thing to waste the miners' time with a lot of documents from the United Mine Workers Journal, the Illinois Miner, the Congressional Record and the Declaration of Independence, but that at this time it is necessary to rally the miners on clearly defined class issues in conscious opposition to the power which stands against them as their master and receives its most polished embodiment in the Lewises, Walkers, the Socialist party, etc.

It was after my reply that you went completely wild.

1. You accused me of trying to break up the Socialist party.

2. You defended the Socialist party when you said that "Hindmarsh just slipped in unawares into the Socialist party but that the Communist party had ever worse elements."

3. You accused the Communists as splitters, disrupters.

4. You accused me of trying to prevent you from speaking before the Socialist party local branch.

This whole matter would have a ring of comedy, if it didn't have some political significance. I will sum up the whole matter as follows:

Watt and the Opposition

1. You know yourself that it is not true when you accused me of trying to prevent you from speaking at the Socialist party local. The first time that I heard of your speaking at the Socialist party local was Friday night at the Slavic Hall before the Most-Happooot meeting, when you yourself told me, I told you then that we ought to take this matter up after the meeting and you agreed. At our meeting on Cook St., I proposed that you speak on the mining situation as a member of the Left Opposition and bring out the Left Opposition policy for the miners' fight. You refused to do this saying that it is too late as you had prepared other matter. You said that you would not support the Communist party in the next election because the party had nominated Foster for president.

Now in my opinion I had a right to ask you to speak as a member of the Left Opposition and on the policies of the Left Opposition for the miners' fight. You had time and time considered yourself a supporter of the Left Opposition. The Left Opposition is a Marxian group and the first fundamental test of a Marxist as Lenin put it, is:

"Upon what rests the discipline of a revolutionary party of the proletariat? HOW IS IT TESTED? How is it reinforced, strengthened? Firstly, by the consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its steadiness, spirit of self-

sacrifice and heroism. The problem here and everywhere always consists in the ability to apply the general and fundamental principles of Communism to the specific relations between classes and parties, to specific conditions in the objective development toward Communism—conditions that are peculiar to every separate country and which one must be able to study, understand and point out.

Where Is 7th World Congress

(Continued from page 1)

year. Even the Fifth Congress took place less than two years after the Fourth—on June 17, 1924.

Between the Fifth and the Sixth Congress (which was opened on July 17, 1928), four years elapsed, during which the Left Opposition throughout the world was crushed by the bureaucracy and even the leadership elected regularly at the Fifth Congress was illegally wiped out.

But now, more than four years have passed since the last World Congress, four years of tremendous significance, replete with important struggles and problems left unsolved or badly solved. And not the slightest indication is given by the Comintern leadership that a Seventh Congress is even being considered. Yet it is one of the most urgent requirements of the present world situation.

The eighth point of section 11 of the "Constitution and Rules of the Communist International", adopted by the Congress in 1928, reads as follows:

"The World Congress shall be convened once every two years."

Why has this important point been contemptuously ignored? Why has a period during which at least two World Congresses should have been held—been allowed to pass by without calling even one? Is the Stalinist bureaucracy bent upon destroying even the formal existence of the Communist International, as it has been engaged in overtime work to destroy it politically and organizationally?

Let the Communist workers reflect on this vital question and join us in the demand for the convening of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern. Not a Congress of automatons and office clerks, bureaucratically called together and ordered about, without any significance to themselves or anyone else—but a Leninist Congress, adequately prepared in advance, with a previously published agenda to be discussed openly and democratically in the ranks of the party, with the free selection of the delegations, and with the active participation of the Left Opposition!

Without these conditions, a World Congress would be an even worse tragedy than the recent "Plenums" of the Comintern, which have passed like ships in the night, unnoticed and unremembered.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern must be convened immediately, in the spirit of Lenin and Trotsky. The cowardly, fatal silence and indifference of the bureaucracy must be broken. It can be tolerated only at the cost of a dreadful calamity for world Communism!

Yours for Ours,
JOSEPH ANGELO.

On the Proletarian Revolution in the United States

(Continued from last issue)

The needs of the Negro, Malatto, Asiatic, Mexican and foreign born workers cannot be solved by first taking steps toward democratic demands, as in Russia, and then proceeding to the socialist demands. Only by direct steps to socialist demands, to socialist reorganization can we solve the problems of the American workers. If the proletarian revolution does not move with speed towards socialist demands we will be lost.

The exclusion of a bourgeois stage, no matter how short, as the first stage of the Proletarian Revolution is made necessary by the dictates of history. This excludes and condemns the road Stalinism is following in the United States. The party under Centrist leadership advances the following slogans for the United States: "Workers and Farmers Government," "Agrarian revolution in the South," "National liberation of the Negroes in the South," "Self-determination for the Negroes in the South," etc.

These Stalinist slogans are driving in the direction, not of a proletarian revolution, they are driving in the direction of a bourgeois first stage of the proletarian revolution. National liberation and self-determination for the colonies, etc., is another question entirely.

In backward countries, Stalinism skips over democratic demands and economic needs and sees no need for such preparation in the class struggle toward revolution. But when Stalinism arrives face to face with the revolution in backward countries it does not intend to establish a Dictatorship of the Proletariat, but instead intends to establish a "Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry."

In advanced capitalist countries Stalinism swings to the other wrong extreme. It skips back to what economic conditions have already surpassed and presents slogans that can only be classed under bourgeois democratic demands and not socialist demands.

We are discussing programmatic slogans, not tactical slogans. In this case,

what must our slogans drive at? Our tactical slogans must coordinate the special grievances of the class and of sections of the class with our programmatic slogans, our goal. The special forms of exploitation and suppression of the Negro, Asiatic, Mexican and foreign born workers can only be solved by socialist measures in the first stage of the coming revolution—the Proletarian Revolution. The slogans Stalinism presents are not special tactical slogans but programmatic slogans. They lead in the wrong direction.

Once we brush aside the wrong programmatic slogans of Stalinism for the coming American revolution we will be able to proceed to the pressing tactical slogans to coordinate the problems of the Negro race, the other subjected races, as well as other classes who will be our allies.

The Left Opposition must lead the way in formulating the correct tactical and strategic problems for the coming revolution. The first in order is: to correct the wrong programmatic slogans and then follow up with proper tactical slogans leading up to the revolution.

The proletarian revolution in America will establish a dictatorship. What will be the form of the Soviets? It will not be a "Workers and Farmers Government." It will not be the result of a "People's Revolution." In America, the form of the Soviets will right at the beginning be at a higher level than the form of the Soviets established in Russia in 1917. In Russia the overwhelming majority of the people are peasants and in America the overwhelming majority are workers. This reflects the different stages of the two countries in economic development. This lays the basis for different forms of Soviets. The existence of the Soviet Union is another powerful factor favoring the coming revolution in America. Workers' Councils will be established on a higher plane in America and will usher in a higher type of proletarian democracy at the start. Our Soviets will lay a much stronger

foundation for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in America, much stronger than we had in the first stage of the Soviets in Russia after October. The strength of the class dictatorship lays the basis for the higher class democracy. "Class democracy and 'democracy' under a classless society are two different things, just as capitalist 'democracy' and workers' democracy are the different expressions of different systems. In order to win the American workers to Communism it is necessary to explain the differences in the two forms of Soviets. Only in this manner can we really clear up the question of content and give a proper answer to the question of our Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

On the continent it may be possible for one of the lesser countries to overthrow its exploiters before we do. Unless we give them support unequalled in the past, the new Soviets will not be able to hold out against the American imperialists. This does not mean that the reactionary, non-revolutionary theory must be advanced—that we must not strike for power in these countries—because we cannot hold out. With proper support from the world proletariat and the Soviet Union they can hold out and extend the revolution. The struggle for power always means the struggle against world capitalism at this stage of the class war.

On the other hand, a successful revolution in the United States will carry with it the continent, extending far down into Latin America. This opens a broad perspective and confirms the theory of the permanent revolution. The revolution in the United States will flow over the continent in revolutionary storms which will wipe out the capitalists and their flunkies. The slogan for the United States—For a "Proletarian Revolution" leads directly to extension of civil war on the continent and to the slogan of the "All-American Soviet Republic."

If the Soviet Union can withstand the coming storms, and the Left Opposition must see to it that our fatherland does in spite of the stranglehold Stalinism has on the world revolutionary movement, we can say the world proletariat has before it not only the realization of the Soviet United States of Europe, not only of the All-American Soviet Republic, but also of the World Soviet.

—HUGO OEHLEK.

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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PRICE 5 CENTS

MILITANT SUB DRIVE Our Club Plan

HALF YEAR SUBS FOR 50 CENTS

A half year sub of 26 issues to *The Militant* costs \$1. But from now on it will be 50 cents—that is, provided you send them in clubs of four or more. Any comrade, sympathizer, worker can get a half year sub to *The Militant* at the reduced rate of 50 cents by getting three other workers to subscribe with him. All they have to do is fill out the blank provided below and send it in to us at 84 East 10th Street. We will enter them on the mailing list and they will receive the *Militant* for the twenty-six weeks following the receipt of their club plan blank.

Any worker in a position to get subs on this basis can have, free for the asking, a number of blanks like the one below, for his use or for distribution. Just write in to ask for them and we will shoot them out. Of course this reduction in the subscription rate applies only to four half year subs sent in at the same time on one club blank. Half-year subs sent in singly or in less than four will still be one dollar per sub.

MILITANT BUILDERS

From now on only those comrades and sympathizers will be considered *Militant* Builders who send in one or more of these club plan blanks—filled out. Each week we will publish a standing of the builders. And we expect it to be long, and the standing close. Past performances are no guarantee of leading honors in this drive. Everyone is placed squarely on his mettle. It will be nip and tuck from start to finish.

IMPORTANCE OF THE DRIVE

Comrade Carmody writes from the coal fields that the miners are reacting to *The Militant* very favorably. They read our point of view on working-class problems and our policy on the present strike, and are very favorably impressed. A number of them would become subscribers but for one thing: they have been on strike since April and cannot afford a subscription.

With our new club plan we expect that a number of these wishes will be translated into subs, not all of them, to be sure but a number that we could not get otherwise. Our organizers in the field will see to that.

This club plan tends itself to our activities in the class struggle. Illinois is one example. The Spartacus Youth Club of New York is active in the Rex metal workers' strike, on the picket lines and in the strike hall. No doubt they will be able to use the offer of a fifty percent reduction in the sub rate to get a number of subs from the workers.

This increase in subs is what is needed to complement the steady rise in bundle orders. Every day's mail brings us new bundle orders and increases in the number of copies per bundle order. This side of the story affected us first because workers waiting up to the bankruptcy of the Stalinist course and to the correctness of ours probably went from stand to stand looking for the *Militant*. As we know the *Militant* is on, comparatively, so few stands that the search for it is a modern version of the story of Diogenes.

Many of these workers will no doubt take advantage of this reduced rate. It will certainly pay them to do so. On the stand 26 issues will cost \$1.30. By the club they will cost \$50. The trick is to reach the workers with the offer. Today that is not difficult.

BUILD THE FIRST STOREY

For almost four years, now, we have poured forth a steady stream of Marxist.

(Continued on page 4)

MINERS! Read

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SPARTACUS AFFAIR

On Sunday, September 25, the Spartacus Youth Club of New York will get together for an all day good time affair. A ball game and other outdoor sports will be played. All sympathizers and members of the club—come out and let's get better acquainted. Bring your own lunch as this is an informal affair.

The place is Tibbets Brook Park. Time, from 10 A. M. on. Take I. R. T. Woodlawn-Jerome Avenue line to last station, Walk to entrance of the park. Comrades will be there to direct you until 12 o'clock.

The Militant Appeals Urgently for Aid from All Its Supporters

Once more we appeal to you, our comrades, sympathizers, and friends, for financial assistance. We declare to you that this is no mere appeal for money. The financial crisis against which we have been struggling has assumed such a threatening aspect that we are forced to sound a serious note of warning: Unless we can raise money immediately we cannot say whether we will be able to get out the next issue of the *Militant*.

We have tried every possible means of economy; every twist and dodge open to us. But despite our efforts the roads the crisis has made on us have affected us so badly that we have been drawn deeper into the bog of debts. These weigh on us now with terrific pressure. It seems that when difficulties arise creditors dun us with merciless insistence.

On top of all this a series of technical

troubles with our press, arising directly

from our poverty, have presented us with

a number of problems. To solve them

we have had to make terrific efforts. Such

troubles may arise again unless we are

able to get the minimum of equipment

necessary to turn out our books and

our papers.

We must have money at once. We are fighting on the financial front with our backs to the wall. With our fight is bound up the question of whether the voice of revolutionary internationalism, the clarion of the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky will continue to be heard regularly.

With the tide of revolution rising all over the world, with the maturing of the great events that are on the order of the day, with ever greater historic tasks and responsibilities being placed on us by the development of the international revolution we must not retrench to a semi-monthly. We cannot miss even a single issue. To lose a day is a setback. We must continue to appear regularly. We look to our friends.

We need to go forward everywhere to help us. Who will be the first? Start the ball rolling! Let every worker sympathetic to our cause contribute what he can. Make this a demonstration on a nationwide scale of the fact that the cause of Marx and Lenin, the cause of the International Left is not without friends ready to support it and make sacrifices for it.

Rush funds at once to THE MILITANT at 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

Chicago Stalinists Echo Barbusse

CHICAGO—

Another example of the efficacy of the Stalinist method of fighting against the war danger occurred here today. In a beautifully appointed, luxuriously carpeted lodge room in the Masonic Temple there was held the Chicago sequel to the Amsterdam farce. The audience was entirely composed of well-dressed plunks, liberals, social workers and other well known lovers of the human race. After listening to the disgusting pacifist drivel one could only be glad that such was the composition and happy that the workers were conspicuous by their absence.

The meeting was opened by the soft-spoken preacher chairman representing the Abraham Lincoln Center. After a churchy exordium he introduced the first speaker, Rabbi Friedhof, "as one of the foremost fighters against all wars."

The Rabbi who went as far back as the Greeks for his inspiration, addressed himself entirely to the liberals. The only way to abolish wars, according to him, was for all liberals to band together and "will" the nasty wars out of existence. He questioned: "Will the overthrow of capitalism abolish war?" and he answers his own question by asserting that "the proletarian revolution is no guarantee against militarism." All that is required is that "the greatest agencies of propaganda be directed in the channels of creating the good will which will abolish all wars."

After this nauseating stuff, which was loudly applauded, the chairman introduces "Mr. Eugene Bechtold, an active member of the Chicago Committee for Abolition of Wars who has an interesting

message." For an instant there glimmered a faint hope in the hearts of the couple of Left Oppositionists present that finally some sort of a Communist viewpoint would break through. Comrades all know Bechtold as one of the pioneer Communists in this country and one of the extremely few party members left who have more than a bowing acquaintance with Marxist principles.

However, after the first few words of his hopes were dashed, for the eloquent "Mr." Bechtold's mission was not to answer the liberals—but to take the collection! Not one word of criticism.

Next was introduced Mr. Malcolm Cowley, editor of the New Republic and American delegate to the Amsterdam Conference. His speech consisted of anecdotes of the conference and what this or that pacifist luminary said. He mildly insisted that the cause of wars was economic and showed by League of Nations figures how the cost of armaments was growing apace. When it came to the method of fighting for peace his was no different than Rabbi Friedhof's.

The meeting ended by the reading of the "pledge to stand against war" as the audience stood. Not a few had their heads bowed in the attitude of prayer. The reading of the solemn invocation was ended and the lips of many naturally and perceptibly moved to an Amen. No discussion was held.

On the way out the writer expressed his disgust to Bechtold standing in the back. Bechtold apologetically replied, "This is not a Communist meeting, we don't want to scare them away. 'This is what Stalinism has wrought."

—J. GIGANTI

League to Open School

First Four Courses Will Begin in New York City Next Month

The Communist League of America has carried on extensive propaganda in the United States for the Marxist position of the International Left Opposition. We have been laying a solid foundation of Marxist principles. Upon this base we have developed, and upon this base the International Left Opposition continues to grow while the Right wing disintegrates as the Stalinists move deeper into contradictions of their own creation.

With this foundation, with our growth and with the increasingly favorable situation in the United States the Left Opposition can now take another step forward. The extension of our propaganda activity into greater class activity. One part of this activity is the transformation of the New York study classes into a school—the INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL.

The INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL is now a reality, and as a modest start we are opening an enrollment campaign for four classes to begin October 17. Just as fast as possible we will organize other classes equally as important as the first four.

By October 15 we will have a new headquarters for the Left Opposition and class rooms for the International Workers School. There will be office rooms, class rooms and a Hall for our regular Friday Forums. The first four classes will be:

The History of the American Communist Movement—James P. Cannon, 8 lessons every Monday from Oct. 17 to Dec. 5.

State and Revolution—Jack Weber, 10 lessons every Monday from October 17 to Dec. 19.

The History of the Comintern—Max Shachtman, 8 lessons every Wednesday

from Oct. 19 to Dec. 7.

The Theoretical System of Marxism—Hugo Oehler, 10 lessons from Oct. 19 to Dec. 21, every Wednesday.

Registration for each course is \$1.00.

The teaching of Marxism cannot be carried on in the class rooms abstracted from the world-shaking class struggles of the proletariat. Communist classes cannot be carried on by self-styled individuals and study groups divorced from the class struggle. Nor can the members of the non-Marxist or revisionist currents of Marxism in one degree or another conduct study classes in Marxism. Only the Bolshevik-Leninists who translate the class events into correct theory as a guide to class action can carry on Marxist teachings. The role of the International Left Opposition in the class struggles places a task and duty of developing a national training center for the American Communists. The International Workers School is another step forward in this field by the Left Opposition.

We are determined to carry through this plan. To do this we need your help. We need a fund of \$300.00 to launch the School and new headquarters. The followers of the Left Opposition throughout the United States must help in this. The burden rests upon the New York comrades but all help, all donations and contributions from any city to lay the foundation for a national training school is needed.

The New York workers must come in the office and enroll at once. Registration is \$1.00 per course. ENROLL NOW. Call or write for our catalogue. Mail all contributions, and registration fee to: J. Weber, Administrator, 84 East 10th Street, New York City.

Terror Rules in Illinois Coal Field

Official Party Leaders Forced to Abandon Sectarian Attitude Towards New Union

Significance of N.M.U. Offer of a United Front

The National Miners Union, officially, through its secretary, Frank Borah, has addressed a letter to the Progressive Miners of America, at Gillespie, Ill., voicing the unanimous deep concern of its national committee and its membership for the heroic struggle of the Illinois miners and proposing some measures of unity of action. It proposes a conference to be composed of representatives of both organizations to discuss the following points: "What can the National Miners Union do to help the Illinois miners to defeat the wage cut, and the strike-breaking Lewis-Walker machine?"

This represents a complete round-about turn on the part of the official party leadership at the head of the affairs of the N. M. U. It is a change to be welcomed. But while this one instance is still far from an open acknowledgment of a necessary change of attitude in general on the vital question of a working class united front policy, it is nevertheless possible to say that, if followed up correctly, this beginning can become of enormous importance to the American labor and revolutionary movement. Those who set themselves up as the high priests of a so-called new "revolutionary" theory of a "united front from below," which, of course, is no united front at all, have become compelled, not by virtue of their own theoretical conclusions to be sure, but at least by force of the realities the class struggle, to take a step toward a change in the right direction. The logic of the development of working class forces in motion compelled the official party leadership to begin to draw the conclusions which, on the basis of its false theoretical position it was incapable of arriving at.

What the N. M. U. Can Do for the Strike

It is quite clear that the pitiable position of the N. M. U., its organizational weakness, its isolation and disrepute suffered due to the stranglehold bureaucracy imposed upon it, resting upon a false tactical foundation despite the heroic struggles that union has conducted, is in the main responsible for this change of front. Hence it is much more necessary for the Communist voices to continue relentlessly until this change becomes the true beginning toward a genuinely conceived working class united front policy.

In this present condition of the N. M. U., it must be admitted that there is not so much it can do directly to help win the Illinois strike and defeat the strike-breaking Lewis-Walker machine. But as a representative of the Left wing forces there is much it can do. The N. M. U., despite its present shortcomings, expresses the ideas of the Left. It is a Left union. As such its essence embodies the essence of future unionism in the United States. It is in this light that the question of correct policy assumes its enormous significance.

It is a quite well known fact that the leadership of the Progressive Miners of America contains many elements whose ideological base is an outright reactionary one. There are opportunist elements and timid elements who particularly fear any contamination with "Red" issues. It is most likely that all these will unite to oppose the overt move and the hand extended by the N. M. U.—if not as yet in a direct sense, then at least indirectly for the time being, until they may feel themselves more ready to thwart the rank and file desires. And this is precisely what needs to be guarded against. There need not be any doubt that the Illinois rank and file miners, to the very deepest core of their ranks, genuinely and seriously desire an honestly conceived unity of action in this fateful moment and for the future of their new union.

However, this proposal made by the N. M. U. represents only one small step. The Illinois miners' strike and the defeat of the Lewis-Walker machine—there is only one side of the question. To what that must be added the one of the future of unionism, of uncorrupted unionism, of militant unionism resting on a class struggle basis, throughout the mine fields. That much the miners understood today. But how to attain it? That is the problem.

We are convinced that in this respect we have made and fought for the correct proposals, both by propaganda in these columns as well as through the direct and loyal activities of our comrades in the field. We can conceive of no better way than to follow up these proposals and we therefore take the liberty to advise the militants in the Progressive Miners of America to fight for their realization. To accept the invitation from the N. M. U. honestly and sincerely, but to broaden its base by proposing a conference to which shall be invited also the Miners Union of West Virginia and other sections which have broken with the Lewis machine. To propose that this conference consider ways and means of a united front of these various organi-

zations in the struggle for wages and working conditions, in the struggle against the remnants of the Lewis machine as well as ways and means toward complete unity of militant unionism in the mine fields. —THE MILITANT.

Frame-Up Challenge Stays Unanswered by Party

Central Executive Committee

Communist Party of the United States:

The *Daily Worker* of August 23, contained a direct frame-up charge of murder against the Communist Left Opposition. This was repeated by you in a number of leaflets issued as well as in subsequent issues of the *Daily Worker*.

We could consider this only as a vicious attempt to incite a black hundred pogrom campaign against us in lieu of the failure on your part to answer politically a single one of our arguments on vital working class problems. We so branded it in our public declaration published in *The Militant* of August 27. We also declared our readiness to have the facts of the situation, which you turned into a dastardly frame-up, fully investigated at a public working class hearing. To this effect we addressed a letter to the following central organizations:

Communist Party of U. S. A.
Trade Union Unity League
American Civil Liberties Union
Conference for Progressive Labor Action

Communist Party (Majority Group)

Industrial Workers of the World

You failed to answer this letter, and so did the I. L. D. and the TUUL which you direct. The other organizations declared themselves ready to participate in a public hearing. To us this is the most convincing proof that you were not at all prepared even to make an attempt before the eyes of the working class to make good your charge. You found that your foul attempt of incitement did not succeed and you were compelled to back down.

In view of this retreat from a false and unsubstantiated position on your part we intend not to make any further request upon the other organizations mentioned for a public hearing. Your fear of meeting the issue squarely before the working class has therefore closed this phase of the incident.

We do declare, however, that this contemptible effort on your part, stooping to the worst methods of reaction, served to open the eyes of many serious Communist workers and render them more willing to listen to what the Left Opposition has to say. Of this we have received ample proof by growing sympathy for our ideas. We shall not fail in the least to continue our political hammer blows for a return of the Communist Party to a Leninist basis.

Communist League of America (Opposition)
—ARNE SWABECK, Sec'y.

Progressive Miners Union Under Severe Attack

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—

The Progressive Miners of America, the new union in this district, came into being as another sell-out was being perpetrated by the traitorous leadership of the old U. M. W. A. headed by John J. Walker and John L. Lewis in their attempt to force the miners to accept another 25% reduction in the already reduced starvation wages of the miners.

The leadership of the P. M. A. is composed of varying shades of political opinion. There are republicans and democrats, S. P. and Musteltes with Communists in a very small minority, whilst official Communism is not represented in this great struggle of the miners.

Confusion Sowed

The various shades, expressing their opinions at mass meetings, sow confusion in the minds of the miners who are decidedly militant and class conscious. The rank and file of the bituminous area are rampant and voice in true militant spirit that resentment engendered by the corrupt and degenerate leadership of the U. M. W. A. The miners have always been in the front ranks of the American class struggle and today they are showing the road which the entire American working mass must follow in this particular phase of the class struggle.

This new union, born on the eve of the betrayal by the reactionary misleaders, is not going to surrender to the bosses' agents, Walker-Lewis, without a merciless struggle. Those miners who have been months on the picket line are very watchful of the men they have chosen to lead them in this strike. The first false move of the leadership toward capitulation to the new scale proffered by the bosses will mean that the rank and file will again choose men who will not sell out their very meager demands.

The miners know that this fight is the initial start of the general defense which the entire working class is taking up against the onslaughts of American capitalism in its attempt to place the burdens of the crisis on the backs of the workers. In order to break the strike and have the mines guarded by the state militia, Lewis and his henchmen are pulling off some old tricks. East Sunday morning the offices of the Taylorville Breeze, an organ of the bosses, and the sub-district office of the U. M. W. A. were dynamited, a provocation to cover up Gov. Emmerson's willingness to bring the state troopers into action. Now at Taylorville there are two companies of artillery, working under orders from the Peabody Coal Co. and Lewis, prevent picketing and mass meetings. But the mines remain closed.

A Reign of Terror

The state, Peabody, and Lewis, have their major concentration in Franklin Williamson and Saline Counties. Here their heavy artillery is brought into play.

(Continued on page 3)

Barbusse-Stalin Congress

Stalinists and Opposition

Twenty-one hundred delegates participated in the Amsterdam Congress. All around the Congress large inscriptions in chalk covered the sidewalks: "Long live Trotsky!", "Free Rakovsky and the deported Oppositionists!" These were the immense signs which met the delegates.

The opening speech by Barbusse was a pathetic eulogy to the "manifestation of the strength and sincerity of the Congress," literally hailed as a decisive stage in human history. In greeting this assemblage "above the parties," Barbusse nevertheless promised a "thoroughgoing discussion and study" of all the proposals. The declaration of Romain Rolland to the first session addressed itself to "the army of men and women of the whole world" coming "to declare, to impose, peace upon the world." This appeal by Rolland, declaring that it does "not call into question the doctrines and tactics of the parties," raised as a principle that "each front has its own freedom of action." These declarations set the tone from the outset for the whole of the Congress.

The election of the presidium took place in the atmosphere of passive unanimity to which the Congress was delivered bound hand and foot. It was composed of a heterogeneous succession of personages chosen for their renown. Cachin and Mme. Duchene, Barbusse and Fonteny, wearing the rosette of the Legion d'Honneur, the leader of an association of radical veterans, Muenzenberg and the General Baron von Schoenach, Katayama, Patel and Mme. Sun Yat Sen. Behind them was called a few worker militants. In this manner was the show-front of the Congress constituted.

(Continued on page 2)

The Barbusse «Charter»

The Amsterdam Congress came to an end on August 29 with the vote for a scandalous manifesto which is to serve as the "charter" of action for those who adopted it. The fourth of September, that is, a week afterwards, this manifesto has not yet been published anywhere. (In the United States, it has not yet been published.—Ed.). Why?

L'Humanite (central organ of the French Communist Party) of September 4 speaks of the "putting into effect of the Congress decisions". Which decisions? It is eight days since the reports of the Congress have been made, but the essential part of them—the "charter", the manifesto, the "decisions"—has not been made public.

Can it be that the text, after the vote, is still being retouched?

However that may be, a text was submitted to the Congress (in four languages: French, German, English and Dutch). A few changes of detail were made in the text distributed through the Congress, changes known from the reading of the final text by Barbusse.

On the vote the floor was refused to us in spite of our vehement insistence. It was accorded, however, to Mr. Patel, the former president of the Indian National Congress, who explained his objections at length even though he had voted for the "charter". The presidium refused to put our text, regularly proposed, to a vote. It even refused to take the negative, to ask who was opposed to the Barbusse manifesto. We had to intervene violently to record our vote Against.

In L'Humanite of September 1, Cachin, speaking of the revolutionary action, "On this program of revolutionary action, so capital for us, no reservations were for-

(Continued on page 2)

What Happened at the Barbusse Congress?

(Continued from page 1)

mulated by a single Congress delegate. Quite the contrary." He lies deliberately. The delegates of the Left Opposition refused to make themselves accomplices in the criminal confusion of this manifesto, they refused to grant their confidence for the permanent struggle against war to a committee composed of Gandhists, Barbusseists, Fascists and Stalinists. The Official Bulletin of the Congress records our vote as follows: "The manifesto is adopted amid delirious enthusiasm of the Congress by more than 2,100 votes against 6 votes of the French Trotskyists." And further: "In the same way, the list of the members for the Permanent Committee of the Congress against War was adopted by more than 2,000 votes against the 6 votes of the French Trotskyists."

Let us now examine briefly this character on which the Centrists at least made no reservations.

The idea of class is totally absent from this manifesto. In our view, in the view of the Marxists, the question of war is a class question, and the role of the proletariat in war is determined by the class character of this war. We are against the imperialist war, for the civil war. We support certain national wars. Each case requires a specific analysis. In the manifesto, nothing of the sort is to be found. Its language is vulgarly democratic.

The Congress, it says there, "does not deny the existence of ideological and political nuances which may divide the elements composing it" . . . Thus, between the Indian bourgeoisie, between the Western petty bourgeoisie and the revolutionary proletariat (all represented at the Congress), there are nothing but . . . ideological nuances! After that, nothing stands in the way of unanimity for hollow generalities, devoid of any class sense.

Precisely, the whole of the manifesto is a laborious assembling of paragraphs carefully doctored to give satisfaction to everybody, and they bear the indelible mark of Centrism.

The Indelible Stamp of Centrism

One finds a very vague analysis of capitalist disorder and of the way in which it engenders war, which concludes as follows: "The Congress proclaims that out of this whole state of affairs it is the human (?) masses who are and who will be its victims. By the effect of the crisis of over-production and the defective (!) distribution of production, derived by the action of an increasing unemployment, etc. . . the multitudes of labor are crushed, those who were cut down by the last war and who for the last fourteen years still bear the sorrows and wounds of it."

Then the manifesto comes out against "the maintenance of artificial (sic) frontiers imposed by the peace treaties", it asserts that "Article 217 of the Treaty of Versailles incriminating Germany with the sole responsibility, constitutes a crying untruth (sic) which, exploited by a play of demagogic mysticism has in part provoked the Fascist reactions of Germany" . . .

It is not possible for us to dwell upon each of these phrases. They contain a whole world of confusion. Let us mark out simply the passage that for the Congress the frontiers of Versailles are "artificial". Are there, then, "natural" frontiers? According to the manifesto, there are; that is it sinks fully into petty bourgeois nationalism which simply reproaches the Versailles negotiators with having "badly cut up" the map of Europe!

Finally, the manifesto takes up its tactic of struggle against an imperialist war. Here is literally what it says on the subject: "Determined to stand up as much as it is humanly possible against this march to the abyss which involves all living beings, the Congress sees salvation only in the concerted action of the workers, the peasants and all the exploited and oppressed of the world." And that is all. Immediately afterwards, is added: the Congress "declares that no other means of struggle against war is sufficient."

What does this mean to say? We defy any sincere comrade, whoever he may be, to explain this paragraph. Is there in it the slightest serious explanation of the methods of struggle against war? Isn't it a purely social democratic hollow phrase? "Concerted action"—What action? Concerted among whom and whom? By means of which organizations and to what end? etc. . . All these questions must be answered!

After this, the manifesto adjures the "conscientious objectors" to renounce their tactics. It speaks of "noble dreams", of "unfortunately useless sacrifice", of "splendid moral attitude", of "heroic methods". Who can explain the meaning of this phrase: "To the men of character and courage who preach heroic methods and by accepting for themselves the very grave consequences, it asks to be also (!) with the others (?) in order to build up, stone by stone, from the bottom, a massive and collective barrier"? . . .

Finally, the last paragraphs must be quoted: "The Congress turns towards the innumerable proletariat whose sovereignty depends only upon conscious organization (and not upon the overthrow of the bourgeoisie—a purely social democratic thesis).

"Strong with the mandate confided to it by a multitude of persons risen from all the horizons of the universe and different tendencies, but united in the sincere and ardent desire for peace; strong

with the profound conviction that the struggle against war is not upright except to the extent that it is effective and weighs down on affairs.

"It urges the mass, the only invincible power in the tragical disorder of our times, to enter with disciplined ranks into this disorder and make its voice heard there loudly!"

And right after that, is added: "It is in this sense (but what sense? has any of it any sense?) that it intends to have the Committee of Struggle against War, which it has formed, work: to extend this labor front throughout the world."

Here comes the grandiloquent oath that was taken in common, without the least reservation, by the Patels, the Fontenys, the Monnets and Bergerys, the General von Schoenichs, the Muenzenbergs and the Cachins:

Cachin's Pledge and . . . Patel's

"Each of us here takes a pledge and we take it all together:

"We pledge that we will never allow the formidable unity which has been established here among the exploited and victimized multitudes to be broken up."

"We pledge to fight with all our force and with all our resources against capitalism, purveyor to slaughter-houses."

"We pledge to dedicate ourselves with all our strength and all our resources to the immediate and urgent tasks, standing up against . . ." Here follow the general slogans:

Against armaments, against the preparation of war by the "public powers which rule us", against chauvinism, against Fascism "which organizes the civil war", against war budgets and loans to Fascist states, against the campaign of incitement against the U. S. S. R., against the dismemberment of China, against the exploitation and oppression of the masses of colonial peoples, for the struggle for national and social liberation, for the support of the Japanese workers, for the support of the transport and munitions workers, for the struggle by "all means" against the "imperialist capitalism."

This is the substance of the manifesto which was adopted unanimously save for 6 votes, amidst general confusion and without a SINGLE COMMUNIST SPEAKER HAVING EXPRESSED THE SLIGHTEST RESERVATION OR AMENDMENT ON THE SUBJECT:

And now, let us put these questions: 1. Why hasn't this manifesto, this "charter", this "basis for action", which is to "orient" the struggle of the party against war, been published to this day? What does this silence conceal? What alterations, after the fact, are being prepared for it?

2. What organizations, what Communist meetings, gave a mandate to and authorized the Communist leaders to vote for such a text without reservations? How should the vote without reservations for the Barbusse platform be designated except as a swindle against the ranks of the party?

3. This confused text was adopted by the licensed representatives of the big bourgeoisie, of the "social Fascist" LEADERS, of the petty bourgeois pacifists, etc., who find nothing in it different from the resolutions of their own parties. To vote jointly with them without reservations, doesn't that mean to make an UNPRINCIPLED BLOC from above, in the dark of the moon?

In the whole manifesto, one single paragraph makes allusion to revolutionary methods of struggle. It is the following: the Congress "asserts that the Japanese workers have already showed by heroic examples how the struggle against the imperialist war should be conducted, by standing up against their own bourgeoisie, by endeavoring to oppose the production and transportation of munitions, and by opening the eyes of the soldiers themselves as to the rapacious character of this war." Naturally, this paragraph was inserted to "satisfy" the Communists. But in spite of this, it sows confusion for it does not say that it is a question of utilizing the war to beat the bourgeoisie, to overthrow the capitalist regime, to substitute the proletarian dictatorship for the bourgeois dictatorship. As it stands, the paragraph may lead to the belief that it is simply a matter of a "pressure" upon the national bourgeoisie to bring the war to a halt. And it is just for that reason that Monnet and Planche, who vote for the war budget of Herriot-Boncour, also voted for this resolution in all tranquility!

Take the text of the recent resolutions of the Second International in Zurich. Do we not also find there the slogan of the defense of the U. S. S. R., of the sabotage of munitions transportation, etc.? . . . Don't we know that those are hollow phrases which only serve, in the last analysis, to dupe the masses?

How could the Communist party rally to these hollow phrases without a word of reservation, of amendment, of criticism! At the inevitable moment when the Patels, the Fontenys, the Monnets, etc. will show that they stand in the long run for the interests of bourgeois democracy rather than those of the proletarian, revolutionary struggle against war, what will be the attitude of the Centrists who united with them on the same platform?

The bloc, without conditions or limitations, without clarity, serves only confusion, opportunism, that is, in the last analysis, the social democratic and treacherous petty bourgeois leadership.

Against that, the party must be warned, as well as the revolutionary vanguard who have been caught in the snare of ambiguity and confusion.

It must be asserted loudly: this mani-

festo, this "charter", this platform, will be an obstacle to the struggle against war. The party, the trade unions, the various committees, will be unable to engage in a real struggle against war except by trampling upon this text, by rejecting the advice of the International Committee, by fighting fiercely to put through in every meeting a precise, limited program of action of the united front with all the workers' organizations. There is no other way.

For where in this "charter" is there anything precise and serious about the methods of struggle, on the revolutionary struggle, on the tactic and strategy of the struggle against imperialism? Nowhere. You find nothing but badly bloated literature!

The party leaders refuse the honest audit front, that is, one based upon limited, precise proposals, made by the party with full independence, discussed by the party and responsibly adopted by it, addressed to the responsible reformist organizations which embrace hundreds of thousands of workers. Instead of this, they camouflage themselves behind pseudo-united front committees, in confusion, and they are led to make a bloc from above with the enemies of Communism! These are the facts which no insults, no quibbling, will conceal from the eyes of the vanguard. And the inevitable conclusion is this: for the moment, Centrism profits by this indefinite current started and exploited by it; but in the long run, it is opportunistic! The social democracy, which will profit by it, in the hour when the proletarian Communist wing will be obliged to extricate itself from the morass of the Patels and the Monnets, and when the social democrats will exclaim: "There you see how sincere they were; they are now breaking up a bloc which they made without expressing any reservations, without outlining the limitations, without foreseeing the future!" And at that moment, the workers will feel the brutal effects of Centrism confusion. They will see that the Left Opposition was right.

Still another feature of the manifesto should be emphasized. The text reviews the international situation and the war danger spots, but NOTHING IS SAID ABOUT THE GERMAN SITUATION! You do find this enormity, that it is Article 217 of the Versailles Treaty which is responsible for the rise of German Fascism, but not a line can be read which denounces the Hitlerite Fascist reaction as the greatest war menace to the U. S. S. R. The whole manifesto is vague in this respect. In spite of the war which is tearing up the Far East, the decisive threat, the knife which is being wielded over the throat of the German, Russian and international proletariat, is the Fascism of Hitler, the crushing boot of bloody capitalism which is writhing in convulsions. The mute Stalin compels his international apparatus to remain silent about this fact. That is why the Congress directed by Muenzenberg, one of the leaders of the German Communist Party, was able to adopt a manifesto which passes over in silence the critical hour through which the capitalist universe and the international proletariat are passing in the class struggle in Germany, a struggle which today entirely dominates the problem of peace and war.

Not a minute was granted the Opposition to say this. And yet, we do not want to see socialist deputies, who vote the war budgets of Boncour, who approve the tactic of treachery of Severing and Braun, applaud Muenzenberg when he evokes the sacrifices of the proletarians of Germany—we want positions to be taken on this point, clear engagements, so that everyone knows where he is going and how he will get there.

Such a manifesto we rejected with indignation. We deposited with the president our own declaration demanding that it be put to the vote. They refused. Yet it substituted for the pacifist-Centrism hotch-potch the clear thoughts of Marxism. It concretized the limited, definite program upon which a temporary united front (and not a permanent bloc) could be offered and pressed before the responsible reformist workers' organizations.

Let every party comrade reflect upon it. Let those who greeted the speech of the social democrat, Nicole, with cries of "Unity!", who acclaimed Rolland, Barbusse, Fonteny, Patel and Co. as their leaders in the struggle against war, ponder again: the facts will open their eyes. They must demand in the party the renunciation of this manifesto. They must force the apparatus to uncover its double game. They must demand an independent declaration of the party. Let them adopt the position of the Left Opposition, contained in our manifesto. Right now, the best elements will understand us. And tomorrow, it is the whole party that we will succeed in snatching out of the Centrism combinations which ruin the Marxist doctrine of the proletariat in the vital question of war and peace.

Paris, September 1932

—P. NAVILLE.

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THE LEADER OF THE HINDU BOURGEOISIE OPENS AND CLOSES THE DEBATES

Special mention should be made of the speeches of the former president of the Indian National Congress, Patel, chief of the Hindu bourgeoisie, leader of its Right wing. Patel came to this congress for good cause, he knew the political benefit he could gain from it to cover himself before the toiling masses of India, to obtain in Europe points of support for the negotiations of the Hindu bourgeoisie with English imperialism and to stifle the revolutionary class movement of the Indian workers and peasants. He cared very little, with the white uniform of his caste, about being a spike in the Congress. He played his politics. And this policy should be known to the Communists for whom the tragic experience with the Kuo Min Tang is still alive. In India, the Congress of the Hindu bourgeoisie and, at its head, Patel, have already committed acts of class repression against the proletariat and its revolutionary militants. And Patel himself did not fail to mention it from the tribune of the Congress. Notwithstanding, the Congress answered him with a unanimous chanting of the International!

In his appeal, R. Rolland, apologist for Gandhi, the man who is disarming the Indian workers and peasants, saluted India which "is pursuing with its own weapons of Satyagraha, its silent, its invincible struggle of liberation". In his exposition, Patel, after expressing regret, amidst the applause of the Congress, over Gandhi, "whose place would be so distinguished at this Congress" (that's all that was missing!), declared that as for himself India was the central point of the imperialist war danger and, to the idea that "the end of capitalism is the condition sine qua non of the end of all wars", he opposed the central idea of "the end of the domination of England over India", which he interpreted in the sense of the Hindu bourgeoisie. Patel indicated that he repudiates Communism and spoke of the attitude of the Indian National Congress towards it.

On the eve of the Congress, during a preparatory meeting, Patel had demanded for himself a speaking time without any limitations whatsoever, else he would quit the Congress with a statement for the press. At no moment during the Congress did he lose sight of his own policy. Patel served up to the Congress the policy of the class he represented.

When the Congress had concluded with the vote carried by the whole apparatus for the final manifesto, Patel demanded and again obtained the floor to show that he is in no way altered his position and that he still rejected violence. The English delegation had to rise against his declaration. Neither this final speech nor this protest were translated to the Congress.

Pacifist Speakers and Communists

As soon as Patel had concluded his remarks, the theater front to whom the chairmanship had been entrusted, Miglioli, former Catholic deputy from Cremona, let loose and gave the floor to a new celebrity. From then on the fate of the Congress was sealed. No serious agenda was worked out. The Congress was compelled to confine itself to a succession of general speeches, of greetings, indifferently delivered by literati, militants, politicians or by genuine fighters from the proletarian front. Amazing speeches were delivered: the autonomist, Dahlet, demanded that the League of Nations declare it a duty, not to divide in case of war. Echoes of the real struggle of the revolutionary proletariat were nevertheless heard from the tribune in the course of the heterogeneous and sterile procession: the voice of an Invergon sailor, the voice of a striker from the Belgian mines, of a revolutionary seaman, of Balkan revolutionists, of colonial militants. But all these speeches were included in an endless chain of others punctuated by revolutionary songs with which the Congress too frequently greeted irresponsible literati.

A pacifist speaker proposed as against the Sacred Union of War, to constitute a Sacred Union of those who do not want war.

Pressed to explain themselves about this confusion, the militants of the Communist party and the revolutionary trade unions showed their passive skepticism or else replied: We've got to win them over. We are not here as Communists.

THE COMMUNISTS ON THE TRIBUNE OF THE CONGRESS

Several Communists orators intervened. Among the French, Cachin and Racamond delivered long expositions, and on the whole these speeches appeared to be of organization and of action, transformation of all formulations, the total absence of conclusions in principles, of organization and of action, transformed these speeches into embroideries on Communist themes: that is, into un-Communist acts. For Communist speeches are distinguished by their conclusions in principles, by organization and by action: they were wanting in the appeals of our representatives. How could things have been otherwise in a Congress held 'outside of parties'? Also, in place of the precise assertion on the principle underlying the Communist party's actions, on the concrete platform which it should have proposed for the mobilization of workers' organizations, Cachin ended his speech with this vague remark: "We proclaim that sectarianism here would be a crime against the proletariat itself." Under these conditions,

with these diplomatic, impersonal and abstract conclusions, what purpose could have been served by Racamond's speech on the necessity of "destroying the nervous system of preparation for war?"

In the Presidium, the "social Fascist" deputies Monnet and Planche fraternized with Barbusse and the organizers. After the categorical declarations of refusal to sit at the same table as the "Social-Fascist murderers of the proletariat", the Centrists representatives showed that at the table of Barbusse and Monnet, they themselves were contributing nothing less sterile, nothing more capable of efficiently serving the interests of the proletariat and of causing its revolutionary vanguard to advance.

THE INTERVENTION OF THE REFORMISTS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

Among the pennants carried in the Congress hall, one bore the inscription: Fight the international socialist reaction. On the second day the word "Socialist" on the banner was obliterated. About three hundred of the delegates belonged to the Second International. They stood up against the cynical boycott of action against imperialism war by the Adlers and Vanderveldes. But they were summoned to speak only on the confused basis of Barbusse's speeches and manifestos.

The director of the Geneva social democratic journal, the Left socialist Nicole, intervened in a more significant way, politically. He used the language of a Left socialist with the borrowed scraps which that language has taken from Communist ideas: On the basis of such a speech he was able to declare himself in perfect accord with Marcel Cachin's speech. At the same time he urged the political unity of the proletariat and the reunion of its parties. Extraordinary as it may seem, these declarations were received with great enthusiasm by the French Communists. Muenzenberg had to make some remarks on this demonstration immediately. But such Congresses are not called to dissipate the confusion in which Centrism throws its good working class elements.

Similarly, an intervention by Rosenfeld, leader of the German Socialist Labor Party, remained unapproached.

MUENZENBERG'S SPEECH

However, Nicole's intervention demanded a reply from Muenzenberg, upon whom, in fact, rested the whole burden of the Congress. Muenzenberg's intervention had the job of bringing the whole discussion to the point. But in such a Congress, the discussion can be brought to the point only at the cost of a radical transformation of the Congress. And it was exactly this which Muenzenberg did not want.

Besides, despite several vigorous passages, Muenzenberg, who was announced as one of the leaders of the 3rd International, did not speak the language of the 3rd International. "Today I do not speak here in the name of the 3rd International, but in the name of the Congress, whose sentiments I am sure I express." Furthermore, the recollection of the socialist leaders' treason in 1914, the ambiguous reference to the French delegation's outbreak with reference to Nicole's intervention, the necessity that "the promises given should be followed by actions", remained hollow phrases without class content, without the party conclusions. To Patel, Muenzenberg merely replied that non-violence serves the interests of the Indian bourgeoisie; he refuted it with several literary phrases.

Muenzenberg also replied to the Left Opposition.

He said literally: "It is the Trotskyist fraction which is most active in this Congress." He rejected our proposals in a few sentimental phrases about devotion to the party, and the only thing with which he reproached Trotsky was his alleged consideration of himself as higher than the party. In reality he tried to defend this confusionist Congress against our criticisms, and our comrades protested vigorously when he distorted our position.

The Opposition at the Congress

For the balance of the Congress' duration, the six delegates belonging to the International Left Opposition fought energetically. They made themselves heard despite the Bureau's obstruction, they held conversations with the workers, summoning the Communist party to define clearly its line of principle and action, and proposing concrete objectives of common struggle to the responsible workers' organizations.

From the opening of the session, when it became obvious that the Congress was engaged in an endless stream of greetings, one of our comrades, after having vainly asked the Presidium for the right to speak on the agenda, demanded from his seat the privilege of intervening so that the Congress might determine its proceedings in a fruitful manner, consider the various doctrinal positions, and conclude with serious results. But when he had gained the tribune, he was brutally driven off it by the strong-arm squad, while Miglioli and Gibarti tried to lecture the Congress against these "anarchistic methods."

Starting with that moment, and during the entire Congress, the united apparatus defended the proceedings of the Congress from our persistent efforts, straining ceaselessly and in every way possible way to gag us. The Miglioli-Gibarti-Muenzenberg trinity redoubled false promises, alternating with threats, to oppose the constant interventions of our comrades, and to try to keep the Left Opposition from uttering the opinions of the Opposition to this Congress.

Literature of all tendencies and from all organizations was distributed to all delegates at the Congress. The Daughters of Peace and the Women's Peace League distributed their pamphlets. The anarchists distributed a leaflet against the Congress.

But the distribution actively undertaken by our comrades of the "Declaration of the Bolshevik-Leninists" in German, English and French, twice caused incidents of such great violence from the functionaries of the Dutch, French and German parties, that they necessitated the intervention of the Congress apparatus which, finally, refused us and us alone, the opportunity to distribute the writings of the Left Opposition.

Our Indo-Chinese Comrade Speaks

On the first day, the floor was given to comrade Ra, delegate of a group of colonial workers; we here reproduce the essence of his speech:

"In the imperialist epoch capitalism cannot avoid conquering and fighting with guns over the colonial countries, which are tremendous sources of raw material and markets for the capitalist states.

"In the colonies capital creates a proletariat and a peasantry which it exploits harshly. The exploited colonials organize and struggle. Their desperate struggle in China, Indo-China, India, Africa, already honors the names of Shanghai, Canton, Yen Bay, Vinh, Chauri-Chaura. To the raising of the Indo-Chinese workers' standard the imperialists oppose machine-guns, airplanes and the guillotine, and unite to crush the vanguard, the colonial Communist parties. Of this type are the decapitations at Yen Bay, the repression at Vinh, the arrest, followed by their death, of N'Guyan Al Quoc.

"These bloody colonial wars are inevitably accompanied by class war in the colonies themselves. In this class conflict imperialism guarantees itself, by means of the 2nd International's fakers, the aid of the native bourgeoisie and part of the petty bourgeoisie. The Trotskyist socialist section demands bloody measures of repression against the Indo-Chinese revolutionists, at the same time that the Sarauts and Leon Blums are urging the French government to rationalize the exploitation of the colonials.

"Among the reformist tendencies of the native bourgeoisie, those which the workers have bitterly experienced are Sun Yat Senism and Gandhism. Sun Yat Sen states in his Memoires that in his suppression of revolts he assured himself the aid of French and American bankers. After him the Kuo Min Tang, with its leaders, Chiang Kai-Shek, Wang Chin Wei and even Sun Yat Sen, fulfilled its mission as imperialism's valet in the massacre of the workers in Shanghai and Canton as well as in the coups d'Etat of March 26 and January 27. In India, Gandhi, by his concept of non-resistance, takes his share of responsibility for the peasant massacre at Chauri-Chaura. The colonial bourgeoisie, linked to imperialism in the exploitation of workers, in spite of their antagonisms, have interests which ally them to imperialism in the wars of conquest and the wars of liberation.

"The struggle against war can only be led by the working class with its vanguard, the Communist International, in the direction of the dictatorship of the proletariat allied to the peasantry. The struggle against war has no meaning outside of the fierce battle for the overthrow of the imperialist regime. This struggle can be led only in opposition to the ideology and influence of the imperialists' valets and supporters—the 2nd International, the native bourgeoisie, and (I hope I don't hurt R. Rolland's and Barbusse's feelings); all the petty bourgeois pacifist ideologies.

"In this fight for liberation the colonial workers are assured the active aid of the world proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. is a vital source of help for them. A victory of the workers in the metropolis will give them inestimable support and vice versa. Here too the Comintern Central leadership's national reformist conception of 'Socialism in one country' is revealed as anti-Communist. The colonial workers will fight this wretched tendency and will set their sole vanguard, the C. I., on the road of the world revolution, without which the realization of socialism is impossible and peace is Utopian.

"At this period, when the crisis of the bourgeoisie and its class contradictions force the German bourgeoisie to unleash Hitler's Fascism against the German proletariat, the struggle against war remains a dead letter if the C. I. does not realize a fighting united front of workers' organizations to crush Hitler's Fascism and defend the U. S. S. R. on a class basis."

In concluding, Ra hailed the fight undertaken by the International Left Opposition and its leader, Leon Trotsky. The applause which first greeted our comrade, whose tendencies were still unknown to any one, gave place to the booing of the Communist functionaries. The speech was not translated for the other delegates who came in numbers to ask why the end of the speech had been hissed. Its appearance in the "honest" Congress Bulletin is carefully expurgated and completely distorted.

On the second day, the efforts of our comrades caused the apparatus to grant several minutes to comrade Molinier, who had credentials from the Greek organizations. He said, in substance:

(Continued on page 3)

Weisbord's Reply to Trotsky's Letter

(Continued from last issue)

On the general question of Centrism, we feel that our differences are not very great and in some respects are only of a formal character. In giving the name "centrism" only to those groupings which occupy the place between the official camps of reformism (social democracy) and the official camp of Communism, we have used the term precisely as Lenin used it. However here the whole question seems to be one of name and we do not wish to quarrel over that.

What we emphatically deny is the implications in your statement that "we were concerned to efface the difference between the official party, the Right wing fraction (Lovelston group) and even the American League" and the further statement, "This makes it easy for you to remain in an eclectic position and defend your right of a bloc with the Lovelston group."

First of all, it is not true that we do not distinguish between the Right wing and the Party. We consider ourselves a fraction of the PARTY and not of the Right wing. In the very beginning of the organization of our tendency, in January 1931, in his debate with one of the American League, our representative declared:

"It is true there is a difference between the Communist party (Stalin-Browder-Foster faction) and the Communist party (Majority group) Bucharin-Brandier-Lovelston faction. These differences can be summarized broadly as follows: 1. The "official Communist party" has more members, more good militant fighters who must be won over, has more influence in the radical movement, etc. 2. The opportunism of the Communist party takes on a different form from that of the C. P. (Majority group). 3. The tempo of development of their opportunism differs. These differences the Communist League (Opposition) must take into consideration. Its tactics must be to stress the winning of the ranks and file of the Communist party for there are the principal ranks of the militants today."

What we wish to affirm is that Stalinism, or the "Bureaucratic Centrism" is also on the whole a form of centrism that is to the right of Leninism, in spite of ultra-Left zigzags, and is moving toward Reformism. The fact that Stalinism rests upon the Soviet bureaucracy still tied to the workers by the frame of the proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union means that on the one hand this centrism has a more permanent base than the ordinary forms of centrism which are by their very nature ephemeral and transient, and that, on the other hand, it will be a tendency capable of movements of yielding to the pressure of the working class and thus having leftward zig-zag peculiarities.

If we ask whether Bureaucratic Centrism is more to the right or to the left of the Right wing, our answer must depend on a concrete analysis of the given time and place and set of circumstances and not on an abstract generality. Certainly it would be most mechanical and formalistic to declare, as the American League has done, that everywhere Stalinism is a tendency between us and the Right wing. The problem is not quite the same in Sweden as in Russia, in Germany as in America. A dialectical approach to this question must be a concrete one.

In regard to the question whether the Right wing of Communism is dynamically further away from Marxism than Left Socialists this depends on concrete circumstances in which we must examine (a) the direction, (b) the tempo, (c) the distance covered by the different groups, on the roads which they have elected to travel. You yourself declare that under a normal regime in the Comintern, Right wing Communists would not be expelled from the Communist party, and it is a moot point to be determined concretely whether the fact of the expulsion of the Right wing, etc., has forced it into such a position that it can no longer be taken back into a Communist party or considered nearer to us than Socialists.

And here we must emphatically emphasize the fact that we have never proposed a BLOC with the Right wing (Lovelstonites), meaning by a bloc a general value alliance. In our general thesis we wrote: "In the meantime the Communist League of Struggle must try to effect a united front so that all Communist groups can work together on concrete issues on the basis of the recognition of the Communist character of each group. This will also help to re-establish mass work, to resist the violent tactics of the party officialdom, and to place the Communist groups on a correct path."

When, some time later, Lovelston issued a call for "Communist Unity" we replied (Class Struggle Vol. II, No. 4, April 1932). "But first of all we want to ask Lovelston: FOR WHAT do you want to unite? To fight the organization of the unorganized as you are doing everywhere? To destroy the new unions such as the textile? To cover up the fakers such as you did in Patterson and elsewhere? Is it for this that you want unite? . . . Are you not like Kautsky and the other opportunists in your shouts for unity without specifying on what program and on what basis? . . ."

It is not clear, from these quotations, that in our struggle against the terrible disintegration taking place within the ranks of the Communists, that we proposed a united front not with the Right wing alone but with all Communist groups, and not a general vague alliance, but only on specified concrete questions? Further it is recognized by everyone here that in a number of instances we alone actually fought against the Right wing when the Communist League of America was not even present.

We are in accord with you when you write "To conclude a bloc with the Lovelston group would mean to augment its

Statement of the Communist League of Struggle

general authority and by that to help it to fulfill its reactionary historic mission." We are also of the opinion that it is not for us to raise into prominence the question of a united front with an organization such as the Right wing which in America is barren and without masses. However, it is quite possible that circumstances may arise where it will be advantageous for us to form a united front including the Right wing even where the Party refuses to join or even fights it. Here again it is the concrete circumstances that decide. The fact that the Communist League of America finally was forced to organize such a united front (Marine case) is proof of the correctness of our position.

In our general thesis we have declared that the Communist League of America also was a Right wing organization. We reached this conclusion on the basis of its first thesis and actions. Since the time of our criticism the Communist League of America has made some steps in correcting its past errors but its general practice, its methods of correction, its last internal theses, its present unprincipled general factional fight, etc., show that it has a long way yet to go really to deserve being part of the International Left Opposition.

We wish to raise the general question: Is it impossible for a group to agree to certain formulae of the Left Opposition and yet fill these formulae with such a Right wing content as to nullify them? Such a situation can readily result from the present general weakness of the Left Opposition. Under such conditions it is quite possible for groups to sign general international declarations and yet annul them in their national practice.

It is not correct to say that our serious charges against the leadership of the Communist League of America, which we believe are based on facts and which we stand ready to prove when necessary, and our criticism of the Communist League of America made us an enemy of the International Left Opposition. Quite the contrary, it was because we wished to further the interests of the International Left Opposition that we made this criticism. Certainly comrade Trotsky, you must recognize that without a congress, without a strong and authoritative political bureau, the International Left Opposition has not pressed its sections sufficiently to carry into effect its principles that the sections must behave as Communist sections in the struggles of the workers, and that propaganda must be put forth not in a sectarian manner but on the basis of active participation in the entire life of the proletariat.

In this respect permit us to state that we have endorsed the organizational statutes worked out by our representative, comrade Weisbord, during his discussions with you and that we are sending you further a special report on the condition of the sections of the International Left Opposition embodying certain recommendations that we believe can aid the situation.

Finally we must declare the actions of the Communist League of America have materially contributed to the sharpness of our criticism. Our collaboration has been steadily rejected, no aid given us when our class enemies attacked us, we have been ridiculed in a most vulgar and low manner, our headquarters has been raided and partially wrecked, we have been denounced as agents for the police, etc. Do you believe we could reply to these provocations without sharpness? On the other hand never have we taken a sharp tone to the views of the International Left Opposition itself, although the Secretariat, under Hill, behaved toward us in an extremely hostile and unwarranted manner.

It is on the question of mass work, a most important question to us active Communists used to field work, whose very life medium is the working class to which we are indissolubly bound, it is on this question that we most heartily welcome your statement: "I am ready to admit that your group would be able in that respect to complete the work of the American League." What an enormous difference between this statement and the attitude of the leaders of the Communist League of America? It was this false view of the leaders of the Communist League which more than anything else, we believe, has alienated many honest workers and Communists from the Left Opposition of the U. S.

In this connection permit me to stress the fact that the leadership of the American League in pursuing the sectarian policies (sectarian in the worst sense of the word) has been guilty not merely of failing to apply principles which it did not "theoretically" deny, but of gross theoretical errors as well, errors totally in disharmony with the Left Opposition and which only strengthened its false line.

In agreeing with you that we can complete the work of the American League we do not wish to deny that in the course of existence we have made some serious errors both in our general program (for example on the Labor Party question, our mistake in allowing the impression to get abroad that we wished a bloc with the Right wing, and our mistake in ignoring on certain questions the great critical activity already done by the Left Opposition, etc.) and in our practice. However we do affirm that you must recognize that on the whole we are part of the Left Opposition and belong inside it.

You write that we "must keep clearly in mind that the road to the International Left Opposition leads through the American League." We have always fought for closer relations with the American League. As long ago as December 31, 1931 we made the following proposals to the American League:

"1. That joint membership meetings be held to discuss the differences between both organizations . . .

"2. That special place be allotted in both the Class Struggle and the Militant for articles from representatives of both groups . . .

"3. That opportunity be given in the Forums conducted by both groups for speakers of each group to state their positions . . .

"4. That both organizations cooperate as closely as possible in all united front activities and rally to mutual defence when attacked by capitalist forces . . .

In all united fronts it is necessary not only to separate Communism from Menshevism as a whole but to separate the Communists of the right from those who adhere to the views of the International Left Opposition. In all united fronts where other labor organizations are present, both groups should strive to effect a united policy agreeable to both groups and to act as a unit."

The peasant producers. The great feudal lords, the heads of great clans, called daimyos numbered 437 at the end of the era. There were 420,000 samurais or military retainers whose families and servants brought the number of non-producers entirely dependent on the lords to well over one million. The entire population numbered 27,000,000, the vast majority peasants.

Despite the intense exploitation of the peasantry, the daimyos, with few exceptions, could not maintain their establishments without deficits met by borrowing from the rising merchant class. Frequently enough the debts were wiped out by the simple expedient of confiscation of the entire wealth of the rich merchant. The samurais were so deeply in debt that general repudiations of debts were common. Thus the shogun declared all debts of samurais null and void in 1716.

Evidently money economy was growing up side by side with the barter economy. The money economy whose beginnings traced back many centuries in Japan, secured a firm hold through foreign trade, although barter continued to exist side by side with it up to 1875 when the system of expressing wealth in terms of bushels of rice was abandoned. In fact trade had not ceased with the decreasing of seclusion. Down to 1700 the Dutch exported from Japan a total of 100,000-000 lbs. of copper. At the end of the 18th century they were still exporting 900,000 lbs. a year and the Chinese were then sending to China from Japan 1-2 million lbs. a year. Several "progressive" feudal lords were enriched by engaging in this trade.

Terrible as had been the lot of the peasants before the Tokugawa era their sufferings became indescribable during this period. "Even in normal times, the peasants did not have enough to live on. They ate the cheaper grains and potatoes, and very seldom tasted the rice they produced, for it was taken away as tax, and what little was left them had to be sold to get necessary money." Under feudal economy crop shortages were the most frightful calamity (just as overabundance for the market is the contrary calamity for the capitalist). From 1690 to 1840 there were 22 famines—very destructive of human life. The famines

were caused by floods, droughts, frosts, typhoons, volcanoes, insects,—but the suffering was due to the low stage of social organization, a stage in which ease of communication is not desired and roads are made impassable to prevent invasion by neighboring enemies. Desperation often drove the peasants to riot for rice. Fifty such riots are recorded. Five riots of national scope occurred between 1830 and 1846.

Such poverty and misery kept the population stationary throughout this period. It is recorded indeed that during the first decade of the 19th century the peasant population decreased by 1,400,000 due primarily to deaths by starvation, although a small part of this decrease was due to the fleeing of peasants to the towns. Under such conditions infanticide was so common that in many districts only boys were raised and in others it was the custom to kill 2 out of every 5 babies. Near Nagano the large rock still stands where old women past the age of usefulness were exposed to die.

The Restoration

The most powerful rivals of the Tokugawas were the wealthy Choshu and Satsuma clans, both near the seacoast and both of whom had learned more of the arts of the West than any other groups in Japan. Just before the abolition of the feudal system the Satsumas had imported the latest cotton spinning machinery with 6000 spindles from England, thereby starting the first great industry in Japan. These clans headed a revolt for the overthrow of the decadent Tokugawas and for the restoration of the Emperor, nominal overlord for many centuries, around whom had grown the usual numerous myths of divinity. Unwittingly, Com. Perry, by his "visit" helped these clans end the shogunate.

The New Militarist Bureaucracy

Lengthy as this historical outline may appear, it is essential to an intelligent understanding of modern Japan. In the Tokugawa regime, control was exercised by a feudal bureaucracy with the Emperor as a figurehead. With the much heralded Restoration of the Emperor in change in form but remained exactly the same in essence, as it had to since the ruling class had not changed. The Emperor still remained a figurehead for

We believe that in the framework of the Left Opposition we shall be able, in a loyal and helpful way, to struggle for that viewpoint which can round out the work of the American Section and help it live up to its historic mission. We ask that you and the various sections of the Left Opposition aid us in this task.

We cannot close without expressing our warm appreciation for the hospitable and friendly reception given our representative, and for the autographed photograph and greetings which you have sent us. We are confident that our discussions will substantially contribute to our formal entrance into the ranks of the Bolshevik-Leninists.

—Communist League of Struggle.

P.M.U. Under Sharp Attack

(Continued from page 1)

here clubbings, beating of women and children and intimidation of all kinds are rife, a reign of terror similar to Britain's Blacks and Tans during the Irish revolution. The bosses will know that to lose these counties will change the picture of the miners, will bring the miners from the defensive to the offensive and open up a new phase of the class struggle. In all towns, mass meetings are being held and when the speakers call for a return to Franklin Co. there is vociferous applause.

The Leland Hotel in Springfield is the headquarters of Lewis and his open gunmen who are imported from all parts of the country. Six striking miners were shot by those thugs at Braidwood Thursday as they were sitting by the roadside. In their frenzy at the growth of the new union the bosses stop at nothing.

From New York, while Lewis was negotiating with the anthracite operators to put over a 25% reduction in the wages of the hard coal miners, he sent a telegram to one Charles Bohanan, hand picking him as president of a local here. The telegram was most laudatory of Bohanan's rare qualities, honesty, integrity, and loyalty to the U. M. W. A. Only it didn't work. Bohanan came with the telegram to the P. M. A. headquarters saying that he couldn't be bribed. Lewis has but few tricks left.

The Militant is playing an important role in this battle. It is the only revolutionary organ with a correct policy in the field. The more militant and Left wing miners persevere and fight for the policy it proposes, one that the new union must follow if it is going to march on the road to victory by broadening the united front as proposed by the Communist League of America. The Left Opposition is continuously gaining in prestige because it carries the banner of Communism aloft. The task would be easier but for the blunders of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Despite everything we forge ahead.

RUSSIAN BULLETIN

The two latest issues of the Russian Bulletin have just arrived. These are numbers 28 and 29-30. Both numbers are extremely important ones, dealing with the latest developments in Soviet economy, the situation in the Communist International and the activities of the U. S. A.

The price per bulletin is twenty-five cents.

Congress at Amsterdam

(Continued from page 2)

"1. The comrades of the Greek organizations, because of police and financial difficulties, had to forego sending one of their own active members to this Congress: they sent their credentials to comrades of their political tendency, and it is in the name of the thousands of workers grouped around them that we express ourselves here.

"2. On the question of the fight against war, the Greek veterans, the wounded, the revolutionary workers have a doctrine based on the revolutionary action of those among them who, when sent in 1917 and 1918 into Soviet Russia, fraternized with the Red Army which breathed life into the Communist anti-war concept: the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war, under the guidance of Lenin and Trotsky.

"3. On the convocation of this Congress, we consider that it can have positive results only to the degree to which it can disengage itself from these debates, we think that peace depends on civil war, that civil war depends upon the proletariat's capacity for action, and that this capacity for action depends basically upon the unity, the strength and the correct orientation of its vanguard. That is why we assert that it is the duty of the C. I., which was born in the struggle against the socialist betrayal of 1914, to take the initiative in summoning a common congress of all proletarian organizations, in order to make the masses deceived by social patriotism and pacifism come over into the camp of defeatism and civil war. This road outlined by Lenin and Trotsky is the road we urge.

"4. In the series of debates, this Congress has uncovered fatal wants. Pacifism must be condemned and those who intend to defend the U. S. S. R. with their lives must be separated from those who seek notoriety by talk about its defense. The weakening of capitalism, the proletarian dictatorship, the true defense of the U. S. S. R. are subordinated to that.

"5. The organizations we represent asserted their concept by giving their credentials to this Congress to two men whom the repression against their intransigent revolutionary struggle has denied admittance to this Congress.

"One of them was for several years Soviet Russia's ambassador to Paris; but French imperialism, the bloodhound of the counter-revolution, demanded his recall because Christian Rakovsky signed a manifesto urging the conversion of imperialist war into civil war.

"The second was Lenin's companion in arms in the decisive moments of 1917—Trotsky, who vitalized the proletariat's answer to war by organizing and leading the Red Army to victory.

"These two names, the names of thousands of Russian Bolshevik-Leninists—are the expression of the program we urge upon the Congress—Loyalty to Leninism."

Every word of Molinier's speech was clearly heard. The consistent Communists of the French delegation, who had acclaimed or tolerated Patel and Dahlet could not for long tolerate the voice of the Left Opposition; they drowned out its end with hisses.

The slanderous Bulletin of the Congress relates this speech as follows:

"Molinier, who had credentials from the Greek war veterans, despite every effort of the Presidium members, did not succeed in making himself heard above the uproar which the assembly made as

a sign of protest. Molinier, a French Trotskyist, attempted, by attacks against the 2nd International, to justify his proposal—the unification of the two internationals. Molinier's speech ended in an indignant clamor.

"Dima Koponov got on the tribunal and announced that Molinier was not a delegate of the Greek war veterans nor of any other organization. He protested against Molinier's speech in the name of these Greek comrades. (Vigorous applause.)"

It is well to note that the proposal attributed by a slanderous cynic to Molinier actually was made at the Congress. The proposal was made by Nicole, and it received the vigorous applause of the French delegation. As for Koponov's provocative speech, it was an impudent slander which had to be disposed of immediately before Mighoil. Justice was dealt out by the Credentials Committee, which could not—and for good reason—contest the credentials of the Greek organizations. After this speech, Barbusse took the floor for a short time and said he was opposed to "the action he had undertaken falling under the power of any party or fraction of a party." This speech, which signaled the obliteration of the Communist party in the anti-war struggle, the French comrades, in their blindness, applauded as hard as they could.

THE CONGRESS APPARATUS RUNS AWAY WITH THE "FINAL VOTE"

On the last day of the Congress, the sequence of speeches was brusquely interrupted by the announcement that the Presidium was going into session. The manifesto drawn by Barbusse, who was convinced in advance that the Congress must close with a unanimous act, had been distributed the night before. The Presidium just barely brought itself to a few stylistic corrections which were to ratify the agreement between Patel and Muenzenberg, between Madame Duche and Cachin, between Fontenay and Katayama. Barbusse read the document. The Left Opposition's delegation, which had never ceased to protest against the gagging of the discussion and the pacifist confusion of the proceedings, was grouped around the foot of the tribunal, where it vigorously demanded a discussion and the reading of the resolution it had submitted.

It was surrounded by the strong-arm squad, which endeavored forcibly to impose silence upon it. In the tumult, they proceeded to a vote by show of hands. The comrades of the Left Opposition, arrayed in vigorous protest, demanded the negative vote; the six votes of the Left Opposition were the only ones cast against the Barbusse manifesto. The delegation immediately submitted a statement explaining its vote. These votes, delivered before the entire Congress, were recorded in the Congress Bulletin and in Monde. Up to this very day the official party press has concealed them from the workers. This vote is the first wound from which will ultimately perish the paralyzed confusionist apparatus for the action of the proletariat against imperialist war and against the capitalist class that was constituted by the Barbusse-Muenzenberg Congress.

Paris, September 1932

VOTE COMMUNIST!

(To be continued)

JAPAN

Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat

By Jack Weber

When Marx and Engels issued the "Communist Manifesto" in 1848, Japan was still in its dark ages of feudalism, shut in as a hermit nation to hold back the threatening inundation by the rising tide of world economy. Today we must amplify the first sentence of the "Manifesto." Less than a century after its issuance, a scant sixty-four years after the beginning of the modern era in Japan, the spectre of Communism haunts Asia as well as Europe. And in fact the spectre has materialized and taken on flesh and stands with a foot in either continent, so that even as Japan reaches maturity as a world capitalist power, world economy already includes within itself at least the framework of a more advanced stage of society.

Under the direct influence of the "independent reality of world economy," Japan, the last of the powers to abolish feudalism, has itself become one of the capitalist powers. The unprecedented speed with which this process occurred has been the admiration of those bourgeois writers who attribute the "success" of Japanese capitalism to the planful foresight of its ruling class. An examination of this planned economy will throw light on the present relation of forces in Japan and will serve to contrast Japanese with Soviet Russian planned economy. A picture of feudal and post-feudal Japan will not come amiss as a starting point.

The Feudal Period

When in 1533 Commodore Perry knocked at the gates of Japan with his cannon balls in the Bay of Uraga, ordering them opened in the name of the rapidly-expanding American capitalism, he found Japan in the rotten-ripe stage of a stagnant feudalism. More than two centuries earlier a new shogun (the Emperor's chamberlain) had brought to a close the period of perennial warfare between

rival military lords struggling for supremacy. His family, the Tokugawas, succeeded in maintaining the "great peace" among the "weltering mass of feudal atoms" until the Emperor's Restoration in 1868. Simultaneously with the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate the entire Japanese feudal structure was threatened by the inroads of Portuguese traders and missionaries. The introduction of the cannon and the musket was not the only consequence of the impact with European civilization that aroused the fears of the ruling class for its preservation. One result of the trade with the buccaneer-merchants was the rapid draining of gold from Japan in exchange for silver, the ratio between the two being one to four as against one to sixteen in Europe. Shortly too the silver was in danger of exhaustion as Japan had little to offer in trade except copper. The spread of Christianity disturbed the entire ideological basis of feudalism and when a Portuguese sea captain frankly boasted that the missionaries were merely the advance guard whose function it was to undermine the existing authorities so that the Portuguese could step in and rule, the shogun promptly closed the country to all but a limited number of Dutch and Chinese merchants, at the same time decreeing a death penalty for any Jap who tried to leave the country.

The Tokugawa Shogunate (1603 to 1868)

The feudal system is essentially a form of military dictatorship over peasants. Its economy is a barter economy and, in the case of Japan, its wealth was reckoned in bushels of rice. Takimoto states in the "Economic History of Japan" that in the latter part of the Tokugawa era the annual production of rice was 143,322,000 bushels. Of this amount 102,308,000 went to the feudal lords. The Tokugawas assessed a 50% tax on the remainder, leaving 20,476,000 bushels for

the peasant producers. The great feudal lords, the heads of great clans, called daimyos numbered 437 at the end of the era. There were 420,000 samurais or military retainers whose families and servants brought the number of non-producers entirely dependent on the lords to well over one million. The entire population numbered 27,000,000, the vast majority peasants.

Despite the intense exploitation of the peasantry, the daimyos, with few exceptions, could not maintain their establishments without deficits met by borrowing from the rising merchant class. Frequently enough the debts were wiped out by the simple expedient of confiscation of the entire wealth of the rich merchant. The samurais were so deeply in debt that general repudiations of debts were common. Thus the shogun declared all debts of samurais null and void in 1716.

Evidently money economy was growing up side by side with the barter economy. The money economy whose beginnings traced back many centuries in Japan, secured a firm hold through foreign trade, although barter continued to exist side by side with it up to 1875 when the system of expressing wealth in terms of bushels of rice was abandoned. In fact trade had not ceased with the decreasing of seclusion. Down to 1700 the Dutch exported from Japan a total of 100,000-000 lbs. of copper. At the end of the 18th century they were still exporting 900,000 lbs. a year and the Chinese were then sending to China from Japan 1-2 million lbs. a year. Several "progressive" feudal lords were enriched by engaging in this trade.

Terrible as had been the lot of the peasants before the Tokugawa era their sufferings became indescribable during this period. "Even in normal times, the peasants did not have enough to live on. They ate the cheaper grains and potatoes, and very seldom tasted the rice they produced, for it was taken away as tax, and what little was left them had to be sold to get necessary money." Under feudal economy crop shortages were the most frightful calamity (just as overabundance for the market is the contrary calamity for the capitalist). From 1690 to 1840 there were 22 famines—very destructive of human life. The famines

were caused by floods, droughts, frosts, typhoons, volcanoes, insects,—but the suffering was due to the low stage of social organization, a stage in which ease of communication is not desired and roads are made impassable to prevent invasion by neighboring enemies. Desperation often drove the peasants to riot for rice. Fifty such riots are recorded. Five riots of national scope occurred between 1830 and 1846.

Such poverty and misery kept the population stationary throughout this period. It is recorded indeed that during the first decade of the 19th century the peasant population decreased by 1,400,000 due primarily to deaths by starvation, although a small part of this decrease was due to the fleeing of peasants to the towns. Under such conditions infanticide was so common that in many districts only boys were raised and in others it was the custom to kill 2 out of every 5 babies. Near Nagano the large rock still stands where old women past the age of usefulness were exposed to die.

The Restoration

The most powerful rivals of the Tokugawas were the wealthy Choshu and Satsuma clans, both near the seacoast and both of whom had learned more of the arts of the West than any other groups in Japan. Just before the abolition of the feudal system the Satsumas had imported the latest cotton spinning machinery with 6000 spindles from England, thereby starting the first great industry in Japan. These clans headed a revolt for the overthrow of the decadent Tokugawas and for the restoration of the Emperor, nominal overlord for many centuries, around whom had grown the usual numerous myths of divinity. Unwittingly, Com. Perry, by his "visit" helped these clans end the shogunate.

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Lengthy as this historical outline may appear, it is essential to an intelligent understanding of modern Japan. In the Tokugawa regime, control was exercised by a feudal bureaucracy with the Emperor as a figurehead. With the much heralded Restoration of the Emperor in change in form but remained exactly the same in essence, as it had to since the ruling class had not changed. The Emperor still remained a figurehead for

state religious purposes, the actual power passing over to the new militarists of the successful clans, the Choshu and the Satsuma in particular. The daimyos and the samurais of these clans formed the new bureaucracy that ushered in capitalism under the leadership of feudal lords. Feudalism was abolished but the lords, now peers of the realm, retained most of their land and were compensated by a bond issue for the small part relinquished, and the samurais were granted a state pension as well as a sum of money outright. Feudalism was abolished but military dictatorship remains to this day. To the victors belong the spoils and so from 1868 to 1912 the samurais of the Choshu clan had complete control of the modern conscript army which they organized. Almost invariably the generals have been Choshus. Similarly the Satsumas, who had to play second fiddle because of a premature attempt to invade and annex Korea, earned a vast fortune. Almost every admiral has been a Satsuma. With minor exceptions these clans contributed between them the membership of that extra-constitutional body, the Genro or Elder Statesmen, who do not give counsel but dictate his policy to the Emperor. True, elements of democracy exist today in Japan but it need only be recalled that the male workers (over 25) were granted the vote only in 1926, exercising this right for the first time in 1928, to realize the role played by the military bureaucracy at the present time. The shadow government hardly conceals the mailed fist. Under the Constitution the Minister of War practically controls the cabinet. By resigning he forces the resignation of the entire cabinet (or parliamentary administrative body) since no cabinet is permitted to function without a Minister of War who must be either a general or an admiral. No general or admiral will consent to become Minister without the consent of his confreres. Per contra the Minister of War need not resign with the rest of the cabinet. In short the military clique form a class apart, "responsible" only to the Emperor, that is, to themselves. These glaring contradictions in Japanese "democracy" became the focus of attention in the invasion of Manchuria and China.

(To be continued)

Thaelmann's Twenty-One Mistakes

AN ANALYSIS OF THE REPLIES MADE BY ERNST THAELMANN TO A SERIES OF QUESTIONS POSED TO HIM BY FORMER SOCIALIST WORKERS ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY TOWARDS THE PROBLEMS OF THE UNITED FRONT OF ALL WORKERS IN THE PRESENT GERMAN SITUATION

From the Series of Articles in the Forthcoming Book 'The Only Road' : - by Leon Trotsky

IN THE MIDDLE of July appeared a brochure with Thaelmann's answers to twenty-one questions by social democratic workers on how the "Red united front" is to be created. The brochure begins with the words: "Mightily does the anti-Fascist united front rush ahead!" On July 20 the Communist party called upon the workers to come out in a political strike. The appeal met with no response. Thus within five days was the tragic abyss revealed between bureaucratic rhetoric and political reality.

The party received 5,300,000 votes in the elections of July 31. By trumpeting forth this result as a tremendous victory, the party showed how greatly the defeats have diminished its claims and hopes. In the first balloting for the presidential election, on March 13, the party received almost five million votes. In the course of four and a half months—and what months!—it therefore barely gained three hundred thousand votes. The Communist press repeated hundreds of times in March that the number of votes would have been incomparably larger had it been a Reichstag election: in a presidential election, hundreds of thousands of sympathizers deemed it superfluous to lose any time over a "platonic" demonstration. If this March commentary is taken into consideration—and it deserves to be taken into consideration—it follows that the party has practically not grown at all in the last four and a half months.

In April, the social democracy elected Hindenburg, who thereupon carried out a *coup d'état* aimed directly at the former. One would think that this fact alone ought to have sufficed to convulse the structure of reformism to its very foundations. Add to this the further accentuation of the crisis with all its frightful consequences. Finally, on July 20, eleven days before the elections, the social democracy drew its tail miserably between its legs at the *coup d'état* of the federal president it elected. In such periods revolutionary parties grow feverishly. Whatever the social democracy, forced into a steel vise, may yet undertake to do, it must drive the workers away from it to the Left. But instead of striding forward with seven league boots, Communism marks time, vacillates, is on the retreat, and after each step forward it takes half a step backward. To exult over a victory only because the Communist party suffered no loss of votes on July 31, is finally to lose the sense of reality.

In order to understand why and how the revolutionary party condemns itself to a debasing impotence under exceptionally favorable, political conditions, one must read Thaelmann's answers to the social democratic workers. A wearisome and unpleasant job, but it may enlighten one on what is taking place in the minds of the Stalinist leaders.

To the question: "How do the Communists evaluate the character of the Papen government?", Thaelmann gives several, mutually contradictory, replies. He begins with a reference to "the danger of the immediate establishment of the Fascist dictatorship". Then it follows that it does not yet exist? He speaks with complete accuracy of the government members as "representatives of trust capital, of the generals and of Junkerdom". A minute later he says about the same government: "this Fascist cabinet", and concludes his reply with the assertion that "the Papen government . . . has set itself the aim of the immediate establishment of the Fascist dictatorship."

By disregarding the social and political distinctions between Bonapartism, that is, the regime of "civil peace" resting upon military-police dictatorship, and Fascism, that is, the régime of open civil war against the proletariat, Thaelmann deprives himself in advance of the possibility of understanding what is taking place before his very eyes. If Papen's cabinet is a Fascist cabinet then what Fascist "danger" is he talking about? If the workers will believe Thaelmann that Papen sets himself the aim (!) of establishing the Fascist dictatorship, then the probable conflict between Hitler and Papen-Schleicher will catch the party napping just as the conflict between Papen and Otto Braun did in its time.*

To the question, "Is the Communist Party of Germany sincere about the united front?", Thaelmann naturally answers affirmatively, and for proof he refers to the fact that the Communists do not go hat in hand to Hindenburg and Papen. "No, we put the question of the struggle of the struggle against the whole system, against capitalism. And here lies the kernel of the sincerity of our united front."

Thaelmann manifestly does not understand what it is all about. The social democratic workers remain social democrats precisely because they still believe in the gradual, reformist road to the transformation of capitalism into socialism. Since they know that the Communists stand for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, the social democratic workers ask: Do you sincerely propose the united front to us? To this Thaelmann replies: Naturally, sincerely, for with us it is a question of overthrowing the whole capitalist system.

Of course, it does not occur to us to conceal anything from the social democratic workers. Nevertheless, one must know the measure of things and preserve the political proportions. A skilled propagandist should have answered in the following manner: "You put your stakes on democracy; we believe that the only way out lies in the revolution. Yet we cannot and we do not want to make the revolution without you. Hitler is now the common foe. After the victory over him we shall draw the balance together with you and see whither the further road actually leads."

The auditors, peculiar as this may seem at first

*These lines were written at the beginning of August, before the negotiations between Hindenburg-Papen and Hitler.

sight, not only listen forbearingly to the speaker but even agree with him many times. The secret of their forbearance, however, rests upon the fact that Thaelmann's partners in the conversation not only belong to the Anti-Fascist Action but also call for the casting of votes for the Communist party. They are former social democrats who have gone over to the side of Communism. Such recruits can only be welcomed. But what is deceptive in the whole affair is that a conversation with workers who have broken with the social democracy is palmed off as a conversation with the social democratic mass. This cheap masquerade is highly characteristic of the whole present-day policy of Thaelmann and Co.!

However this may be—the former social democrats put questions which actually agitate the social democratic mass. "Is the Anti-Fascist Action a Communist party business?" they ask. Thaelmann replies: "No!" The proof? The Anti-Fascist Action "is no organization but a mass movement". As if it were not just the task of the Communist party to organize the mass movement. Still better is the second argument: the Anti-Fascist Action is non-partisan, for (!) it directs itself against the capitalist state: "Karl Marx, in dealing with the lessons of the Paris Commune, already placed in the foreground in all sharpness, as the task of the working class, the question of smashing the bourgeois state apparatus." O hapless quotation! For what the social democrats want, regardless of Marx, is to perfect the bourgeois state, but not to smash it. They are not Communists, but reformists. Despite his intentions, Thaelmann proves just the thing he would like to refute—the party character of the "Anti-Fascist Action."

The official leader of the Communist party obviously understands neither the situation nor the political thought of the social democratic workers. He does not understand what purpose the united front serves. With every one of his sentences, he delivers weapons to the reformist leaders and drives the social democratic workers to them.

The impossibility of any kind of joint step with the social democracy is demonstrated by Thaelmann in the following manner: "In this connection we [?] must clearly recognize that the social democracy, even when it today mimics a sham opposition, will at no moment give up its actual thoughts of coalition and its compacts with the Fascist bourgeoisie." Even if this were right, there would nevertheless remain the task of proving it to the social democratic workers through experience. However, it is also false in essence. If the social democratic leaders do not want to abandon compacts with the bourgeoisie, the Fascist bourgeoisie, however, does abandon compacts with the social democracy. And this fact may become decisive for the fate of the social democracy. In the passage of power from Papen to Hitler, the bourgeoisie will in no way be able to spare the social democracy. The civil war has its laws. The reign of the Fascist terror will and can mean only the abolition of the social democracy. Mussolini began with just that, so as to be able all the more unrestrainedly to crush the revolutionary workers. In any event, the "social Fascist" cherishes his hide. The Communist united front policy at the present time must proceed from the concern of the social democracy for its own hide. That will be the most realistic and at the same time, in its results, the most revolutionary policy.

But if the social democracy will "at no moment" separate itself from the Fascist bourgeoisie (although Matteotti "separated" himself from Mussolini), don't the social democratic workers, who want to take part in the Anti-Fascist Action, have to leave their party? Thus runs one question. To this Thaelmann replies: "For us Communists it is a matter of course that social democratic or Reichsbanner workers may take part in the Anti-Fascist Action without having to leave their party." To show himself free from sectarianism, Thaelmann adds: "If you were to stream into it by the millions, in a serried front, we would greet it with joy, even if a lack of clarity still exists in your minds, in our opinion, about certain questions of estimating the Social Democratic Party of Germany." Golden words! We consider your party to be Fascist, you consider it to be democratic, but let's not dispute over petty matters. It suffices for you to come to us "by the millions", without leaving your Fascist party. "Lack of clarity about certain questions" cannot constitute an obstacle. But, O, the lack of clarity in the heads of the all-powerful bureaucrats is an obstacle at every step.

To give depth to the question, Thaelmann proceeds to say: "We do not put the question of party to party, but on a class basis." Like Seydewitz, Thaelmann is prepared to renounce party interests in the interests of the class. The misfortune lies in this, that for a Marxist there cannot be such a contrast. Were not its program the scientific formulation of the interests of the working class, the party would not be worth a penny.

Only, along with the crude mistake in principle, Thaelmann's words contain also a practical absurdity. How is it possible not to put the question "of party to party" when that is just where the very essence of the question lies? Millions of workers follow the social democracy. Other millions—the Communist party. To the question of the social democratic workers: How shall we today achieve joint actions between your party and ours against Fascism, Thaelmann answers: "on a class and not a party basis": stream toward us by the millions. Isn't this the most wretched bombast?

"We Communists," continues Thaelmann, "do not want unity at any price." We cannot, in the interest of unity with the social democracy, "disavow the class content of our policy . . . and renounce strikes, struggles of the unemployed, actions of the tenants and rev-

olutionary mass defense". The agreement on definite practical actions is misconstrued into an absurd unity with the social democracy. Out of the indispensability of the final revolutionary assault of tomorrow, is deduced the impermissibility of harmonized strike or self-defense actions for today. Whoever can see rhyme or reason in Thaelmann's thoughts deserves a prize of distinction.

The auditors press: "Is an alliance of the C. P. G. and the S. D. P. G. possible in the struggle against the Papen government and against Fascism?" Thaelmann mentions two or three facts as evidence that the social democracy does not fight against Fascism and concludes: "Every [!] S. D. P. G. comrade will say we are right [?] when we say that an alliance between the C. P. G. and the S. D. P. G. is impossible on the basis of these facts and also [!] for reasons of principle [!]." The bureaucrat again assumes just the thing that he proved ultimatum acquires a particularly ludicrous character as soon as Thaelmann replies to the question of the united front with organizations which embrace millions of workers. The social democrats must acknowledge that an agreement with their party is impossible because it is Fascist. Can Wels and Leipart be rendered a better service?

"We Communists, who reject any accord with the S. D. P. G. leaders . . . repeatedly declare that we are at all times ready for the anti-Fascist struggle with the militant social democratic and Reichsbanner comrades and with the lower [?] militant organizations." Where do the lower organizations come to an end? And what is to be done if the lower organizations submit to the discipline of the upper, and propose that the negotiations shall be begun with the latter? Finally, between the lower and the upper there are intermediate storeys. And can one prophecy where the dividing line will be between those who want to fight and those who dodge the struggle? This can be determined only in action and not by anticipatory appraisals. What sense is there in binding oneself hand and foot?

In DIE ROTE FÄHGE of July 29, in a report of a Reichsbanner meeting, the noteworthy words of a social democratic company commander are mentioned: "The will to an anti-Fascist united front exists in the masses. If the leaders fail to take it into account, then I will go to the united front over their heads." The Communist paper reproduces these words without comment. Yet they contain the key to the whole tactic of the united front. The social democrat wants to fight against the Fascists in common with the Communists. He is already in doubt about the good will of his leaders. If the leaders refuse, says he, then I shall go over their heads. Social democrats similarly disposed can be counted by the dozens, hundreds, thousands, millions. It is the task of the Communist party really to show them whether or not the social democratic leaders want to fight. This can be demonstrated only through experience, through a new, fresh experience, in a new situation. This experience will not be gained at one blow. The social democratic leaders must be subjected to a test: in the factory and workshop, in town and country, in the whole state, today and tomorrow. We must repeat our proposal, put it in a new form, from a new angle, adapted to the new situation.

But Thaelmann will have none of it. On the ground of the "principle" distinctions shown to exist between the C. P. G. and the S. D. P. G. we reject negotiations from the top with the S. D. P. G.". This shattering argument is repeated by Thaelmann several times. But if there were no "antagonisms in principle" then there would be no two parties. And if there were no two parties, there would be no question of the united front. Thaelmann wants to prove far too much. Less—would be better.

Did not the founding of the Red Trade Union Organization, ask the workers, signify "a splitting of the organized working class"? No, replies Thaelmann, and as proof he cites Engels' letter of 1895 against the aesthetic-sentimental philanthropists. Who is handing Thaelmann such treacherous quotations? The R. T. U. O. is created in the spirit of unity and not of schism. Also, the worker is in no case to leave his trade union organization in order to join the R. T. U. O. On the contrary, it were better if the R. T. U. O. members remained in the trade unions in order to carry on oppositional work therein. Thaelmann's words may sound convincing to Communists who have set themselves the task of fighting against the social democratic leadership. But as an answer to social democratic workers, who are concerned with trade union unity, Thaelmann's words sound like a mockery. Why have you left our trade unions and organized yourselves separately?—asks the social democratic workers. If you want to enter our separate organization in order to fight against the social democratic leadership, we do not demand of you to leave the trade unions, Thaelmann replies. An appropriate reply, right on the head of the nail!

"Is there democracy within the C. P. G.?" ask the

workers, passing over to another theme. Thaelmann replies in the affirmative. And how! But he immediately adds unexpectedly: "In legality as well as in illegality, most particularly in the latter, the party must be on guard against spies, provocateurs and police agents." This interpolation is not made accidentally. The latest doctrine, proclaimed throughout the world in the brochure of a mysterious Buchner, justifies the strangulation of democracy in the interest of the struggle against spies. Whoever protests against the autocracy of the Stalinist bureaucracy must be declared a suspicious character at the very least. The police agents and provocateurs of every country revel with enthusiasm over this theory. They will hound Oppositionists louder than anyone else: this may divert attention from themselves and enable them to fish in troubled waters.

The flourishing of democracy is also demonstrated, according to Thaelmann, by the fact that "the problems are dealt with at World Congresses and Conferences of the E. C. C. I." The speaker fails to report when the last World Congress took place. We will call it to mind: in July 1928, more than four years ago! Apparently no noteworthy questions have arisen since then. Why, be it asked in passing, doesn't Thaelmann himself convoke an extraordinary German party convention to resolve the questions upon which depend the fate of the German proletariat? Certainly not because of an excess of party democracy.

So runs page after page. Thaelmann replies to twenty-one questions. Every reply—a mistake. In sum—twenty-one mistakes, not counting the small and secondary ones. And they are numerous.

Thaelmann relates that the Bolsheviks broke with the Mensheviks in 1903. In reality, the split first took place in 1912. But even that did not prevent the February revolution in 1917 from finding united Bolshevik and Menshevik organizations over a large part of the country. As late as the beginning of April, Stalin came out for the unification of the Bolsheviks with Tseretelli's party—not the united front but the fusion of the parties! This was prevented only by Lenin's arrival.

Thaelmann says that the Bolsheviks dispersed the Constituent Assembly in 1917. In reality this occurred at the beginning of 1918. Thaelmann is not at all familiar with the history of the Russian revolution and the Bolshevik party.

Far worse, however, is the fact that he does not grasp the foundations of the Bolshevik tactic. In his "theoretical" articles, he even dares to dispute the fact that the Bolsheviks concluded an agreement with the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists against Kornilov. As proof, he adduces quotations shoved under his door by somebody or other, which have nothing to do with the matter. But he forgets to answer the questions: Were there Committees for the Defense of the People throughout the land during the Kornilov putsch? Did they direct the struggle against Kornilov? Did representatives of the Bolsheviks, Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists belong to these Committees? Yes, yes, yes. Were the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists in power at that time? Did they persecute the Bolsheviks as agents of the German general staff? Were thousands of Bolsheviks confined to prisons? Did Lenin hide in illegality? Yes, yes, yes. What quotations can refute these historical facts?

Let Thaelmann appeal to his heart's content to Manuilsky, Losovsky and Stalin himself (if the latter ever opens his mouth). But let him leave in peace Leninism and the history of the Russian revolution: for him they are books sealed with seven seals.

In conclusion one must throw into relief still another question, which stands by itself: it concerns Versailles. The social democratic workers ask if the Communist party isn't making political concessions to National Socialism. In his reply, Thaelmann continues to defend the slogan of "national emancipation" and to place it on the same plane with the slogan of social emancipation. The reparations—what is left of them now—are just as important to Thaelmann as private ownership of the means of production. This policy is as if contrived uniquely to divert the attention of the worker from the basic problem, to weaken the blow against capitalism and to compel one to seek the principal foe and author of poverty on the other side of the frontier. However, now more than ever before, "the main enemy is at home!" Von Schleicher expressed this idea even more coarsely: before anything else, he declared on the radio on July 26, we must "put an end to the dirty swine at home"! This soldier's formula is very good. We pick it up willingly. Every Communist must firmly adopt it as his own. While the Nazis divert attention to Versailles, the Communist workers must retort to them with Schleicher's words: no, before anything else we must put an end to the dirty swine at home!

Prinkipo, August 17, 1932. —L. TROTSKY.

New Sub Drive Launched for Militant

(Continued from page 1)

Leninist propaganda. In these years we have made clear to a number of workers the ideas of the Left Opposition. We have firmly established the foundation of our future work. It is time to build higher. On the order of the day—the first story! In Illinois we are taking a direct part in one of the greatest fights the miners have waged against their cap-

italist masters. Elsewhere we are active in the struggles of the workers, or are preparing to apply the principles and ideas of Marxism. In this work our central organ must play a leading role. It must become our best organizer. To fulfill this role it must increase its circulation many times. Build the first story—get subs; use the club plan; spread the Militant far and wide. Every

A \$1 HALF YEAR SUB OF 26 ISSUES for 50c in CLUBS of FOUR or MORE. THE MILITANT, 34 E. 10th Street, New York City.

Enclosed find \$2 for which send the MILITANT for 26 weeks to the following:

NAMES	ADDRESSES	CITY	STATE

MILITANT BUILDER Address
City State
Help Circulate a Marxian Paper for Class Conscious Workers

sub from now on is a brick in the building of the first storey. Build it well! Build it quickly!

YOUNG SPARTACUS AID IN PICKETING OF REX STRIKE

More than 200 workers, mostly young, have struck against the attempt of the Rex Products Corporation, to put over the four wage cut in recent times, sometimes amounting to sixty percent of the wages. The workers, in a highly militant mood, applied for aid to the Metal Workers Industrial Union which is now directing the strike.

Members of the Spartacus Youth Club voted to participate every morning in the picket line of the strikers and have been down every morning since the decision was adopted. In spite of this demonstration of solidarity with the striking young workers, one of the bureaucrats of the M. W. I. U., one Steuben, has sought to forbid our young comrades from participating in the picket lines and fraternizing with the strikers, giving as his "reason" that "we don't work with people we don't know."



One Road for Miners!

Lay A Firm Class Foundation at the Gillespie Convention

The Progressive Miners' constitutional convention, which meets at Gillespie, Ill., Oct. 3, has a mighty job in hand and a great duty to perform. Its actions will undoubtedly have far reaching consequences for the future working class movement.

First on the agenda, if not in numerical order, then at least in importance, is the task of solidifying the union foundation in a working class sense, to secure its progressive direction and clinch the objective which establishes its militant character. Translated into the language of its practical problems that means to defeat the corrupting influence of the reactionary Lewis-Walker clique and to strengthen the fight against the operators' wage-cut drive.

Your way to victory is the one of militant struggle. That is your one main weapon and a powerful one. Of this the past has furnished ample proof to you. It is therefore logical that you should draw the conclusion of first of all securing the class basis for your union by a recognition of the class struggle and the initiation of the practical program of action which flows from this recognition.

RANK AND FILE UNITY AND CONSCIOUS LEADERSHIP

It is the class struggle that you are now engaged in. Only the blind could fail to see this. It is the bitter realities of the class struggle which determine every step you are taking and upon which your future is conditioned. Hence the necessity of its bold recognition. But the realization of the program of action demands the complete possible unity of all the forces within the union, supplemented by the widest working class democracy and freedom of expression of minority opinion. Given such unity the first steps are secured. Others will follow from them, which demand that this unity be extended to a national scale embracing the other miners' rebel sections, the National Miners Union, the West Virginia Miners Union and similar groups. First, in the form of unity of action in ways and means to obtain better wages and working conditions and to smash the Lewis machine. Secondly, in ways and means toward complete unification in one national militant union. The road to its accomplishment is through rank and file control plus a leadership conscious of its tasks.

WHO RAISE THE BOGEY OF THE "REDS"

The bogey of the "Red" issue is raised in order to swerve the miners from their progressive path. "Stay clear of the 'red,'" says the operators' propaganda designed to catch the weak-kneed fellows who fall subject to this propaganda in the delusive hope of gaining favors by appearing as "good boys" to the operators. But a serious struggle cannot be won that way. The Lewises, the Walkers and their henchmen are much better boys to the operators and a thousand times preferred by them. Your road to victory is the radical road, the road of the "Reds" which is forged through the power of your class forces in militant array. That is the road which the Communist Left Opposition proposes.

We do not forget the fact that the many blunders and false policies of the official Communist party Stalinist leadership has helped to make it possible for such propaganda to appear. But beware of those in your own ranks who use it. We are not unmindful of the fact that these blundering mistakes have temporarily served to turn the miners away from the Communist party in disgust. But it should be remembered that it was the party of Lenin and Trotsky which secured the first serious working class victory—the establishment of the Soviet Republic. Under the Stalin regime the party has departed from the basis of Lenin. But that gives us only so much more cause to strive to restore it to its rightful position.

WHICH IS THE POLITICAL PARTY OF LABOR?

In your deliberations at the convention and in your future course, you will likely meet the sleek office seeking careerist. You know how to deal with him. You will meet the kind of "labor" politician who tells you to cater to the capitalist party in power in order to gain favors; or to support the democrats, in order to realize its "opportunities". It is an election year, and some of you will perhaps think your path should be toward a labor party, while others may lend an ear to the plea for support from the Socialist party. But it is well to remember that the parties in power, whether Republican or Democrat, have always been the bosses' tools willing to call out police and the military forces on the side of the operators. Remember that the Socialist party has not only failed to support your struggle, but some of their leading spokesmen like John Hindmarsh, Richard Glover, Jack Reed and Adolph Germer are right in the midst of the Lewis camp working hand in glove with these traitors. The path of the miners is not through the labor party but through the revolutionary party, that is the Communist party. Its mistaken policies today we must correct. And it is because of these mistakes that the Left Opposition assumes the duty of pointing the revolutionary road.

When given the prerequisites of militant unionism, resting on a class foundation, your best guarantee for victory in this present strike struggle is at hand. Even in the Southern part of the state the terror will be forced to relinquish its hold. The present added oppression is now so much more surely preparing the rank and file revolt there. It is your task to send in there your best organizers to perform their quiet function in preparation for another mass picket line. Stand fast for the basic \$6.10 wage scale and division of work. Continue your fight for the six-hour day and for tolerable working conditions. In that you will be sure to have the full and unstinted support of the rank and file everywhere. Militant unionism accepts compromise only when it is weak and will never trade off the mere favor of union recognition as a substitute for these essential conditions because without them the mere recognition would be an empty victory.

PROGRESSIVE MINERS OF AMERICA CAN SHOW THE WAY

Your future tasks are enormous and there are great difficulties in your way. But given a class foundation, a rank and file membership imbued with the will to win, the spirit to fight to the last, and the readiness to sacrifice for the cause; given a courageous leadership, conscious of its class position, you will be able to overcome the greatest obstacles.

The constitutional convention of the Progressive Miners of America has a great duty to perform to the Illinois miners, to the miners of the United States and to the American working class. It is coming about as a serious revolt against the murderous employers' wage cutting offensive. It has the opportunity of taking the first steps toward leading the working class forward to a serious resistance against this offensive and to support the forces charging the road toward working class freedom from capitalist oppression.

—A. S.

Down with Lewisism!



Two More Expelled for «Trotskyism»

Following the arbitrary expulsion of comrade Sebastian Pappas for "Trotskyism", the Stalinist bureaucracy in New York has summarily expelled from the party two more of the active militants for their refusal to denounce the Left Opposition and comrade Trotsky as "counter-revolutionists". The latest victims of the bureaucrats are comrades James Gordon and Sylvia Weiner. Called before the Control Commission on September 13, 1932, they were presented with the customary questions and demands for a "statement", which they refused to sign. They were thereupon expelled from the party.

Comrade Gordon is a charter member of the Communist movement in this country, a foundation member of the Communist Labor Party in 1919. His activity in Chicago, Detroit, Rochester and New York is well known in wide circles of the party. For some time he has been an active functionary in the Food Workers' Industrial Union, a militant strike leader, as is attested by the numerous arrests in which he has been involved. Comrade Weiner, who has also been a Communist party fighter for several years, and a militant in the F. W. I. U., is equally well known for her devotion to the revolutionary movement in strike lines and jail cells. The expulsion of both these comrades is at once a sign of the degeneration of the Stalinist officials and of the growing popularity of the Left Opposition's views in the ranks of the party. As for comrade Pappas, who was expelled a few weeks ago, the Militant will publish next week a statement by him announcing his reasons for adherence to the Communist League of America (O.).

Which Political Party Shall the Miners Support in the Coming Elections

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—

The coal diggers of Illinois are fighting a great battle. It is a battle against many foes, which promises no easy victory. Yet every day is rich in lessons for every miner that wants to learn. Let us take an accounting of our enemies, why they are arrayed against us and why we fight them to the finish.

1. There are the coal operators who would reduce our living conditions to the starvation level.

2. There are Lewis-Walker and henchmen who steal ballots and club and shoot miners who protest against their corruption and fakery. Their only service to the miners has been a Judas kiss.

3. And then there are the courts, the prisons, the armed deputies, the state troopers and the militia.

There can be no doubt about the real character of the Peabodys and their hunkies, Lewis and Walker. With them there can be no peace. But the troopers, the militia, the deputies—don't their duty merely the prevention of speeding on the highways, apprehending thieves, and helping old ladies across the streets?

When we were children we believed in Santa Claus. Before the strike many of

us entertained equally ridiculous notions about the troopers and the militia, even though we were quite mature individuals. Then came the march on Franklin County. All we wanted to do was to help our brothers down south maintain the \$6.10 wage scale. What did we get? Bullets, clubs and machine guns—from troopers and deputies. In Taylorville the militia breaks up miners' meetings with tear gas bombs.

It is clear now that Lewis and Walker are not the only agency of the coal barons. The whole governmental machinery is brought into action against the workers at the mere crook of the capitalists' finger. It is a state with its officials, thugs, police, deputies and militia whose purpose it is to insure the rule of the parasite, exploiting few over the overwhelming majority of the people—the working masses. Can the worker place any confidence in these lickspittles decorated with the badge of authority, and can he hope to win his fight against worsening conditions by merely a union battle? He cannot. He must transform the union struggle into a political struggle; the scrap against wage reduction

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MOSCOW LETTER

Crisis in Soviet Economy

Stalinism Endangers Alliance Between Town and Village

The following document arrived from Russia in a foreign language, into which it had been translated for conspirative reasons. The first page was missing. Editorial revision was provided for by the Editorial Board of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition.

There is a great and constantly widening gap between the facts of the economic life of the Soviet Union and their reflection in the press or even in the official reports. The truth about the real situation in the various enterprises does not penetrate into the outside world. The attacks on innumerable supervisors serves only one purpose—to find the guilty ones. Production everywhere is below the level of the plan.

The slowing up of the tempo has its deep causes in the increase of disproportionate relationships. Every sphere of industry, no matter how great the efforts made, restricts itself to its minimum element. Great construction enterprises are often held up out of secondary causes, or cannot be set going after their completion because of one obstacle and shortcoming or another. A factory that has not been completed or does not work at full capacity—sometimes at only 20 to 30 per cent of its capacity—sinks the general coefficient of growth weighs

down like a millstone on the actual production achieved. But since the irregularities are heaping up and reaching an ever higher level, the sinking of the general figures of growth becomes the inevitable result.

Cause For Decline

The most important cause of the decline in the productivity of labor, of the increase in the costs of production, and the deterioration of quality at the same time as there is an accumulation of seconds—lies in the poor, insufficient and irregular maintenance of the workers and the nervous instability resulting from this.

There is not now, naturally, any more talk of the fulfillment of the Five Year Plan in four years (actually—in 4 years and 3 months—Ed.). Shortcomings and breakdowns occur in various spheres and have been occurring with insuperable force especially in this last year. The lack of something, sometimes of only an insignificant single part holds up the work in an entire enterprise. Dozens of tractors, for instance, arrive without radiators. Statistically, every tractor is 95 or 99 per cent completed. Practically, it is not at all completed. The lack of radiators, in turn, also is not simply accidental: another factory has not delivered the necessary metal. And this, in

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Lewis Gangsters Fail to Cow Miners

Springfield Miners Resist Strike-Breaker Mobilization

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—

William Sneed, generalissimo of the Lewis gunmen in this state, called a meeting at Knights of Columbus building on Sunday, September 25, for the purpose of organizing strike-breakers to open up mines in Sangamon County. The meeting ended in a riot created by Lewis provocateurs. Sangamon County is one hundred percent for the Progressive Miners of America and Sneed could only get 15 strikebreaking miners to attend his meeting.

The riot resulted in the death of Porter Williams, a police detective. They have charged Garnett Smith, another of the Lewis gunmen with the murder of Williams, although several eye-witnesses saw Bill Sneed shoot down Williams. United States Deputy Marshal J. O. Bantles, who was assisting the police, states in a report appearing in the St. Louis Globe Democrat, "I plainly saw Sneed shoot Williams." Garnett Smith is at the point of death, so they are maneuvering to cover up Sneed by accusing Smith of the murder. Some others of Lewis' gunmen were also injured in the scuffle.

When news of the meeting appeared in the local press the P. M. A. decided to picket the K. of C. building and 1,500 P. M. A. members were on the picket line. The meeting ended at 5:30 with another one decided on for the Leland Hotel on Monday. At this meeting they tried to complete arrangements for the extension of the strike breaking offensive to Sangamon County.

The local strike-breakers came first from the K. of C. building and were followed by Peabody-Lewis gunmen, with deadly

weapons flaunted in their hands, incensing the strikers by threatening to shoot if a word was uttered. Dominic DiGerolamo shouted, "Long live the P. M. A." and immediately had a bullet shot through his chest.

The miners, still displaying that marvelous courage that has characterized them throughout the entire struggle, refused to be intimidated by the blood-thirsty savages employed by Peabody and Lewis. The firmness of the miners in their insistence that the gunmen be run out of town created a frenzy among the latter—who shot Detective Porter Williams while aiming a miner. They also wounded Dan McGill, a local leader of the P. M. A. In the ensuing fight, the gunmen got a deserved trimming.

The miners, carrying out their decision to run the thugs out of town, pursued them to the Leland Hotel. Here they were met by State Cossacks, sheriffs, deputies and the entire detective and police force of Springfield, with machine guns, tear gas bombs and the paraphernalia of modern warfare. Despite this, the miners milled around the hotel. Then, to subdue the rising tide that was beginning to surge through the ranks Buck Roberts, characterized in these columns last week, addressed the miners, telling them to disperse, that the police would arrest all the gunmen. The miners called for a rank and file committee of 100 to see that the arrests were made.

The police, in their usual role of bosses' lackeys, carried the gunmen to safety in the police station, while the street leading to the jail was guarded by the National Guardsmen. Hundreds of miners jeered them on the way.

The miners are learning lessons in this struggle, lessons they cannot easily forget. The role of the state as an instrument of the bosses is being brought home to them. The state, Peabody and Lewis, feeling secure in keeping the mines in Franklin, Williamson and Saline Counties operating, have now moved the offensive to Christian County. Here the militancy of the P. M. A. is at a high level. The state, realizing that this is no ordinary struggle, has sent two battalions of machine gunners to reinforce the artillery already stationed here. Martial law, while not officially proclaimed, virtually exists. Tear gas is used to disperse women and children, assemblage of more than three is not allowed, while the bosses' thugs and gunmen make a pretense of operating the Taylorville mines.

The duty of the leadership of the P. M. A. is to call for mass picketing at Taylorville right away. In this respect, they have already lost time. Mass picketing will shut down Taylorville!

—JACK CARMODY.

In spite of open terror and semi-legality, the Communist party won a great victory in the municipal election at Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria, giving evidence to the constantly growing sympathies for Communism among the oppressed and enslaved masses. However, according to the Communists, the election victory is to be nullified!

BERLIN LETTER

New Step Toward Fascism

Struggle for Democratic Rights Now on Agenda in Germany

At the very moment when the Reichstag put the imprint of the most tremendous vote of lack of confidence upon the Papen government, the social democratic president, Hindenburg dissolved the Reichstag. The Communists skillfully introduced this decision. The tactic of the only government party, the German Nationals, contributed to them enormously. "The bridges are burned. We are under the dictatorship," says the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, which ought to know. The Weimar democracy is at an end. On this score even Papen leaves no room for doubt in his radio broadcast. Elections are indeed to take place. But how and when—on that there is nothing concrete to be heard. Neither the old defenders of the grail of democracy, the social democratic party, nor the Nazis, who seek to come to power under the cloak of democracy were able to prevent this outcome. Not one of them found the strength of courage to offer real resistance to this decision. The peace of the tomb prevails.

Already in the preceding days, the Papen government showed similar signs of "strength": the parade of the Steel Helmets, the administration reforms, etc. It proclaimed that in a short time it would continue unwaveringly with its program: the program of constitution changing, the program of millions in gifts to the capi-

talists, the program of breaches in wage scales, the program of armaments. The struggle against the "dirty swine at home" proclaimed by von Schleicher naturally stands in the foreground.

It would be ridiculous to underestimate Papen-Schleicher, behind whom stands the will of German finance capital to remain independent; it would however be disastrous to develop a perspective out of the appearances of the present events. It should not be forgotten for a moment that Papen's "main strength" is the indecisive relationship of forces between the proletariat and Fascism, which may shift one way or another at any time. Let Papen feel towards the parliament like a Bismarck, yes, as a Cromwell, whose paths proceed through dissolved parliaments. In reality, he is lacking in everything for this role: the progressive aim, the outlook for a conjuncture, and primarily and over and over again, the mass movement. In the latter lies the distinction from the Nazis, a distinction which must eternally remain a book with seven seals to those who call Papen, Brüning, Wels and Hitler Fascists in one breath. That is what will compel the bourgeoisie in the not very distant future to employ Papen together with Hitler. That is why, for example, the semi-official Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung does

(Continued on page 4)

Letters from Militants

New York Gets Barbusse Congress Report

NEW YORK CITY.—

At a meeting held at the 14th St. Labor Temple, Thursday, Sept. 15, two delegates just back from the Barbusse Anti-war Conference held at Amsterdam reported on the results of the "historic" gathering.

Grover Mills, chairman, hailed it as "significant as the first time workers and intellectuals have united in an international struggle against war by this congress". And to demonstrate further the actual unity not only at the Congress, "an intellectual and a worker would speak to-night". Sad to relate, it was really the intellectual of the pair who really delivered the best speech. Professor Margaret delivered a sentimental, although undoubtedly sincere speech, in which she related such thrilling occurrences as the formation of a physicians' committee to study the biological reason for war; how beautifully one of the delegates, noted for his ability to relate fairy tales, drew the analogy of war and capitalism to a huge dragon, etc. A number of interesting observations of an informative character were also presented. "Not all workers," stated the astute lady professor, can do as Romain Rolland was able to do—when war broke out, he was able to go to Switzerland. Further typifying the fighting militancy with which these intellectuals have united with the workers in this "most significant event" the intellectual side of the program matter of factly "recognized" that it is of course the workers who must do the actual fighting, this the intellectuals will have to leave to them. On the whole not a bad presentation of the viewpoint of petty bourgeois pacifism.

Amidst tense silence we watched the worker side of the program wend his way to the platform and settled back contentedly for a real speech. An apparently sincere young fellow, MacFarland of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union, proceeded to shatter our illusions—and present as typical a product of Stalinist confusion as it has yet been our dismay to witness. After some details on the Congress he called it a great success, MacFarland greeted the fact that some soldier delegate had reported that in case of war he and the others would refuse to fight. Several vague statements on the necessity of fighting capitalism in the shops, a call to everybody to unite, a few figures and the representative of the revolutionary working class was through. After apologetically announcing that he was "no speaker, see, and I can't shoot any line", our young comrade sat down—ending a speech which at least had the value of brevity in contrast to the usual Stalinist harangues.

Our comrades Capelis and Glee then took the floor, and gave the correct Communist position on the struggle against war. The miserable maneuver of the Stalinists with this petty bourgeois pacifist crowd of Holland and Barbusse was completely exposed; the crux of the international situation, Germany, analyzed as representing the real danger of war with Germany and against Russia eventually. If fascism seizes power, and the ten points at the conclusion of the "Declaration of the Bolshevik-Leninists" to the World Congress on War were read (See Militant, August 27).

Many questions asked, left MacFarland at a loss to reply. When asked whether the C. I. and Y. C. I. were represented officially he clearly showed that he did not know. Sen Katayama was there "representing the Japanese workers" repeated questions of this sort rightly insulted the comrade; and in rebuttal he annihilated the plainly Trotskyist disrupters, who had the impudence (and obviously malicious intention) of trying to learn just exactly where the Party stood, if it was still standing anywhere, by loudly and indignantly proclaiming that he was "a member of the Communist party and damn proud of it!" We were not exactly sure whether someone had contested his right and we had missed this point—or if by some possible chance, our comrade MacFarland felt just a little bit ashamed of the whole rotten mess he had been shoved into and was at a loss as to what else to say. Several speakers, somewhat saddened by the confused proletarian, jumped to the rescue, and saved him and some applause with the usual repetition of the now tiresome string of appellatives that the Stalinists with such remarkable adeptness and smoothness generously apply to their opponents.

After the meeting, a copy of the Militant with the above mentioned Declaration was distributed to each member of the small audience of about fifty. Even MacFarland accepted one and said he would read it. We hope he does, as he will have the opportunity to correct the bad and literally un-Communist speech he made there.

Socialists, Police Clubs and the Reds

NEW YORK, N. Y.—

Well, the class struggle has come up to our neighborhood at last. The Communists and the Socialists were holding election campaign meetings on the corner of Walton Ave. and 170th Street in the Bronx last week. The Communists were speaking on the southeast corner, the socialists on the southwest corner. Walton Ave. is a narrow street. Pretty soon it was filled from curb to curb with people listening to the speakers. Traffic got through with difficulty.

The police always on the lookout for excuses to smash Communist meetings told the Communists meeting to move across the street. The speaker refused. The cop insisted. The speaker was firm. The cop attempted to pull the speaker off the stand. His comrades resisted. Other minions of the law tried to back up their "pal".

The crowd was fast getting bigger and was hostile to the cops. But it lacked guts. It booed and booed but it didn't make any serious effort to pull the speaker and the other comrades who were being held, one by the testicles against the wall of a building, from the cops. Some workers, with more guts, then the rest, pushed the cops around and hit them back.

Then the sirens screamed as the emergency squad came flying down the street. They must have picked a green squad. You never saw a whiter bunch of faces. Fifteen husky, white faced mugs! Yellow—that's what they were. These guys are all right for beating up workers in the station house but they're plenty afraid of masses of workers. They soon found out that the crowd was as afraid as they were and they began pushing everybody around.

All this while the socialist meeting was going on. The speaker kept right on talking although no one could hear what he was saying. He knew that his meeting had nothing to fear from the cops. And the cops knew that the socialists were O. K. So while the Socialists who claim to represent the interests of the workers were making this united front with the workers enemies, the workers were being pushed around and some of them were being beaten up in the police cars by these same enemies.

In the thick of the fight a cop came over to the socialist speaker and asked him to hold off for a short while. The servile lackey of capitalism got down pronto! After five minutes or so he got up again and told the crowd that the Communists were getting what they deserved. He said that it was necessary for the police to act the way they were. He blamed the whole affair on the Communists.

Then Aaron Levenstein, another local socialist light got up to speak. He denounced the cops. That kind of talk is cheap, especially when they have just given you an unmistakable demonstration of their attitude toward you. Actions speak louder than words. What the workers saw was a united front between police and socialists from both sides. They cooperated with each other to smash the Communist meeting. Each side contributed according to its particular role. This kind of demagoguery is the chief stock in trade of the confusion these people spread around.

No doubt the Communists will return to this corner to protest against this latest piece of law and order and to explain to the workers the significance of what they saw.

—A WORKER.

The Fight for Militant Unions in Canada

TORONTO.—

A most important opportunity is opening up for the Left wing in Canada, in the present growing national movement of revolt of the trade unionists against the corrupt, degenerated A. F. of L. unions. Amongst the miners, clothing workers, cloakmakers, furriers, building trade workers, etc., etc., the cry is for united struggles against the worsening conditions and for new militant unions that will fight.

For us of the Left wing one of the outstanding features of the present revolt movement is the growing contradictions between the Stalinist policies and the requirements of the arising situations. The official Left wing under the leadership of the Workers Unity League is paying a very heavy price for the 3rd period policies of adventure and sectarianism of the past few years, in the lack of confidence of the workers in their Industrial Unions.

Was it an accident that the revolt of over 3,000 Montreal tailors should break out as a spontaneous movement and not under the leadership of the official Left wing? Had the W. U. Industrial Unions carried their analysis and policies to logical conclusions they should have con-

demned and fought the revolt movement, which had refused to hand over hegemony to them. This they tried at first to do but the resentment of the Montreal tailors in general and particularly the Left wing was so great that the mass meeting called by the W. U. Industrial union was cancelled.

The obvious contradictions and false-ness of the policies of the Workers Unity League have not passed without sharp fermentation and dissatisfaction in the Toronto and Montreal Industrial unions and Worker Unity Leagues. The organizer of the Industrial Union in Montreal had to be recalled. In order to pacify the disquiet amongst the Industrial Union members in Toronto it was found necessary to send a delegation of the Left wing tailors to investigate the struggle of the Montreal tailors and report back. Further and more important, there took place in Toronto and for the first time in Canada a grouping of Industrial Union and Worker Unity League members for Leninist policies in the trade unions.

Vacillations, more vacillations and still more vacillations, have marked the policies of the Workers Unity League. It has become common talk "that the W. U. leaders no longer believe in their own policies but have to stick by the false decisions of the last R. I. L. U. Congresses."

Needless to say the Toronto Left Opposition has come in support of that group of members of the Workers Unity League and Industrial Unions who have opened up the struggle for the Leninist program. The birth of the progressive Left wing fraction was marked by sharp clashes with the Industrial Union leaders. The various attempts to disrupt the meeting of the Progressive Left wing fraction despite temporary success will finally fail to the ground. The members are determined to carry on to victory.

Shop meetings of Left wing workers called by the W. U. Industrial Unions have failed to record support to the present policies. At the shop where the Progressive L. W. F. had called a meeting of the Left wing workers, the Industrial Union leader who had come down and distributed copies of the Kamf which contained the attack against the Left Opposition and the "former Left wing workers" was sharply criticized by the workers. In other shops the Left wing workers have asked the Progressive Left wing fraction to call them to meetings.

It is necessary that this new movement in the Workers Unity League for Leninist trade union policies should not be localized. Contacts have been established in other parts of the country. There exists today the basis for a national movement.

The Opposition at Wicks' Meeting

PITTSBURGH.—

On September 22 I attended a lecture by H. M. Wicks on the subject of "The Conditions in Germany and the Soviet Union". But he devoted most of his time to falsifying the history of the Russian revolution and slandering the Left Opposition led by comrade Trotsky.

The lies, the incoherence and the dishonest methods the Stalinists use against the Marxian wing of our party did not prevent the audience from realizing the aim of the charlatan Wicks, and when the question period arrived he was surprised to see that all the questions were about Trotsky and "Trotskyism". One question was simply a remark that Wicks thinks the audience must be pretty ignorant to say that Trotsky did not organize the Red Army, that during the Denikin-Wrangell attack, Trotsky retreated while Stalin took over the leadership of the army and defeated the counter-revolution.

To my question if it was true, as stated in the Militant some time ago, that Wicks had delivered a speech in Gary, Indiana in 1923 at a banquet given in his honor by a bourgeois organization, where he said that the members of the socialist and Communist parties are only foreigners and advised the American Legion to knock them on the head because it is the only language they understand—he replied by "correcting" the dates. He said it was not in 1923 but that the Militant had the right date, 1920. About the banquet itself, he started to insult the Militant comrades Cannon, Shachtman and myself as drunkards, renegades and counter-revolutionists. "If I had delivered such a speech," he said in order to show what a big shot he was, "it would be printed not only in the small newspaper of Gary, but in the New York Times, the Chicago Tribune and the Sun-Telegram of Pittsburgh." When I asked him if he would accept a debate on the question, he said, Yes, with Cannon. So I replied that we would bring comrade Cannon to Pittsburgh to debate with him. Immediately he changed his mind and said that he would first ask his party. When I asked him to elect a committee to come into touch with us for the arrangement of the debate, he got mad and answered, "We don't debate

with renegades, but we slap them down." Then he declared that he had never delivered any speech at a banquet but spoke at an open forum.

Then I asked, What about the Committee elected by the E. C. of the party to investigate the speech after he had made application to join the party, in which comrade Cannon was also a member. First he said he had never signed an application because he was one of the founders of the party and he and Ruthenberg signed the charter of the party. Then he admitted that a committee had been elected, but Cannon wasn't on it; there were Lansky, who is now in Russia, Jakira who died some years ago and Bedacht who is now in New York.

Now, in order to expose the professional liar Wicks, I think that the Militant should satisfy the demand of many workers of Pittsburgh by reprinting once more the speech with dates and proofs to them about who are the so-called revolutionary leaders in the ranks of the Communist party who attack the Left Opposition as "renegades."

—JAMES SIFAKIS.

Note: The Militant has on two occasions reprinted the full story from the Gary, Indiana, Post, which reports the renegade speech made by Wicks at a time when the Communist party was driven underground by the Palmer persecutions. The accuracy of the report has not been challenged by Wicks in the press, nor can it be. Every leader of the party who was a member of it in 1920-1921, knows that the report is veracious. Further proof of Wicks' renegacy is indicated by Bulletin No. 2 of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America (underground) containing the decision to reject Wicks' application for membership in plain terms.—Ed.

THE MILITANT

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Spurts Ahead!

Despite our slender resources, our activities have taken a real spurt forward. We have organizers working in several fields giving their services voluntarily and without any compensation. They are making new contacts and building the Left Opposition. There are two young comrades active in the Illinois mine field helping our miner comrades in their arduous task. Our Chicago comrade is making a tour of several cities in Iowa. Two of our members from Minneapolis are similarly active there. Plans are complete for such organization work in Pittsburgh and we can add that possibilities elsewhere press for similar action.

But The Militant, of course, remains the main organizer. Yet its existence is seriously threatened. We have appealed for the assistance of our readers, however, with only small response so far. More activities require a larger supply of papers and of literature. While our young organizers work without compensation we still have the duty of helping them to get around. Thus there is plenty of reason for renewing our appeal and making it more insistent.

Some of our comrades have responded with contributions, of which we list the following: Joseph Keller of Cleveland, I. Brody of Cleveland, helping our organizers get on their way, Sarah J. Linn of Birmingham, Ala., V. M. Johnson and L. Kogan from California, C. Schechet from Boston, J. Hamilton from Chicago, J. Sifakis from Pittsburgh sends in his own contribution and those of other comrades there. From New York we have received contributions from L. Miller, H. Norman, Harry C. and H. Norman. Then to mention a big item, our New York branch at its last meeting, in response to our campaign to establish the International Workers School and to locate it in new headquarters, pledged from its membership a total of \$128.50, with part paid in cash. It is necessary to mention in this connection also that since the middle of August the Chicago branch has responded excellently to our financial needs.

We have all the arrangements made for the International Workers School, located at New York. With that is coupled up the question of new headquarters, an absolute necessity for the growing activities of the organization and for the school. All of these steps taken are compelled by necessity. Our opportunities are increasing, our activities are growing, our needs multiply. We are in a critical position. We must

MILITANT SUB DRIVE

Our Club Plan

SUBS FOR MINERS

All eyes on Gillespie, Illinois! On October 3 the first conference of the Progressive Miners of America will go into session in this mining town. This will mark the high point of the first phase of our activities in the Illinois coal fields.

Then will begin the second phase of our work—the steady, plugging, day-to-day work of getting subs, making contacts and mouth-to-mouth discussions. In this work the Militant must be our best and ever-present spokesmen. Our present distributions are good but whether a miner gets two successive issues is a hit-and-miss proposition. If our policy is to be made clear to the miners, especially the more advanced miners, they must get and read the Militant regularly.

The solution of the problem is to get subs for the miners. Here is where our club plan comes in. You know that up to now a half-year sub of twenty-six issues was \$1. And now you know that in clubs of four or more sent in at one time on a blank like the one below, a half-year sub is fifty cents.

You do not have to be located in the coal fields to get subs for the miners. Wherever you live or happen to be located at the moment you can make a concrete demonstration of your solidarity with our class brothers. Go out to sympathizers and friends with our club plan blanks, explain the situation and our plan to them, and get a half-year sub AT THE OLD RATE. Explain that the extra fifty cents will be used for a sub for a miner.

We have a list of miners who want

the Militant but cannot afford even fifty cents for a half-year sub. Just as fast as we hear from you we will begin to transfer these names to the Militant mailing list. When you send in the club plan blank just fill in two names and addresses and leave two space blank. And be sure to send two dollars with the blank.

500 SUBS FOR THE MINERS

At a rough preliminary estimate there are five hundred miners out there in Illinois who are material for the Left Opposition. At the very least they can be easily interested in the Militant. It will take five hundred subs at the old rate to place a copy of the Militant in the hands of these five hundred miners for twenty-six weeks. Can we do it? We think it can be done. It is up to you. We are swinging into line on this question on a nation-wide front.

We realize that we are as yet only a small organization. But we are also aware of the certainty of our growth and we think that now is the time to take a big step forward. We will carry a regular list every week from now on of the number of subs for miners that you send in. This will be a separate list. The comrades who send in such subs on these club plan blanks will be included in the staff of Militant Builders.

MILITANT BUILDERS

Since the announcement of the opening of this drive and the writing of this copy too little time has elapsed for us to get any returns from our comrades and sympathizers. We are therefore unable to give a list of Militant Builders. But watch next week's issue!

MILITANT BUILDERS CLUB PLAN BLANK

A \$1 HALF YEAR SUB OF 26 ISSUES for 50c in CLUBS of FOUR or MORE.
THE MILITANT, 84 E. 10th Street, New York City.

Enclosed find \$2 for which send the MILITANT for 26 weeks to the following:

NAMES	ADDRESSES	CITY	STATE

MILITANT BUILDER Address
City State
Help Circulate a Marxian Paper for Class Conscious Workers

not even the depression is going to stop us from obtaining this fund. In this fight, don't side us with the depression—stand with the Left Opposition.

If we put over the drive for \$300.00 we will release the National Office from pressing burdens, enabling it to devote greater attention and activity to the coal miners' strike in Illinois and to other pressing party and class problems confronting us. Help us take this step. Without the help of our sympathizers, without the help of the friends of The Militant, we will not be able to succeed. Let us hear from you at once. Enroll in our classes!

The first four classes will be:
The History of the American Communist Movement—James P. Cannon, 3 lessons every Monday from Oct. 17 to Dec. 5.
State and Revolution—Jack Weber, 10 lessons every Monday from October 17 to Dec. 19.
The History of the Comintern—Max Shachtman, 8 lessons every Wednesday from Oct. 19 to Dec. 7.
The Theoretical System of Marxism—Hugo Oehler 10 lessons every Wednesday from Oct. 19 to Dec. 21.
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New York, N. Y.

League Replies to Weisbord Letter

1. The Communist League, as the American section of the International Left Opposition of the Comintern, aims now as in the past to unite in its ranks all those who stand with us on a common basis of principles and methods, to facilitate the approach and fusion of those who are consistently moving in our direction, and to wage an implacable struggle against all elements of confusion which would blur the sharp distinctions between the three basic currents in the Communist movement and thereby paralyze the striking force of the revolutionary Marxian wing. This fundamental consideration has guided us in our attitude toward all the individuals and groups which have broken in one way or another with the official regime of bureaucratic Centrism. It determined our friendly attitude and attempts at collaboration with Weisbord when he first began to approach the League, as well as our determined struggle against him when he began his attempt to disrupt the organization, to set up a rival against it on a platform in principle contradictory to ours, and to fight the League with unworthy methods and slanders.

2. As long as Weisbord and his group ("The Communist League of Struggle") stood on this ground and employed these methods we could only regard him as an opponent, if not an enemy, of the Left Opposition. The basis for a comradely discussion of secondary differences and loyal collaboration in specific tasks within a general framework of principle agreement did not exist. Before everything the League considered and considered it necessary to mark off distinctly its principle line and its methods from those of all other groups and tendencies and to reject everything that stands in the way of this clarification. This course does not signify the splitting of hairs or the exaggeration of differences, but rather the bringing out into prominent relief of those questions and differences which are essential and fundamental. The struggle against the claims of Weisbord was a necessary struggle for the ideological clarity and organizational integrity of the League.

3. The new statement of Weisbord and his group represents a partial turn in the direction of the Left Opposition on the most important principle questions, and a certain moderation in the form and tone of his criticism. Although in neither case is the correction made with the necessary frankness and thoroughness. This change of position, however, creates the possibility, which was previously lacking, to give consideration once again to the question of relations with this group and to point out what, in our opinion, stands yet in the way of its inclusion in the League. In yielding on the main questions of principle, which separated it from the Left Opposition, the Weisbord group removes the foundation of its right to a separate existence. Only when it takes this point of departure and takes serious and sincere steps toward inclusion in the League on the basis of its principle line, will its proclamations on the principle questions validate themselves. Up to now this has not been the case. The actions of Weisbord since his return from Europe tend rather to contradict the political implications of his statement and bear the character of futile maneuvers. Only a radical change in this course and a direct approach to the League will make it possible to give more serious consideration to the prin-

With the last issue, the Militant concluded the statement drawn up by the Weisbord group in reply to the letter which had been addressed to it by comrade Trotsky. With the present issue, we begin publication of the reply to this statement presented by the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

principle concessions as a basis of unity. The International Left Opposition, including its American section, is not only a system of ideas but a definite organization toward which precise and unambiguous relations are required.

Whatever the result may be in the field of organization—and this depends on the sincere approach of the Weisbord group to the League, which the League will not refuse—the ideological and political victory of the Left Opposition in the two-years dispute with Weisbord is already recorded in his own declarations. And in this there is to be seen not the victory of some persons and the defeat of others, but rather the invincible strength of the ideas of the Bolshevik-Leninists, in America as throughout the world. There is only one platform for the struggle to free the vanguard of the proletariat from Centrism and the Right wing, and restore the Comintern to the path of Lenin, and that is the platform of the International Left Opposition. All intermediary groups, all those who play with this or that idea of the Left Opposition without comprehending and embracing the system of its doctrines, are condemned to futility and bankruptcy. The strength of the Left Opposition is demonstrated not only by the steady inroads it makes in the party and the growth of its influence there, but also in its capacity to draw to itself and absorb all groups and currents breaking away from the Centrist regime and the Right wing in a Leftward direction. From this point of view—as international experience has shown—we can be assured that some, if not all, of the Weisbord group will find their way to a complete fusion with us. And it goes without saying that the National Committee will do all in its power to facilitate and hasten this process, without putting unnecessary obstacles in the way or imposing any unreasonable conditions. What is required for this is only the requisite clarity and agreement on principles and methods and a genuine attitude of good faith toward the League as an organization.

The general direction of Weisbord and the comrades associated with him, over a period now of several years, despite a number of contradictions and a great deal of confusion, has been toward the Left Opposition. But it is just these contradictions and this confusion, complicated in the highest degree by the one-sided, false, embittered and caricatured factional criticisms of Weisbord, and his impermissible methods, which justify the League in submitting the new turn in principle toward the line of the League to the necessary tests and in examining his actions with a certain caution. Sufficient proofs must be established that the contradiction between his previous course and ours is really liquidated and not simply transferred inside the League. Otherwise a fusion, instead of strengthening and consolidating the forces of the Left Opposition, would only prepare the way for new convulsions.

The nucleus of the present Weisbord

group originated in the Right wing of the party. After participating in the party campaign against the "Trotskyists", he found himself in conflict with the party regime after the expulsion of the Lovestone group, and soon afterward was himself expelled. After compromising himself with the expelled Right wing, without formally joining it, he went through a period of vacillation between the Right and the Left. When he first approached us two years ago he said he had not made up his mind which faction to join, but intended to "join one or the other". At that time he was full of the idea of "the two groups working together", and made a number of bizarre propositions in this spirit. He proposed that he be allowed to write both for the Militant and the Revolutionary Age, as though the sharp lines of principle demarcation between the two organizations had not been established. He did in fact submit articles to both papers, and one of them—a programmatic character—was printed in the Militant as a discussion article to inform our movement of his views.

In this program article, Militant, Sept. 1 and 15, 1930, he expressed views in basic contradiction to those of the Left Opposition, especially on the question of Centrism and the bloc with the Right wing, and he never clearly corrected them until his letter in reply to comrade Trotsky's criticism (Class Struggle, August 1932). After a number of meetings and friendly conversations between Weisbord and members of the National Committee, in which our attempts to convince him of his errors were unsuccessful, it was found impossible to accept his application for membership in the League. Our attitude was not determined by his criticisms on secondary questions, but by the differences of a principle character which have been illuminated in comrade Trotsky's letter. In the light of all the subsequent developments it is now indisputable that the attitude of the National Committee, supported by the entire membership of the League, was entirely correct.

The position of the National Committee at that time was consistent, we believe, with the position it takes now toward the Weisbord group and all others moving in the direction of the Left Opposition. While pointing out the most important principle differences which excluded a complete organizational unity, the statement of the National Committee (Militant, Sept. 15, 1930) took into account his trend toward us and said: "At the same time it expressed the hope and desire that further reflection and discussion would make it possible for comrade Weisbord to find his place as a fighter—and a valuable one—in the ranks of the Opposition... The National Committee decided, in view of Weisbord's closeness to the views of the Opposition, to invite his collaboration in fields of work conforming to his position." Matters did not work out that way in the ensuing two years because Weisbord did not meet us on this ground. For collaboration he substituted a violent factional struggle and a series of cheap, unworthy and easily repulsed maneuvers.

Beginning first with the New York branch of the League, while ostensibly "collaborating" with us as instructor of a study class in economics, Weisbord soon went over to open struggle against the League. In the course of the past year and a half he attempted to set up an

organization ("The Communist League of Struggle") as a rival to the American section of the International Left Opposition. In this disruptive undertaking Weisbord brought himself into the sharpest conflict with us, both in principle questions and in methods, and evoked against himself the indignant resentment of the entire membership of the League. The fact that the "Communist League of Struggle" never succeeded in making a serious impression anywhere did not alter the fact that it was aimed destructively at the League. In the course of that struggle against us we could only see Weisbord as an enemy who fought the League with weapons to a considerable extent borrowed from the Stalinists and the Right wing. His claim to "adhere" to the Left Opposition while fighting against some of its most fundamental conceptions and against its American section working exclusively in the direction of compromising and discrediting the cause of the Left Opposition.

From the very beginning of the attempt to set up an independent organization against the League on a separate platform it was clear to us that Weisbord and his close associates had occupied an absolutely hopeless position on which he could not remain for long. The failure to make the slightest impression on the membership of the League, the inability to extend the organization beyond the single small group in which nearly half the membership was lost—all these developments were unfailing signs of the political hopelessness of the venture and of the categorical necessity to make a decisive turn. That the group has now taken a definite turn toward the "Left Opposition" in the most important principle questions which separated it in the past is to the credit of the group and, if it is carried through consistently, it will determine for us an alternation of our previous attitude of irreconcilable antagonism.

Whether this is really the case or not can be established best, at least in a preliminary way, by an examination of the reply of the Weisbord group to comrade Trotsky's letter in the light of the fundamental objections, in principle and methods, which the League has previously made to collaboration or unity with this group.

I. The Question of Centrism and the Bloc with the Right Wing

On these questions—which separated it from us fundamentally—the Weisbord group has made a retreat from its old position, but it has done so in the worst possible way—without criticizing its former position or acknowledging its falsity. Thus they give no assurances whatever against a relapse into the fundamental errors which flowed inevitably from its original position. To say, "On the general question of Centrism, we feel that our differences are not very great and in some respects are only of a formal character", is not to clarify but to muddle up the really deep and fundamental difference that existed on this question. And likewise to "energetically emphasize the fact that we have never proposed a BLOC with the Right wing (Lovestonites)", meaning by a bloc a general vague alliance, leaves us in doubt as to how they understood the fundamental conflict also on this question (directly related to the question of bureaucratic centrism) and whether they want to justify their former position and propose that the League should adopt it. In that case there would be no possibility of agreement. Clarification on these points is indispensable. (Continued in next issue)

MADRID LETTER

Checking Sanjurjo's Coup

The Spanish Proletariat Replies to the Monarchist Insurrection

The attempt at a monarchist restoration in Spain, carried out by the overwhelming majority of the commanders of the army and navy has considerable importance and demonstrates to what depths the Republic has sunk as a reactionary state, despite its title of "Republic of all classes of workers".

The Government and the Monarchists

Even today the constitution approved by the Cortes is one of the most reactionary among the countries called republican and democratic. Of the democratic pledges made by the present rulers before they seized power, there remains nothing but a memory of deceit. And on top of this reactionary constitution they have built up a series of Exceptional Laws, such as the Law for the Defense of the Republic, and the law on associations, (which outlaws all organizations refusing to play the role of the reformist social-democratic organisms. This law was promulgated for exactly that reason by the socialist labor minister, Caballero, and others. The Spanish republic, breaking off all contact with the masses which caused it to triumph, has evolved toward the sharpest reaction and has fallen into the hands of more or less disguised elements of the old monarchist regime. Sanjurjo, the general who raised the banner of revolt against the republic in Seville, was, until the very day of the uprising, a confidant of the government entrusted with wielding power against the people.

The government had been warned many times of the reactionary maneuvers of Sanjurjo and the monarchists; but it did not know how nor did it want to take measures against them. The government fully bore out the thesis defended by comrade Trotsky and the Communist Left Opposition, on the impossibility of the Spanish bourgeoisie accomplishing a democratic revolution. Not only did it not accomplish the democratic revolution, but it allowed the enemies of the regime, the monarchists, to maneuver against the republic.

We already know that the government, by losing the contact it had had (up to the proclamation of the republic), with the masses generally and with the working class specifically (the anarchists and socialists were among those who helped the present leaders the most in seizing power), broke the "democratic" links between the republic and the popular opinion which had supported the new regime during the first days of its existence.

The Rotten Republic

The reactionary forces, which are far more intelligent than the myopic politicians of the present government, knew how to keep under cover during the earliest days of the Republic, just as they know how to rise up in the streets when they considered the government vanquished. The feebleness of the government has been the basic prop and the strongest animator of the reactionary monarchists.

Without the energetic defense of the workers against the monarchy, the government would have offered no resistance to the monarchist reaction. Realizing the significance of the monarchist military movement, and knowing that almost all the army and navy commanders were against the government and in favor of the uprising, the government and parlia-

ment created an impression of boundless cowardice, and quite literally they did not know what to do.

After a good deal of delay and vacillation, the government took action against Sanjurjo. The Sevillian authorities, for example, surrendered their power to the monarchists without offering the least show of resistance. Today this same government sees itself compelled to imprison its own representatives at Seville in the face of the popular accusations which hold them responsible for the power having fallen into the monarchists' hands. Beyond a doubt the monarchists wanted to profit by the general discontent existing among the present rulers; but they did not understand that, though it is true that the popular masses are disgusted with the return to the state of affairs that existed before the republic, it was the working masses who defended the republic by snatching it from the hands of Sanjurjo and the monarchist generals. But that does not mean that the masses were on the side of the Azana government which expedited the monarchists' maneuvers by its weakness and its political incapacity.

The Democratic Illusions of the Proletariat

We must draw two conclusions from the recent events. The first is that, despite the discontent of the working masses with the present rulers' administration, democratic illusions still exist among them. It seems a contradiction that the workers' masses understood the reactionary role that the leaders of the republic were playing, that they felt keenly the injury dealt by the Law for the Defense of the Republic, and that they should not yet have lost faith in abstract democracy. The working masses know that of the official Communist leaders, who did not know how to destroy the confidence of the workers in bourgeois democracy. The working masses know that the present rulers have "betrayed" the interests of the republic, and that if they were governing as "real republicans" matters would proceed in an entirely different fashion. This explains how certain entirely disregarded elements in the previous period of the republic, such as those who today wave the banner of radical republicanism, succeeded in winning tremendous influence among the popular circles, especially the workers. Such are the consequences of the policy which consists of giving "Soviet" slogans the very day of the republic's proclamation, at the moment when the republican and democratic enthusiasm of the masses was at its highest pitch.

The other fundamental lesson of the latest events consists in the tremendous progress realized by the reactionary and monarchist forces. It is not an unimportant thing to note that all the army leaders were against the government. This fact had considerable effect in official circles and threw panic into the heart of the government. That is why nobody was executed: the government dreads the threatening reaction more than it does public opinion. This fact produces a serious conflict for the government and a serious danger: for the regime.

For a Workers' United Front

The working-class movement is at present in a period of outright depression. No one can doubt that it will rise up again very shortly, and more strongly than ever before, but for the moment, the proletarian factor is not exercising the pressure that circumstances require. This is a fact of the utmost importance in the present circumstances. The united front of the proletariat is today more necessary than ever. At Seville we saw an exemplary case of the united front at the time of Sanjurjo's coup d'Etat, and it was this which produced the general's defeat. Only the united front can offer the desired solution—to require the execution of the reactionary generals and to halt the advance of the reaction. And it is not simply a question of settling the question of the penalties which the vanquished reactionaries must undergo, but of adopting really revolutionary means to put an end to the monarchist maneuvers. The government is powerless to do this; the socialists bury their heads, without being able to determine for themselves the orientation which the government should follow. The Spanish proletariat must demand from the socialists (today the slogan of "all power to the socialists" would be justified), that they act with energy, that they insist upon the punishment of those responsible for complicity and tolerance toward the reaction, either directly or indirectly.

Without the united front of the Spanish proletariat, the perspective of this reactionary Spanish republic can only be precipitation into a regime of dictatorship which, if it does not reinstate the monarchy, will become a "republican" regime of the type of Portugal or Cuba. But the united front of the proletariat is easily realizable, as we have seen in the case of Seville, provided the myopia of some and the ill-will of others (the anarchist, socialist and official Communists), do not oppose it. In this sense, the monarchist attempt has been pregnant with lessons, and will be still more so in the processes and developments of these events.

Madrid, September 1932.

—H. LACROIX.

JAPAN

Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat

By Jack Weber

(Continued from last issue)

It was fortunate for Japan that the Civil War absorbed American energies and that the conquest of India took all of England's attention after Perry's demonstration. Japan was faced with the immediate task of providing for the national defense against the encroachment of the imperialists. Without a breathing-spell she could not have withstood further onslaughts. In her weakness the government was forced to sign a humiliating treaty (Towson-Harris—1857 with the Tokugawa) with America which granted extra-territoriality to American citizens and which restricted duties on imports to a maximum of 5% ad valorem, creating an open market as the high tariff American government knew. This same treaty had to be granted to the other powers after the demolition of the batteries of Shimonoseki Straits in 1864 by the combined fleets of England, Holland, France and America as punishment for the damaging of some vessels trying to pass through the forbidden straits. The shogun wrote at this time: "These foreigners are no longer to be despised. The art of navigation, steam vessels, and naval and military preparations have found full development in their hands. A war with them might result in temporary victories on our part but when our country would be beset by their combined armaments the whole land would be involved in consequences which we can divine from China's experience." The Japs were fearful, observing that the Philippine Islands had been in Spain's hands for 300 years; Java had come under Dutch influence in 1705 and under her complete control in 1830; the dismemberment of China had begun in 1377 with the Portuguese at Macao; only recently in 1840 the British had taken Hongkong as a result of the Opium War; the French were already in Indo-China.

Modern military defense was unthinkable

able without advanced industrial development modeled on Western lines. The feudal system with its low estimation of the merchant class, with its sumptuary laws defining narrowly the very food and clothing of the exploited, with its lack of accumulations from an economy at the bare subsistence level, with its complete lack of technological training for the use machinery—all this left the burden completely on the shoulders of the new bureaucracy. To begin a strenuous period of industrial development, only the government could provide the necessary funds. The government had to take the initiative in deciding what industries to begin, how to encourage scientific and technical training.

Foreign Aid

Whatever similarities exist between the haphazard Japanese program and the planned Soviet program of industrialization (despite its serious errors) can be observed in the immediate inviting of foreign experts to construct and start new plants and to train workers. During the years 1854 to 1859 the lord of Mito had already invited 22 Dutch experts to establish shipyards and to teach the latest arts of shipbuilding. The new government took this enterprise over. It invited British engineers to build the first railroads; British workmen were invited to assist in the erection and operation of the early iron works; British teachers taught glass-making in Tokio; American and British engineers introduced modern mining methods and the use of explosives; French and Italian experts westernized the silk industry; Swiss taught the hemp-braid industry; Germans introduced brewing, the smelting of zinc, the making of steel and the chemical industries; French and Germans started dye making. By 1872 there were 300 foreigners in government departments acting as experts. The Americans contributed little due to

their own "infancy" so that today Japanese industry is more European than American. Just as in Soviet Russia, the dependence on foreign experts was not completely successful. The Japs were often imposed upon, some experts were bluffers and other out-and-out frauds (as with the beginning of Stalingrad).

The government thus took the place of the entrepreneur in establishing the first arsenals, the first silk flature, the first glass factory, the first chemical works. It has operated porcelain works, silk and cotton spinning mills, linen factories, cement and brick plants, plants for soap making, type-founding, paint making, food factories, iron and steel plants. There are few industries that do not owe their existence to government initiative.

The Feudo-Capitalist Alliance

And yet by 1880 most of the government-owned plants were in private hands! For the government took the unique step of handing these finished plants over to individuals—without the slightest compensation in the vast majority of cases! The meaning and results of this transaction must be clearly stated. That there was nothing queer to Japs in this handing over of wealth to the few, is due to the left-over feudal psychology and to the fact of control by feudal lords. The "lord" could hand over a "fief" to anyone he chose, usually for personal loyalty, and almost always to previous samurai subordinates. That is exactly what occurred. Every member of the Genro, every premier selected by the Genro, has had his particular protégé whom he has enriched. Iwasaki ("Working Forces in Japanese Politics") says: "The way to get rich was to become the friend of some high officers of the government." Thus Marquis Inouye befriended the Matsuis, one of the "big five" capitalist families of modern Japan. Okuma helped the Iwasakis, the present steamship kings. Baron Goto, while Governor of Formosa, made the Suzukis the sugar kings, the same Suzukis who profited most during the world war by selling munitions. The alliance between the feudal lords and the new capitalists has been very firmly cemented indeed. This is of utmost significance for the future agrarian democratic revolution. It need hardly be said that in war the militarists experienced not the slightest resistance on the part of the capitalists to the complete mobilization of industry for military purposes.

Industrial Handicaps and Japanese Imperialism

World economy stimulated the growth of industrial Japan, but that same world economy now holds Japan as in a vise, tending to strangle her capitalism. And it can be said with utmost confidence that Japan will find no real solution to her life-and-death problems under the world hegemony of capitalism. Imperialism attempts to overcome these handicaps with a sword but is doomed to failure. Japan's part in the international division of labor will be decided by her workers and peasants, not by domestic and foreign capitalists.

There are three great handicaps that condition Japanese industrial growth. These are: (1) money stringency; (2) poverty in raw materials; (3) need for

secondary purposes.

The close and direct relationship between capitalist industry and the government is one of the peculiarities of Japanese economy. Up to 1899 the "unequal" treaties of the Powers with Japan remained in force, preventing the raising of tariff barriers to protect infant industries. But every other device to encourage industry and to enrich the capitalists was resorted to by the government. Thus, tax exemptions have been frequently granted, duty remissions are made practically on request, subsidies were and still are common and since 1899 the tariff has been an important weapon of defense and offense. Apart from the world war period the shipping industry could not have existed for a single year without large subsidies amounting to enough to cover a substantial slice of the operating expenses plus a large profit to the shipping interests. The main line railways were nationalized at the time of the Russo-Jap war, but there are a number of private branch lines whose profit is guaranteed by the government. Loans are readily granted to new enterprises with very little hope of their return. Contributions from the national treasury to private industry in 1928-9 amounted to 21.9% of the total budget. Under the conditions of industrial growth the government itself has never been able to discontinue entirely its own operation of industrial enterprises, as is evident from the fact that in 1928 there were as many as 371 government factories employing 136,000 workers.

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(1) Money stringency and the finance of industry.

The growth of industry demands larger and larger amounts of fluid capital. Quite poor in metallic and mineral resources, Japan has been forced continuously to import both gold and silver for the coining of money, as domestic production scarcely meets industrial and art purposes. It was possible for Japan to establish a more or less stable financial and banking system only with the aid of the 200,000,000 taels indemnity squeezed out of China after the Sino-Jap war. Throughout the modern era Japan has been an importer of raw materials and machinery resulting in an unfavorable net balance of trade (except during the world war). If not through spheres of influence, then economically the capitalist powers exploit Japan as a market. To pay for the imported materials Japan has had to make larger loans abroad. Although the total amount of the public debt is smaller than that of any of the powers, the absolute amount and percentage of foreign debt is greater, whereas the domestic debt is smaller than that of any other country.

The money stringency of Japanese capitalism is reflected in the high interest rates. Banks pay around 10% on deposits. The short-term discount rate is over 10% as compared with the 4.5% of Western countries. These rates impose a severe handicap on Japanese industry. Owing to their youth and to the failure to build up adequate surpluses, industrial concerns are under the necessity of borrowing a large part of their working capital. As the high rates are an important element in the cost of production, they are a handicap to Japanese enterprise in meeting foreign competition. Struggle as she may to overcome this difficulty, Japan falls more and more under the influence of American finance capital. The unparalleled dependence of Japanese production on foreign markets makes Japan extremely sensitive to world economic conditions. Since 1920 she has been in the throes of a profound crisis causing her foreign exchange to fall catastrophically. The inflation caused by the tripling of her bank-note emission during and following the war has been aggravated by the heavy demands made on Japanese economy through the imperialist seizure of Manchuria.

(To be continued)

VOTE COMMUNIST!

New Step Toward Fascism

(Continued from page 1)

not burn its bridges to Hitler. A Papen-Hitler government is on no account more improbable than the conciliation that has taken place before our very eyes between the Nazis and the Center. Neither can a Papen-Hitler government, however, be of any permanence; it leads further to the Hitler dictatorship. The dissolution of the Reichstag is a consummation of Schleicherian Bonapartism. But it is also a further important step to the Hitler dictatorship, in the sense outlined above. We are today directly confronted with the dictatorship of the generals. But this should not in the slightest degree affect our vigilance against the fascist danger.

It is no accident that the government was overthrown in the parliament because of its economic program. No mass party, not even the Nazis, could afford open operation for this most unheard of assault upon the standard of living of the toilers, so long as it must maintain some responsibility to the mass of its electors, so long as it still acts upon a parliamentary basis. Only with the elimination of the democratic rights can one risk such an attack. The question of defense against the economic attack, the abolition of the emergency decree is thus most intimately linked with the question of the defense of the democratic rights. The moment when the parliament is again sent home out of hand, the moment when a government rules which has nine-tenths of the parliament against it—not to speak of the masses—it is clear that ever before that the struggle for the defense of the minimum of existence, for defense of the democratic rights, can be conducted only outside of parliament by means of strikes. In spite of this, the social democratic party at the present moment dares to appeal for a referendum against the second section (1) of the emergency decree of September 4, 1932. This is the highest peak of parliamentary criticism. This is a refined as well as a shameful and fruitless maneuver for diverting the working masses from the real struggle, for belauding the actual, renewed capitulation of the social democratic party.

In contrast to this—just as on July 20—the Communist party wants to fight; unfortunately, however—just as on July 20—it is unable to fight. In spite of all endeavors, after the frightful defeat of July 20, to "perfect" the line, the incapacity to action of the C. P. G., is the same as on July 20. The evil has not been attacked at the roots. What is dreadful is not that the social democratic party is making this parliamentary swindle maneuver at the present moment—nothing else is to be expected from it—the worst thing is that it is able thereby to retain its hold on the masses. If on the part of the C. P. G., it is to confine itself to tearing to critical bits this swindle maneuver, to carry on propaganda as in the past, it will run still further into the blind alley of powerlessness. If you want to fight extra-parliamentarily, then the prerequisites for it must first be created.

The United Front

The only indispensable prerequisite for extra-parliamentary struggle today is the establishment of the united front. The only way out of this situation, out of the grip of Papen as well as Hitler, is in the establishment of the united front. That is why the C. P. G. must do everything, which it has neglected to do up to now, in order to put the united front into effect. Not to turn from the parliamentary cretinisms and swindles of the social democratic party leadership in moral indignation, but on the contrary, by means of a concrete demand for joint extra-parliamentary struggle for the defense of the democratic rights, for defense against the Papen program, to compel them today, on September 15, when the program enters into effect, today,

when the Reichstag has been sent home, today, and not in the nebulous future of a referendum, to decide before the masses who follow them: for or against the struggle. It is the masses who are involved, and not the leaders. The demand to the leaders is no all-saving method, we know. But at the present moment, it is the link in the chain which must be seized if the wheel of the revolution is to continue turning. It is the path that must be trod if we are to emerge from the blind alley into the united front. The demand must require that the united front should find organizational expression in the formation of workers' cartels and fighting committees of all labor organizations on the Oranienburg model.

In this hour of confusion, an immediately convoked congress of all factory councils, unemployed and unity committees must deliberate on the next measures of struggle and become a signal for the concentration of the whole working class. Further, the C. P. G., if it wants to establish the united front in the factories, must undertake an open correction of its trade union line, convert the Red Trade Union Organization into an inner-trade union opposition, and openly declare its readiness to liquidate its own unions if the expelled are reinstated. These steps to the united front are indispensable. That is shown by the terrifying calm of July 20, of September 12. Out of the shattered fragments of bourgeois democracy, the proletarian united front can and must arise. The Communist party and only the party can create it. If it returns to the tactic of Lenin. Let all give their aid to the Left Opposition in its work of bringing the party to that point.

—ROMAN WELL.

Berlin, September 15, 1932.

Brilliant Expelled

At a regular meeting of the New York branch on September 27, the branch unanimously voted to expel Robert Brilliant from the Left Opposition. The trial for Brilliant has been carried on since September 9, when written charges were presented against him and at the meeting where he gave a report in his defense. Since then despite notices, personal and written, Brilliant has not appeared at the Trial Committee nor attended any meetings or activity of the Left Opposition. After the committee heard evidence from a number of League members and other union workers the committee came to a unanimous decision for the expulsion of Brilliant.

The outstanding violations of Communist principles have been: that Brilliant worked in another shop while his shop was on strike. In this period he did not carry on any strike activity he deserted his comrades who were forced to elect another shop chairman in his place. After the strike was over, Brilliant asked the N. T. I. U. for a work card. This was refused on the grounds that he was working during the strike. Instead of correcting his position or coming to his fraction or to the League to present his case, he went to the Right wing union officials and to persons connected with the Forward and gave them information which appeared in the Forward.

After this non-Communist action was brought before the needle trades' fraction and the League and after Brilliant was called to the trial committee he continued to carry on his struggle against the Industrial Union, by continuing his action with the Right wing officials, the Forward and the Day.

These deeds and actions are contrary to elementary Communist proceedings and outside the bounds of membership in the Left Opposition faction of the Communist movement.

—HUGO OEHLER, Organizer.

I. W. O. Expels Three for «Trotskyism»

The following self-explanatory letter sent by the undersigned to the National Office of the International Workers' Order has not yet been replied to.

At our regular business meeting of the I. W. O. John Reed Branch 546, comrade Solomon requested the floor which was denied him by the chairman, comrade Hammersmark. The reason given was that he was not a member of the branch any more. The chairman based his ruling on a letter received by the branch from the National Office which states as follows:

"Social members are requested to take out insurance policy if they care to remain as regular members of this organization. They can do by paying up the back dues or rejoining the organization as new member."

Comrade Solomon asked the chairman whether he was expelled. The reply was: "You expelled yourself." The names of all social members were then read off as follows: Solomon, F. Shevelenko, V. Shevelenko, Golden, Dr. Broad H. Mashow, J. Mashow.

Hattie Mashow asked for the floor on a special request, which was granted her. Her statement was that Solomon and Mashows will comply with the request as stated in the letter of the national office and, as a matter of fact, Mashow has already paid part of the back dues at the previous meeting. She also added that in view of this fact we should be recognized as members at this meeting. If not, then she considers that we are being expelled not for the reason of not paying the back dues, but for being in sympathy with the program of the Left Opposition. In reply, comrade Ham-

mark, the chairman, made the following statement—that he personally will use everything possible to see that these three comrades should not be reinstated. The reasons given are—(1) That they were too critical of the Communist party and the Third International. (2) That they are using this organization as a platform from which to speak for the Left Opposition.

The chairman was followed by comrade Sakular, a member of the executive of the branch, branding the comrades as Trotskyists and accusing them of doing disruptive work within the organization, altho he did not have one single fact to prove it and he also joined comrade Hammersmark in saying that he is opposed to their reinstatement.

A motion was submitted by comrade Tarlow, the former financial secretary, that the social members be reinstated at this meeting upon paying their back dues. The motion was seconded but still was not accepted by the chair. Comrade Tarlow also stated that it was not the fault of the three comrades that they became social members as they did so at his suggestion. He said that he had suggested this with the consent of the National Office and also of the executive committee of the branch.

We, the undersigned, in view of the above-mentioned facts, consider the ruling of the chairman of that evening not in conformity with the principles of the organization or the spirit of the letter from the National Office.

We further condemn and protest against the bureaucratic method used by the chairman, comrade Hammersmark, and other members of the executive in dealing with members of the branch.

Problems at Gillespie

(Continued from page 1)

the existing unions that were in opposition to Lewis. But here due to the influence and opposition of the Muste-Howat group and the weakness on the part of some of the Illinois delegation and the "stay-away" policy of the National Miners Union, the formation of the new union was postponed.

The fourth attempt was at the Belleville convention where the "Rank and File U. M. W. A." was formed. The "Rank and File U. M. W. A." has a real mass support of the miners, but its leadership, as expressed through Edmondson, the president, (who has since become a gangster for Lewis), could not adopt aggressive fighting policies nor make a complete break with Walker-Lewis and finally went back into the Lewis-Walker fold as the U. M. W. A.

The Progressive Miners union is the fifth attempt. It is the healthiest of the whole lot. It has begun in a militant manner. It has already been baptized in the blood of five rank and file coal miners who died by the bullets of the Lewis-Walker gangsters while trying to build the P. M. A. The Progressive Miners union must avoid the mistakes of the past, build a militant rank and file controlled union and march forward to final victory. It has now become a life and death struggle for the miners of Illinois and there must be NO SURRENDER—but a fight to a finish.

The Communist League of America (Opposition) will aggressively help the Progressive Miners union to build a strong militant miners' union that will be able to get from the bosses what rightfully belongs to the workers.

—JOSEPH ANGELO.

Pioneer Publishers Notes

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What Next? can now be had from us in the English, Russian, Spanish and Greek languages. The price of the Russian copy is seventy-five cents; the Spanish edition is twenty-five cents. The Greek is fifty cents. We have very few left in the foreign languages.

EXCHANGE OFFER

Some time ago we offered to exchange our current literature for out-of-print works by Trotsky. Since that time we have been able to get a copy of *Our Revolution* with the introduction by Olgin that proved so embarrassing to that worthy. Another comrade has offered to exchange a copy of *Terrorism and Communism*. We like the idea so well that we are repeating it. But we want to make one point clear. It is not a sellers' market in these exchanges. Of course the advantage operates two ways. But we intend this exchange to function as a service to comrades and sympathizers who have these old copies on hand and cannot afford to buy the current literature. This is a warning against extravagant demands. You will find us willing to discuss but hard as nails.

REVOLUTIONARY LESSONS

Our English comrades inform us that another shipment of *Revolutionary Lessons* by Lenin is on the way—20 copies. As our comrades may remember the price is twenty-five cents. There is no discount on this pamphlet. As orders will be filled in the order in which they are received comrades who want them should order at once.

ELECTIONS IN GREECE

Early reports about the elections just held in Greece indicate that the pressure of the crisis has brought many new recruits under the Communist banner, since the party has made considerable gains. *The Militant* will carry the details of the election in an early number.

We condemn such action against comrades on principle as it narrows down the I. W. O. to a mere sect. We thoroughly understand and approve the necessity of the I. W. O. as a workers' fraternal organization based on the class struggle and recognizing the principles of the Soviet Union.

We realize the importance of the I. W. O. to the working class of the United States of America but we consider if this organization is to fulfill its historic mission it must be of a broad mass character and must govern itself by the principle of democratic centralism. All forms of bureaucracy must be ruthlessly put down.

The preamble of the I. W. O. states that anyone who recognizes the class struggle and is for the defense of the Soviet Union, is eligible to membership in the organization. This naturally does not bar anyone from the I. W. O. who does not agree fully with the party tactics. Therefore, any attempt to expel a member from the organization due to differences of opinion with the official leadership of the Comintern and the C. P. is unconstitutional and detrimental to the growth of the organization.

We, the expelled members, always agreed and now agree with the principles and constitution of the I. W. O. and always have carried out the instructions of the organization and took a leading part in all the activities of our branch. Therefore, we demand that we be reinstated in our branch with all the rights and privileges of members.

We, the undersigned, submit this statement to the National Office of the I. W. O. in New York, to the District Office in

A New Crisis in Soviet Economy

(Continued from page 1)

turn, has its objective causes. To be sure, all these obstacles can be overcome in the last analysis but for that, time is needed. Constant work at a harassing tempo leads, not to the discarding of the disproportionate relations heaping up, but on the contrary, to their further growth. Every factory works at top speed. The correct organization of the production which is especially important in the belt-system, is not thereby perfected, but on the contrary, undermined. This is the case, for instance, with the automobile factory at Nizhni-Novogorod. The whole administrative force runs around from one department to the other, into the storehouses and back again into the departments, trying for today to get by something and dig up the missing part, and so forth. Thus the whole business is dragged along up to the point of a serious breakdown, after which the shock brigades of *Pravda*, the Central Control Committee or some of the many other drivers are sent down. The latter send telegrams, look for the culprits, mock at the "objective causes" and reduce everything to "free will", i. e., to the muscles and nerves of the workers.

Agriculture and Industry

The most difficult of the objective causes that disturb the development of industry according to plan, is naturally the interrelationship between agriculture and industry. In this sphere, the task set has not only not been accomplished, but more than that, the leaders have forgotten entirely how to pose it correctly. Lenin in his day formulated as the decisive task of the N. E. P., the creation of the economic alliance (smytchka) between city and country. In the course of a number of years the word "smytchka" constituted the central point of all articles and speeches. We Left Oppositionists were accused primarily of wanting to destroy the "smytchka" with our policy of accelerated industrialization. Now, the word "smytchka" is entirely out of use. No one can find it anywhere in printed articles. If some speaker or other should dare recall the "smytchka", he would surely be accused as a counter-revolutionist. It is considered self-evident that the task of the alliance between city and country can be accomplished by the collectivization of the majority of the peasantry alone and that this theme does not have to be posed any more. The bureaucracy substitutes also in this question, as in many others, the form in place of the content. In reality, the administrative collectivization has not only not solved the problem of the "smytchka", but, at the present stage, under the given, concrete circumstances, it complicates extraordinarily the solution of the problem and in

a certain sense, it even impedes it. The "smytchka" can be secured only by a regulated, normal exchange of goods, beneficial to both sides, between city and country, between industry and agriculture. Whether this exchange is strictly equivalent (in the Marxian sense of the word), whether and how much it deviates from equivalence—that we do not have to consider at length in this place. The question is not posed in this manner, in practice. The peasant must receive industrial goods for his bread under conditions not worse than those existing under capitalism. That is the extreme boundary of the "smytchka". Naturally, the latter will be much more firm and much more reliable, if Soviet industry begins to deliver goods in exchange for the peasant's bread under conditions which are not only more favorable than in pre-revolutionary Russia, but also more favorable than those of the world market today. From that moment onward, the relations between city and country, between workers and peasants, will have a real protection against world capitalism, not only by means of the foreign trade monopoly and the Red Army, but by their own economic advantages, which is more important than anything else.

The Opposition's Standpoint

We Left Oppositionists have always understood the problem of the "smytchka" in this manner. For this reason, we counter-posed, at the time, to the empty slogan "face to the village", the more serious slogan "industry to the village". For this reason, we have always posed the problem of the scissors between the industrial and the agricultural prices as the one of the foremost importance. In the opening of the scissors we saw the most important signs of success or failure in Soviet economy and even in the solidification of the whole structure of the dictatorship. We are returning to these A B C questions once more, because they are now consciously being banished from the memory of the party. All our comrades are fully agreed that the problem of the "smytchka" must under all circumstances be pushed to the foreground now. The actual realization of the "smytchka" would signify the elimination of coercive measures in the sphere of economic relations between city and country. The task consists in this: to make it advantageous for the peasantry to produce as much as possible and to accumulate so as to get a chance to sell them, i. e., to exchange them for the productions of the state industry.

The consolidation of the "smytchka" would automatically have to ameliorate the foodstuff situation in the cities, not to speak of the village itself. In its essence, the question of the "smytchka" (or in inverted form,—the question of

the scissors) retains its full force, with regard to the individual peasant holdings as well as with regard to the collectives.

The experience gained is sufficiently far-reaching to take the results into consideration and to unfold anew a whole series of basic questions. The leadership forbids us to pose the problem of the "smytchka" in the general form; but since the foodstuff shortage has seized all of economic life at the throat, they are forced in one way or another, to give a practical answer. In doing this, they have restricted themselves entirely to isolated patch work and to palliatives.

In the factories, the road toward self-subsistence has been decreed: they have been ordered to set up their own vegetable gardens, their own hog, rabbit and chicken raising. On the other hand, it has also been decreed in these same factories, to produce, aside from the main products, goods of general utility—outside of the plan. The factory directors, the technical personnel and the Communist nuclei must rake their brains for the most part, at present, for ways and means of erecting, besides the given, main production a second—in a certain sense parasitic production. The automobile factory produces spoons and forks or even small brushes, hammers, etc.

These two new fields of economy: industry's "own" agriculture and parasitic industry side by side with main production, are not only conducted outside of the framework of the plan, but they manifestly undermine its foundations. Side by side with the Soviet farms and the collectives there is arising a split-up, "artisan" agriculture, which deprives the workers of a great deal of time and the factories (i. e., the state) of many resources on the other hand, there is developing outside, of the bounds of the Five Year Plan, artisan production of general utility goods in the giant enterprises, once again at the expense of planned industry.

The necessity of an extraordinary agriculture in the factories and of an extraordinary production of general utility goods arose due to the catastrophic way in which the lack of the "smytchka" between planned production and peasant economy—the collectivized as well as individual sectors—became apparent. The solution of the question can in no case rest on the means of accidental improvement, extension, and of the palliatives alone. It is necessary to re-examine all the basic plans and methods in the direction of the amelioration of the disproportionate relationships, in order to achieve a more or less acceptable exchange of goods between city and country.

—N.

Moscow-Leningrad

July 1932

(To be continued)

Which Party Shall the Coal Miners Support

(Continued from page 1)

into the great battle for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

The Capitalist Demagogues

This is an election year and the air is thick with the glib phrases and promises of the demagogues of the Republican and the Democratic parties. They want votes and they will promise anything to get them. But actions speak louder than words. And the actions of the Republicans and the Democrats stamp them as lieutenants of the capitalist class in the body politic, just as Green, Lewis, Walker and Co., are the bosses' lieutenants in the trade unions. Look at their records.

Hoover gives billions of dollars out of the government coffers to the railroads and the banks, while the millions of unemployed starve to death. He promises prosperity, talks patriotism and drives the hungry veterans from Washington with a tear-gas bonus. Emmerson, the Hoover of Illinois, unleashes his brutal deputies, militia and troopers for a savage attack upon defenseless men, women and children thinking that thereby he will drive the miners back into the pits of poverty.

And the Democrats are their twin brothers. They can afford to howl at the Republicans—it is good politics. But their campaign funds come from the same capitalist sources—the Hearsts, the Youngs, the Raskobs, etc. The notorious Samuel Insull is known to have contributed to the funds of both old parties. Governor Roosevelt talks of unemployment insurance but the nearest the New York worker has come to this insurance is a two mile long breadline. Democratic mayors of Detroit and Chicago have sent police to murder workers demanding bread and relief. And in Franklin County the democratic sheriff swears in deputies to assist the Republican troops in their savage assault upon the miners. And Judge Horner is silent. Like Emmerson he must serve his class which is in bitter and mortal hostility to the miners. It is the class that revels in luxury while the workers have nothing to eat. Both these parties have nothing in common with the miners, their strike, their union. They stand on the side of Peabody and the parasitic ruling class.

Now there is a third party—the socialist party. It claims to stand for the workers and a workers' government—socialism. Let us apply the acid test of deeds to this party as we have to the others. The National Executive Committee has decided in Chicago "not to inter-

fere in the internal struggle in the miners' union between the rank and file and their official" (Lewis and Walker). What does this mean? It means giving undercover support to the fakers by not denouncing them openly and officially. It casts the shadow of doubt into the minds of the rest of the working class as to the guilt and perfidy of these misleaders. The S. P. harbors within its ranks such outspoken supporters of Lewis, Walker, Adolph Germer, Richard Glover, etc. And this party says it stands for the workers!

The Socialist Program

It declares for a workers' government—Socialism. By what methods does it expect to take over the mines and the factories and the mills for the workers? By the ballot box—"peacefully". You miners that marched down to Franklin County try to picture this... The capitalist class that uses machine guns against you to prevent you from getting a dollar more per day, is going to hand over their billion dollar industries to the workers because they cast more paper

balls! Can we believe these people who, like Lewis, have sold out more than once throughout the world.

In 1914 the socialist leaders drove the workers into the world slaughter for the profits of the bankers and the munition makers. In 1918 the German socialist leaders invested with the support of the majority of the working class did not establish a workers' government but turned the reins of power back to the capitalists and murdered thousands of German workers for protesting. (Like Lewis and Walker who settle for a wage cut after the miners have already voted it down). In 1926 the British socialist leaders of the Labor party betrayed the general strike of many millions of workers and then knifed the miners' strike of several hundred thousands. Need more evidence be produced to show the deceptive character of the socialist party which steers the workers straight back into the capitalist morass after promising to lead them into socialism? It is the third capitalist party.

There is but one party which represents the workers—the Communist party. The Left Opposition (Communist League of America) calls upon the miners to vote for its candidates—Foster and Ford—in this presidential election.

Communism, which we will achieve through our mass strength and the dictatorship of the proletariat is the only fundamental way out of this crisis of capitalism for the miners as well as the rest of the working class. Soviet Russia has shown the remarkable achievements possible in a land where the workers rule.

The Communists make no bones about ballots. We think nothing can be obtained by ballots except a guage as to how many workers are ready to go down the line for the abolition of capitalism.

Vote Communist

The Left Opposition is aware of the binders of the official party—Stalinism—in the miners' struggle as well as elsewhere. It takes no responsibility for them. It realizes and has pointed out the foolish policy of isolation followed by the Communist party. It has condemned the indiscriminate name-calling, the lies and the slanders hurled against the militants of the new union by the Stalinists. The Left Opposition states to the miners that such tactics are not the tactics of genuine Communism.

The force that represents Communism in the coal fields is the Left Opposition—in the election campaign the candidates upholding the Communist banner are Foster and Ford and the party is the Communist party. The Communist League of America calls upon the miners to support the Communist candidates against the candidates of the three old parties!

Comrades of the Communist party, I am afraid that the Stalin clique is attempting to use all these methods to poison the mind of the youth of the U. S. S. R. in order to forget the promises about building socialism in one country, but let me tell you, comrade Stalin, it is too late. The youth of the U. S. S. R. will march to victory of the world's revolution under the leadership of the *Thermopylae*.

—A MEMBER OF THE PARTY

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WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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The Miners' Convention

Ravages of Lewisism; the Position of the Communist Groups

October the third undoubtedly turned the attention of thousands of miners toward Gillespie, Ill. Even from far away Nova Scotia, where the miners have completely broken with the Lewis regime, taken matters into their own hand and organized the Amalgamated Mine Workers, greetings go out to the constitutional convention of the Progressive Miners of America. That is understandable. Illinois represents almost the sole solidly organized miners section of some real substance left in the field. But whether this constitutional convention can make a serious beginning toward the solution of the all important problems, remains to be seen.

The mine fields today in an organizational sense present a picture of frightful devastation. In 1921 when John L. Lewis was solidly entrenched on his throne in Indianapolis the U. M. W. of A. reached its highest point of growth with a total membership of 515,243. By Dec. 1928 the number, including Canada, had been reduced to 172,632, of which 83,446 were in the anthracite and 89,088 in Illinois. Reports from the U. M. W. of A. of actual membership have been very scarce since; but obviously the drop has gone considerably further downward. In other words while in 1921 about 75 percent of all the soft coal hoisted was mined by union labor there is today less than 10 percent of the total tonnage union mined. What a frightful trail of destruction!

How the Miners Were Eliminated

The method of its accomplishment becomes somewhat clear when one recalls how John L. Lewis in the 1922 strike betrayed the 60,000 miners of the Payette and Somerset counties in Pennsylvania. These miners had just been organized but were in the settlement left to shift for themselves and disappeared as an organized force.

Frank Farrington, who was then President of the Illinois district, charged John L. Lewis with having received bribes to the tune of \$750,000 from interests closely associated with the Pennsylvania and Kentucky operators, to break the strike. This accusation was made in repayment for the Lewis' charge against Farrington of having received \$27,000 to break the 1919 Illinois strike. Undoubtedly both gentlemen were entirely correct. And certainly both instances exemplify, though these alone only in a small measure, what the miners had to endure during this kind of a regime.

To the uninitiated it may appear as if the present break in Illinois occurred purely on the question of the wage scale, that is, the maintenance of the basic \$6.10 a day scale or the sell out agreement of Lewis-Walker for the \$5.00 a day scale. This is only one of the manifestations. To the miners, though, it becomes a quite important difference when one considers that an employed miner in the soft coal field is quite lucky to average about two working days in a week, aside from the large number totally unemployed.

The fundamental cause is naturally far more deep-seated. It is the very question of union organization which is involved, and in that sense thousands of miners may justifiably turn their eyes toward the Gillespie constitutional convention. In that sense also the responsibility of that convention becomes a far greater one.

The Parties and the Miners

It is not at all strange that the Socialist party officially takes the position of neutrality and non-interference in the break the Illinois miners have made with the Lewis-Walker clique. That was to be expected. First of all, and this may be the smallest consideration, that position enables them to have their members in both camps to fish for votes and support in both directions. But essentially this cover of neutrality enables the Socialist party to give its support in reality to the reactionary camp and help stem the Leftward tide of the new movement. That part of its role will become increasingly clear with future developments.

But there should be no less concern over the attitude of the official Communist party. From a letter issued by Joe Tash, the U. M. U. and party organizer in the Illinois field, dealing with the foundation conference of the P. M. of A., we take the following excerpts: "However, it should be obvious just from a glance that the leadership of the conference succeeded in putting over another betrayal of the Illinois miners. . . . And further, 'This further means splitting the ranks of the miners and defeating the splendid unity of the Illinois miners. It is the same policy that Walker and Lewis are known for and which smashed the U. M. W. A. as a fighting union. . . . If this be true, then there could be no distinction between the new union and the old gang. In that respect the party is duty bound to change its

THE NEXT ISSUE OF
THE MILITANT
WILL CONTAIN A FULL
REPORT OF THE
ILLINOIS MINERS'
CONVENTION IN
GILLESPIE

attitude. It is duty bound to turn its attention toward the unification and further development of all the progressive forces, maintaining its criticism of the conservative and reactionary elements within them, but to support the movement in its rebellion against the Lewis-Walker crew.

Those Who Condemn a "Split"

The Right wing Lovestone group chips in its bit with regard to the Illinois miners situation. It says in sum and substance in an editorial in the *Workers Age* of Sept. 24, that any idea of uniting the anti-Lewis groups outside of the U. M. W. A. would be false and share the same fate as the N. W. U., and that a new union should not have been organized. In other words, according to this advice the Illinois miners should be driven back again to the U. M. W. A.

Is this reactionary attitude any better than that shown by the Socialist party? Not one whit. The figures cited above, giving the present status of the U. M. W. A., in addition to the well-known long series of betrayals by its officialdom, prove, if anything, that conditions have long been rotten ripe for a definite split away from this corrupt clique. But up till now the subjective factor, the membership itself, was not sufficiently matured to carry it through. Attempts were made, but mostly on a false basis. Now, it appears to be conclusive, and at least with prospects of heading in the right direction.

Unity of the mine workers throughout the field is the essential problem. That can no longer be accomplished within the bounds of the remnants of the U. M. W. A. controlled by a reactionary clique of capitalist agents of the Lewis-Walker types, whose objective is exactly the opposite. The place of the revolutionists is undisputedly with the Left movement, fighting for its necessary Leftward direction and for unification outside of the deadening grip of the reactionaries.

—A. S.

Illinois Conference Opens

Miners Are Militant but Right Wing Forces Are Organized

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—

Over 200 delegates, representing at least 22,000 miners of all sections of the state, from the terror-ridden southern counties (Franklin, Williamson and Saline) to the far northern Peoria-Wilmington fields, assembled in constitutional convention to decide upon the form and aims of the organization of coal miners to replace the shell of an organization left by the Lewis-Walker-Coal operators' combine.

The opening of the convention on Monday, October 3 was marked by a parade of 3,000 coal miners and their women folk. The demand for clean fighting unionism has reached into elements hitherto dormant or nearly dormant. The spirit of the well-organized women's auxiliary is distinguished by its militancy.

The convention heard the secretary of the West Virginia Miners' Union with great attention and evinced their solidarity with that movement there. The applause left no doubt of the position of the Illinois miners on the question of national unity when Shearer, the secretary of the W. Va. Miners Union, raised this point in his speech.

The convention was very jealous of the rights of the membership. As a reaction to the mandatory fashion of the Lewis bureaucracy, this swing to rank and fileism goes to nearly ridiculous extremes. The spirit, however, is very healthy and very vigorous in its extreme care for democracy.

As yet no Left wing has appeared in the convention. The proposal to hear a speaker from the N. W. U. was turned

Saturday: All Out to Union Square For Scottsboro!

The Communist League of America calls upon all its members and sympathizers to participate in the demonstration in Union Square, Saturday, October 8, at 2 P. M. The demonstration is to be one of the many called by the I. L. D. for that day throughout the nation, demanding the release of the Scottsboro boys. The Supreme Court hearing begins October 10. The demonstrations on the 8th must echo and re-echo throughout the land. The voice of the workers must penetrate the Supreme Court walls. The Scottsboro boys must not die! Members and sympathizers of the League are requested to assemble at the Opposition headquarters, 84 East 10th Street, 1:30 P. M. Saturday, so that we can go to the Union Square demonstration in a body. All attend!

Elephant, Donkey and "Socialists" Compete for Election Honors

As the election campaign wears on toward its climax on election day the antics of the elephant, the cavortings of the donkey, and the darings of the torch more clearly reveal the true nature of the three parties of capitalism as they swing into the final phase of their strategy. The "issues" they pounded so heavily in the earlier stages of the campaign have gone by the board as they scramble madly for votes.

Only a few months ago the Republican band-wagon was assuring the country that if the engineer was not measuring out to the publicity hallyhoo it was not his fault. He was the victim of circumstances over which no man or party could prevail. But a series of dramatic incidents in which the Communists did not play the least role brought out clearly the reactionary character of the administration and its shining light. The Hunger March of last December, the shootings of workers demonstrating for relief in Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, etc., focussed attention on the vicious reaction of the capitalist class and its servant-engineer to the demands of the unemployed for relief. The nation-wide hunting down and deportation of foreign-born militants; the passage of the Dies

Bill; the nation-wide terrorism against the bonus marchers culminating in the armed eviction of the bonusseers from Washington, make up a record of reaction too clear to be explained away as the result of circumstances. The Republican boosters are now prating that Hoover's policies saved the country. That is the only shred of demagoguery left them.

This blind alley into which life has forced the Wall Street elephant has given the Democrats a great opportunity. With windy demagoguery they are parading themselves as progressives. They are appealing to the "liberal element of the community". That is the line of Roosevelt's speeches in Iowa, Wisconsin and Detroit.

The Donkey Brays

How well the donkey is braying this time will, of course, be decided on Election Day. But this strategy is already paying dividends. The New York Times of October 3 reports A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, as saying: "I am supporting Governor Roosevelt because I believe his liberal views pertaining to the welfare of the masses will result in general prosperity."

But it is not alone the petty bourgeois strata of the working class, the labor aristocracy, which are singing Roosevelt's liberalism. Senators and congressmen, staunch and not-so-staunch supporters of the Republican machine in "normal" times, are coming out for Roosevelt. They are alarmed at the Leftward drift of the masses, awakening to class consciousness from the illusion nurtured by Hoover and company. A section of their political base, the petty bourgeoisie, is also moving to the Left under pressure of the crisis. These windbags must move along with them or be left behind. And, finally, they see the handwriting on the wall: Hoover and the Republican party are going to get a beating. These new prophets of liberalism have a keen eye for their political futures. They will lose nothing, they calculate, by climbing aboard the band-wagon now.

The indicated success of the Democrats in corraling the "liberal" vote has alarmed the socialist party. They have been making a bid for this vote themselves. In their campaign book just issued, they make it plain, according to the New York Times, that they do not advance any revolutionary objectives. They limit themselves to reforms within the limits of capitalism. Their New York state election program reeks with the same reformism. Mr. Fuess of the Republican party hails the socialist party as respectable. In the rush for votes the socialist party leans, not on the working class it claims to represent but whose interests it betrays, but strains itself to the right, to allure the petty bourgeoisie with its respectability.

Socialists and Liberals

To offset the threatened Democratic sweep of the "progressive" and "liberal" vote the socialist party had undertaken a mobilization of the more "radical" liberals. Together with them it has organized the Committee of 100,000 to support the Thomas-Maurer Ticket. The chairman of this melange of philosophers, bishops, editors, and economists, is Paul Douglas, professor of economy in the (Continued on page 2)

VOTE COMMUNIST!

Program of Action of the League on the Unemployment Situation

The unemployment situation, which is growing continually more acute, presents an enormous problem to the American working class. With an ever accelerated speed this situation helps in the process of separating it from its former bourgeois political ideology and allegiances. On the whole the unemployment situation constitutes, particularly by its definite aspect of permanency, an important factor in our revolutionary perspectives.

There are no exact figures available as to the size of the unemployed army of the country, but even the conservative American Federation of Labor estimates grants a total of 11,400,000. There need be little doubt that the actual figure is much larger than this estimate. This is quite well borne out by the Department of Labor index figures of unemployment based upon returns from 89 manufacturing industries. The month of July 1932 registered the lowest employment percentage yet on record. The index figure had dropped to 55.2. The full year of

1926 is reckoned as 100. In this connection it is necessary also to take into account the drop in total payroll for which the recorded index figures are based upon the same industries and with the full year of 1926 reckoned as 100. The July 1932 total payroll index figure was 36.2.

The disparity shown by the much greater drop in total payroll gives conclusive proof to the contention that unemployment and wage cuts go hand in hand and that the growing unemployed army becomes a particular incentive utilized by capitalism to reduce the standard of living of the workers. In sum and substance this situation today within the imperialist stronghold reveals the staggering working class misery accompanying the large scale overproduction of capital. It shows also the picture of arrogant flaunting of the demands of the unemployed workers and brutal suppression of their demonstrations.

Efforts of the American bourgeoisie to issue out of the crisis have not been lacking. There is now beginning a mobilization of capitalist resources to restore confidence, within capitalism, in the continuity of the process of reproduction, to "expand" credits and to restore a profit rate in an endeavor again to resume the cycle of production.

Fundamentally these efforts imply, on the one hand, a greater accumulation and concentration of capital, and on the other, intensified exploitation of the workers and a further reduction of their standard of living. The general results can be only that the unemployed army, in its main composition, remain permanently unemployed with its ranks growing despite any temporary industrial revival.

These are the two outstanding problems: (1) Further attacks upon the standard of living of the working class by wage cuts and speed-up; (2) a permanent, growing unemployed army. This

Scottsboro Case Up In Supreme Court

Only Mass Action Can Save Framed-Up Negro Boys!

The case of the nine Negro boys who were framed in Scottsboro, Ala., by the white southern bourgeois on a trumped-up charge of rape is now approaching a tentative conclusion. On October 10, the Supreme Court of the United States is to review the case. That the case has gone so far is entirely to the credit of the International Labor Defense and the Communist party which have fought in this case with an agitational ardor that is truly admirable.

The Supreme Court is to review the case of only seven of the defendants. In previous trials the cases of two of the boys were eliminated in so far as a Supreme Court hearing is concerned. In the case of one of the boys a mistrial was declared, as he was a minor. In the other case a retrial was ordered. The Supreme Court hearing will, in any event, affect all of the nine defendants.

The agitation carried on in behalf of the boys has not only had a tremendous echo in this country but internationally as well. Agitation for the Scottsboro boys has been carried on in almost every

country of the globe. In Chemnitz, Germany, a number of workers were shot while demonstrating for the release of the Scottsboro boys. The tour of Mrs. Wright, the mother of one of the boys, and J. Louis Engdahl through the countries of Europe on behalf of the International Red Aid has been of tremendous significance in the cause of international working class solidarity. From some of the European countries they were summarily expelled.

No Let-Up!

But there must be no let-up now. The lag in agitation in recent months, as the Communist press now points out, may have been unavoidable. But the point now is to multiply the agitation tenfold. The demonstrations called for by the party for October 8, throughout the United States, must be supported by every class-conscious worker. We must not leave to the so-called impartiality of the Supreme Court the fate of the Scottsboro boys. We must demonstrate in mass for our demand that the Negro boys of Scottsboro do not burn!

Opposition Youth Calls Scottsboro Meeting

The Spartacus Youth Club of New York will hold a special meeting on the case of the Scottsboro Negro boys, whose trial comes up before the U. S. supreme court on the tenth of this month. The dastardly frame-up of these nine innocent boys will be analyzed in detail, a history of other cases of frame-up in the labor movement of this country given, and an investigation of the Negro question presented. Three speakers will handle the different topics, comrades Craine, Bord,

and Capelis. The date is Friday, October 7, at the Stuyvesant Casino, 9th St. and 2nd Ave., at 8 o'clock sharp. All members and sympathizers of the club are urged to attend this important meeting. Y. C. Lers are especially invited to be there. On Saturday, the Club and its sympathizers will participate in the demonstration called by the I. L. D. on Union Square in defense of the imprisoned boys. All out on Saturday!

Convict 6th Harlan Miner

5 Now Serving Life Terms While 37 Others Still Await Trial

The sixth union miner to be sentenced to life imprisonment by the coal barons of Kentucky has just been announced. His name is Jim Reynolds. The five others who are now serving life terms in the Kentucky dungeons are Jones, Higdon, Poore, Hudson and Elzie Phillips, a Negro miner. All in all there are 43 miners facing life imprisonment on a charge of murder growing out of the battle at Evans, Kentucky, on May 5, 1931. The case of the six already indicted is under appeal by the state supreme court.

The battle of Evans came as a culmination of a reign of terror instituted by the coal barons and their hirelings, the police. After trying by individual shootings and terrorizing to break the strike in Harlan, Ky., the mine owners organized a concerted effort to break the picket line. On May 5, when the mine pickets were attempting to stop a truckload of household goods from being shipped to strike-breakers in a nearby town, three auto-loads of thugs were seen approaching. The pickets sought cover in the adjacent bushes and behind rocks. The thugs then opened fire by splattering a hail of machine gun bullets into the bushes and down the hillside. In self-defense some of the besieged miners who were armed expecting just such an emergency, returned fire. When the fighting ceased Jim Daniels, the leader of the gunmen, and two other thugs were found dead. One miner Carl Richmond, was killed by the thugs. Martial law was then declared. Forty-three people were arrested and charged with murder as a direct result of the clash. Sixty-three others were picked up and charged with criminal syndicalism.

The trials of the arrested miners have been as indicative of American class justice as any one could hope to cite. In the case of Negro workers brought to trial, race prejudice and race hatred was the dominant key note stressed by the prosecution. In the Negro-baiting South a jury composed of petty bourgeois whites could be relied on to bring in the proper verdict—guilty. In the case of the white workers, class hatred was aroused in the bosoms of the property-loving members of the jury by telling them hair-raising stories as to the deeds of violence these men had committed against property.

The General Defense Committee of the I. W. W. has carried on a courageous struggle for these imprisoned miners. Fighting in the bourgeois South for workers imprisoned by the class enemy is no easy task. All in all the General Defense has stood nobly by the imprisoned workers. It has been instrumental in having the indictments against five of the miners dropped.

Not all of the General Defense Committee's activity in the strike however can be placed on the credit side of the ledger. There is at least one important debt to record. The General Defense has relied too much on the legal aspects of the case. In a matter of working class defense before capitalist courts, mass agitation and pressure is at all times of the utmost importance. It should be clear now even to the most die-hard of Wobblies, what with the mock trials in the courts of Kentucky, that extra-legal pressure from without by thousands and millions of workers can be the most effective weapon in fighting for the release of those of our comrades imprisoned by our class enemy.

NEW QUARTERS

On October 15, the League will move into new headquarters at

126 EAST 16th STREET
New York City

THE INTERNATIONAL
WORKERS SCHOOL
Will also be located there

OPENING BANQUET

On Saturday Evening, OCTOBER 15

Friends and sympathizers are cordially invited. Come and bring your fellow workers. Help us realize this forward step

Letters from Militants

All Eyes On Davenport

DAVENPORT, IOWA—

For all Oppositionists and Communists in general, who are interested in the dispute between the Left Opposition and Stalinism, the humble city of Davenport, standing on the Iowa side of the Mississippi River, will become a point of attraction between the hours of 8 to 11 P. M., on Friday, Sept. 30. In those few hours an event will take place such as has been unheard of since the occasion for such an event was created in 1927 by the expulsion of the Left Opposition. For the first time since the expulsion of the Opposition, has the Opposition succeeded in gauding the official leadership of the party into debating us, and over the most basic and fundamental principle difference, to wit—over the theory of socialism in one country.

For five years the Left Opposition has thundered a challenge to the Stalinists, openly to debate our differences before the party ranks and the working class; and for five years have the Stalinists refused. Everywhere this challenge was thrown into the teeth of Stalinism—in the capitals of Europe and the great metropolises of the world—and when the challenge was finally accepted, it had to be accepted in Davenport, of all places. Which shows, of course, that in Davenport the party has not as yet been completely "bolshvized" (read Stalinized) in this respect; and which further proves that the district office will have to send many a bureaucrat to Davenport in order to rectify the most "disgraceful" action of one party faction debating the other party faction over a principle difference whose importance is so great that the whole agenda of world revolution is arranged by the stand taken on this difference. But for the present, as long as the district office remains in blissful ignorance of the approaching debate, bear in mind that on Friday, Sept. 30, Jack Wilson, the party section organizer of Davenport will debate comrade George Kapcan, newly recruited into the Left Opposition, over the subject "SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY OR WORLD REVOLUTION." An elaborate agreement as to arrangements and procedure has been drawn up and signed by comrades Sekoy and Perron for the party and Kapcan and Brady for the Left Opposition.

Condition of the Party

The party in Davenport and vicinity is in a most deplorable condition. If one desires to study the evil effects of the Stalinist regime, he should choose the weak sections for his study. For in the same way as all of the contradictions of the capitalist system are most easily discerned in the weak links of the system, so also do all of the contradictions of Stalinism reveal themselves most boldly in the weak links. Open party activity such as open-air meetings and demonstrations are very scarce; all party organizations extremely sectarian; and the ideological level of the membership frightfully backward with no attempts to raise this level. Naturally therefore the party and its auxiliaries are a very negligible factor in the class struggle. (The backwardness of the membership is so appalling that the party member is hardly to be distinguished from the ordinary worker as far as theoretical knowledge goes. But of course this condition is by no means to be blamed on the rank and file, but on the contrary must be attributed to the leadership which, being politically impotent, can only maintain its position as long as widespread ignorance prevails. To mention only two instances from among the many which show the result of the above-mentioned condition: (1) Communists hitching themselves to a plow and plowing up charity land, later selling pictures of this scene. (2) Party members in Muscatine participating in a strike in the button industry, refusing to admit out-of-town Communists to speak to and organize the strikers.

A description of the local situation would not be complete without a description of the section organizer, Jack Wilson. To begin with, his social status is surrounded with very suspicious circumstances. This individual is the acme of Stalinist bureaucracy, ignorance, cowardice, stupidity, rudeness and disloyalty. When shown a draft leaflet to advertise the debate, a sub-heading of which read "Can Socialism be completed in one country—in the Soviet Union?" he out-Stalinized Stalin by demanding that the phrase "in the Soviet Union" be stricken out, which task of striking out the Oppositionists performed with great alacrity.

All through the Middle West the bureaucratic regime has wrought havoc in the Communist ranks. The most intelligent workers were either driven out or left the party in disgust at the bureaucratic tactics. Paul Cline, the previous D. O. of that district (West of Muscatine), performed such a complete job of destruction that he had to be removed to another district. Before his removal he had managed to cut a wide swath of destruction in the party ranks all through the Middle West.

This territory offers good opportunity for the Left Opposition. Only the Left Opposition can go in and save the Communist workers from utter despair in Communism which they confuse with the bureaucratic administrative acts of Stalinist officials. By persistent work and education, the Left Opposition can gather up the best elements, forge out of these workers good Communists and true, and thus strengthen Communism.

—BRADY.

Free Speech Struggle in Chicago

CHICAGO, ILL.—

A new wave of terror has been inaugurated in Chicago by the red squad of that city, in an attempt to place a ban upon free speech, which the working class wrested from the iron grip of capitalism after many years of struggle and sacrifice. It is significant that the attack comes in the heart of the election campaign, when the activity of the Communist party has increased and when the influence of the party extends and grows with a tremendous rapidity.

North Ave. and Fairfield St., has for some ten years been a gathering place for the workers of the northwest section of Chicago to hear the propaganda of the numerous workers' parties. It is this corner that is the first to be attacked.

The leadership of the Communist party has unconsciously paved the way for the recent assault by the police. For three years the party has pursued a policy of disturbing and breaking up of all other meetings on the corner. This developed a state of almost irreconcilable antagonisms between the individual parties who had access to the corner. Much energy which the party should have exerted in its attack upon the bourgeoisie, was expended in antagonizing the rank and file of other organizations, much to the pleasure of the leaders of these groups and to the stupendous satisfaction of the Chicago police. The police saw in the attack of the C. P. upon the Proletarian party, the I. W. W., the S. L. P., etc., the division of the working class which is so essential to the bosses if they are to be successful in their struggle against the proletariat. The "victory" of the C. P. in driving all other working class groups from the corner and "monopolizing" it for themselves was short lived. The police chose an opportune moment for the attack.

The P. P., being harassed by the C. P. whenever they attempted to speak, very cravenly approached the police for protection. The P. P. meeting began; the C. P. members heckled and shouted, the police rushed to the assistance of the P. P., and smashed the heads of many worker Communists.

A protest meeting was arranged for the following Saturday and the meeting met with a similar fate. The police spared no one. Not even the old militant, comrade Holman, was spared. A number of comrades were sent to the hospital for treatment. The party launched a splendid fight for the corner which continued for almost 40 minutes after which they were forced to retreat.

A third meeting was called for Sat. Sept. 17 on the same corner, 8 P. M. found the four corners lined with people, nothing short of 3-4,000. The police too were very well represented. The roof tops had a scattering of the blue coats who leveled guns at the crowd. On the S. W. corner a Y. C. L. member began to speak. A small defense corp formed around her consisting of Pioneers, I. W. O. youth members, and some members of the Spartacus Youth Club. How the people managed to leave that corner so rapidly is still puzzling in my mind. The police came, the speaker walked away without resisting and again we were lost.

Some twenty minutes later a battle raged of Communists and workers against the police. Shots were fired (into the air), the crowd was panicky and retreated, sweeping all the militants with them. This was the end of the organized battle. Thereafter the police secretly arrested

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF THE MILITANT published weekly at New York, N. Y. for October 1, 1932, State of New York ss

County of New York ss
Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Thomas Stamm, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of THE MILITANT and that the following is to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation, etc., of the above said publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 4, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher: The Communist League of America (Opposition) New York, N. Y.
Editor: Max Shachtman
Business Manager: Thomas Stamm
Post Office Address: 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

The Communist League of America (Opposition): 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.; Martin Abern, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.; James P. Cannon, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.; Max Shachtman, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.; Arne Swabeck, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.;

3. That the known bondholders, mort-

(Continued from page 1)

University of Chicago. Among the vice-chairmen are John Dewey, chairman of the League for Independent Political Action; Morris Cohen, professor of philosophy in City College, New York; Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the Nation; and His Grace, Bishop Francis J. McConnell. There are others. They are of the same stripe.

The organization of the Committee from the point of view of the socialist party is easy to understand. But what is the meaning of this combination from the point of view of the committee? It does not stand for socialism or the social democracy. It has issued no statement endorsing the socialist party platform. It is not an auxiliary of the socialist party. It is not subject to it politically or ideologically.

On the contrary it is opposed to socialism. Sitting in on Mr. Thomas' office on September 23, Paul Douglas issued a statement to the press, in which the New York Times reported him as "frankly conceding his doubts of the ultimate victory of socialism in the United States." The committee is for a "third party" but it does not see it in the socialist party: "A large vote for Thomas and Maurer will consolidate sentiment for a new party."

What is the game this band of confused intellectuals is playing? It wants to cajole a few reforms from the Hoovers. Said Douglas in the same statement: "A large vote for Thomas and Maurer . . . will throw such a scare into the old parties that no matter which one wins they will make some concessions." That is the extent of their progressiveness and liberalism!

But these people are also alarmed at the indicated success of the Democrats in capturing the "progressive" and "liberal" vote. They figure that if Roosevelt wins the election as a progressive, they themselves will have no leg to stand on as progressives. But if Hoover gets in this will be a repudiation of Roosevelt's "liberalism" and will have them alone in

ed many of the militants. The fight in itself was less stubborn than the two preceding ones. The Chicago working class suffered a defeat.

Here we have a splendid opportunity for a united front issue with all the workers' parties in Chicago for the Right of Free Speech. This, however, was made almost completely impossible by the activity of the Communist party hit-and-run (i. e., their breaking up of open air meetings of other organizations). A united front can be made between the party and other organizations only upon the conditions that the party repudiates its former position toward the other working class organizations in regards to open air meetings. It can be accomplished only if the party condemns its former policies, recognizes its mistakes in this regard and pledges to conduct a struggle for the freedom of speech for all working class organizations; only upon the condition that the C. P. guarantees to discontinue its hitherto atrocious and non-Communist physical attacks upon other working class groups. In this the party would also be compelled to recognize the correctness of the Left Opposition on this question.

The Left Opposition will continue to fight, as it always has, side by side with the Communist party for the right of the party to present its position to the working class on the street corners and elsewhere. And in this struggle we will raise our voices for a united front, for freedom of speech, and against police brutality.

Chicago, Sept. 21, 1932.

—NATHAN GOULD.

gages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the names of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

THOMAS STAMM, Business Manager
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 4th of October 1932.

M. R. KEEFE, Notary Public
(My commission expires March 30, 1933)

The Parties in the Elections

the field as the "progressive" opposition. That is the meaning of Douglas' statements that: "I think that we can get more out of the election of Hoover with a big vote for Thomas, than out of the election of Roosevelt with a small vote for Thomas"; and: "We won't get a Liberal-Conservative line-up till we smash the Democratic party."

Because of their confusion, of their lack of a clear political program on a class basis, these people are brought to a pass in which they are forced to desire and to lend objective support to the reaction they ostensibly set out to fight.

To be sure we hold no brief for the donkey, any more than we do for the elephant or the socialist party. All three are the handmaidens of capitalism. Each party plays its role in the class struggle. The reactionary nature of the Hoover-Republican line is now clearly established for large sections of the masses and the petty bourgeoisie. The equally reactionary role of the Democratic remains to be established on a national scale. The treacherous nature of the socialist party leadership must also be established.

From every street corner, in every Communist organ the story of this unprincipled combination of the socialist party with the "Left" petty bourgeois intelligentsia must be told and retold.

—T. STAMM.

Tour for Unser Kampf

This Thursday, Oct. 6, comrades Sylvia Blecker and Morris Lewit set forth on an extensive tour that will take them as far West as Minneapolis. The purpose of the tour is to lay a firm foundation for our Jewish organ, *Unser Kampf*. The method the comrades will employ in establishing this firm foundation will be to organize *Unser Kampf* Clubs where no such clubs exist now. Where *Unser Kampf* Clubs are already established, comrades Lewit and Blecker will see to it that they are placed on an even firmer foundation.

The first stop on the comrades' itinerary will be New Haven. Then in the order named will come Boston, Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Buffalo, Cleveland, Youngstown, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Des Moines, Kansas City, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Trenton and Newark. The tour is to last two months.

As can be seen this is to be quite an extensive trip. The undertaking at the present time is of tremendous significance. At no time in the brief history of our movement has the needs of a Left Opposition organ in the Jewish tongue been of such singular importance as now.

The future success of *Unser Kampf* rests to a large extent on the results of the tour now undertaken. It is up to the comrades—members and sympathizers—of the various cities that comrades Blecker and Lewit will visit to make of this tour a tremendous success.

New Headquarters Banquet

The drive for the International Workers School has taken another step forward when we engaged the school headquarters at 126 East 10th Street, just off Irving Place. We will open the new school headquarters on the 15th, and between now and then we will have a crew remodeling the place. We are arranging for an office, class rooms and form. Last year we were forced to engage outside halls for classes and forums. This location will enable us to centralize all of our activity for the coming season, until we outgrow the place. The new school headquarters means we are taking another step forward.

Will you help us in this activity. You can do your part. We must obtain a fund of \$300.00 for the International Workers School and the new headquarters. If we do not obtain this fund—our plans will not be realized. We urge you to send in your contributions at once. Enrollment for the classes is now in progress. Send in your enrollment to J. Weber, or come down to the office at 84 East 10th Street.

We are planning an opening affair for the new headquarters. On Saturday, October the 15th, we will have a house warming party. A BANQUET with excellent food prepared by the Greek comrades. Dancing and entertainment will follow. Watch for further announcement.

THE MILITANT

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Max Shachtman Maurice Spector

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Militant Jubilee Anniversary Number

November 15 will mark the fourth anniversary of the appearance of the *Militant*. Much has happened in the international revolutionary and labor movements since our comrades published that historic document on November 15, 1928, "For the Russian Opposition—Against Opportunism and Bureaucracy in the Workers (Communist) Party of America! A Statement to American Communists by James P. Cannon, Martin Abern and Max Shachtman."

The course of the movement in this country and abroad has been more than a

little influenced by the stinging criticism and concrete Marxian platform of the American League and the International Left Opposition. Its ebbs and flows have been discussed and analyzed in the columns of the *Militant*.

November 15 will also mark the fourth anniversary of the publication of the first installment of comrade Trotsky's great work, "The Draft Program of the Comintern", now out of print.

The November 12 issue of the *Militant* which is closest to the 15th will be a Jubilee Anniversary issue. It will be

MILITANT SUB DRIVE

Our Club Plan

WE'RE OFF.

A comrade from Chicago who modestly signs himself, H. A., has sent in the first club of four subs. One *Militant* Builder does not make a successful campaign any more than one swallow makes a summer. But this is only the first green shoot showing its head above ground. Watch the oak tree grow!

THE CLUB PLAN

Some comrades seem a little unclear on exactly what the club plan is. The club plan is a scheme to offer workers a fifty percent reduction in the price of a half-year sub in clubs of four or more. The regular price for a half-year sub of twenty-six weekly issues is \$1. In clubs of four or more at one time it is \$.50 per sub.

Look at the blank below. It provides for four names. You can approach a worker and sign him up for a half-year sub. Ask him for only fifty cents. Do not send in the sub yet. Wait until you fill up the blank with the names of three other workers. You should now have \$2. for the four subs. Send it in together with the filled-out, club plan blank. You are now a *Militant* Builder.

Now see how flexible the idea is, to how many uses it can be put. Suppose one of the workers you approach is a little better off than others. Suppose he can afford to pay a dollar for the sub. Explain the club plan to him and ask him to subscribe at the old rate. Write his name down on the blank for a fifty cent, club plan sub. And enter the name of a worker who cannot afford even fifty cents for a sub, for the other fifty cents.

Now suppose you catch a subscriber who has had a run of work of four or five weeks and can afford a donation of say, two dollars. Ask him for the money and enter the names of four workers who want the *Militant* but cannot afford to subscribe.

SUBS FOR THE MINERS

Now suppose you do not know four workers to whom you want the *Militant*.

MILITANT BUILDERS CLUB PLAN BLANK

A \$1 HALF YEAR SUB OF 26 ISSUES for 50c in CLUBS of FOUR or MORE.

THE MILITANT, 84 E. 10th Street, New York City.

Enclosed \$2 for which send the MILITANT for 26 weeks to the following:

NAMES	ADDRESSES	CITY	STATE

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City State

Help Circulate a Marxian Paper for Class Conscious Workers

GERMANY

WHAT

WEAT

BY

LEON

TROTSKY

192 Pages
CLOTH 65 c
PAPER 35 c PUBLISHERS

PIONEER

devoted to a review of Four Years of the

Militant. But the *Militant* is not only the organ of the American League. It is a part of the press of the International Left Opposition. We expect to carry greetings from comrade Trotsky and our brother sections.

We will also feature greetings from

our comrades, sympathizers, friends and auxiliary organizations, as well as workers' organizations sympathetic to us. The rate for a single name will be \$.25. For a one-column-wide, one-inch greeting—\$1. For a two-inch greeting—\$1.75; for a five-inch greeting—\$3.00.

Send in your name with a quarter at once. Use the blank below.

THE MILITANT
84 EAST 10th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Enclosed find.....for which please enter my greeting in the Jubilee Anniversary issue, November 12, 1932.

Name Address
City State

League Replies to Weisbord Letter

(Continued from previous issue)

Weisbord denied the existence of Centrism in the Communist movement and characterized the Stalinists and Lovestonites indiscriminately as "Right wing" groups, and then to make confusion worse confounded he placed the Communist League in the same category. That is why he had so much difficulty in deciding which group to join. That is also the principal reason why he demanded that the Left Opposition and the Right wing should "work together," and why he himself tried it, in the "Textile Unity Committee," with such disastrous results.

The present attempt to evade a serious correction of this basic error by denying that it was ever meant that way, or by maintaining that "the whole question seems to be one of name" (as though a precise attitude toward a political tendency is possible without defining it) does not square with the previous programmatic declarations on the subject, continuously repeated in the conflict with us and contrasted with our "sectarianism" in rejecting them. In his article in the *Militant* for September 15, 1930 Weisbord expounded his theory as follows:

"However, it seems that comrade Trotsky is incorrect in designating the struggle between Bucharin and Stalin (and the national groups around them) as one between Right and Centrist tendencies in the Communist movement. It is in reality a struggle between two forms of the Right. But philosophically and politically the conception of a Centrist COMMUNIST wing is wrong. Centrism can be used as designating Socialists but not Communists. This was Lenin's usage of the term. Practically, it gives the illusion that the Centrists are more to the Left than the Right and that Centrists are more easily swayed and have no real policy of their own."

It is quite obvious from the foregoing that between this viewpoint and that of the Left Opposition there was no mere difference in words but in analysis, and consequently in the conclusions deriving from it. On the basis of this formulation, as well as the practical proposals repeatedly made, comrade Weisbord was entirely correct in saying to Trotsky: "You are concerned to efface the difference between the official party, the Right wing faction (Lovestone group) and even the American League. This makes it easy for you to remain in an eclectic position and defend your right of a bloc with the Lovestone group."

The reply of the Weisbord group to Trotsky's letter "emphatically denies the implications" of this estimate, and further denies ever having proposed a bloc with the Right wing. Again the present contention is refuted by the previous declaration and proposals. In this same article in the *Militant* referred to above there follows from this analysis of the groups the following conclusion:

"At the same time all Communist groups must work together on the basis of the recognition of the Communist character of each group. The Communist Majority Opposition group and the Communist League group by working together can help to reestablish mass work and to resist the violent tactics of the party officialdom. They can help to separate the Communist movement as a whole from the Mensheviks and can deal a death blow to the theory of Fascism and social Fascism, thus winning the advanced workers to a Leninist conception of party democracy. Only such a working together of Communist groups (only this!) can raise those fundamental principles of Leninist organization that can reconstitute an International of Lenin."

If this is not a bloc with the Right wing, what would such a bloc look like? How hopelessly the Communist League would have compromised itself before the Communist workers and before the International Left Opposition by the acceptance of such a platform! It ought to be perfectly clear now to everyone, including Weisbord, that the League National Committee was right in maintaining that such conceptions had nothing in common with the Left Opposition. We saw in this the crux of our conflict with him and still see it that way. Most of the other differences flowed from this. In our reply (*Militant*, September 15, 1930) we said:

"It is with comrade Weisbord's proposals on the various groups in the movement that the Left Opposition has its sharpest disagreement. Advocacy of such views by a leading comrade is contrary to all we stand for. . . . That is false from beginning to end."

And further:

"How can we, the Marxist wing of the movement, unite with the semi-Menshevik wing (a bloc which under present conditions would mean a movement directed against the official Communist movement) in order to 'separate' the Communist movement as a whole from the Mensheviks? How can a bloc with the Right wing 're-establish mass work,' when it is the whole philosophy of the Right wing that has brought the Communist movement into such isolation from the masses (Chinese revolution, British general strike, India, etc.), into opportunistic swamps from which Centrism is now trying, ineffectively, to issue by means of the ultra-Leftist rope?"

"Such a policy, combined as it is with comrade Weisbord's entirely false estimate of Centrism (his denial of it, in fact), is the shortest road to destruction for the Left Opposition and a disavowal of its historical function."

From the preceding alone, it is obvious that Weisbord has not sufficiently revealed the source of his own fundamental error in this key question, the nature of it, or even the fact that it existed in the form in which he really presented and interpreted it. Without clarity on this score, there is no assurance whatso-

We print here the final installment of the statement of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) on the Weisbord group's reply to comrade Trotsky.

ever against the recurrence of the utterly false conceptions entertained by Weisbord or against the introduction of them into the ideological stream of the League. We consider necessary a more candid and less ambiguous re-statement of comrade Weisbord's position on this point.

THE QUESTION OF MASS WORK

The formula behind which Weisbord continues to take refuge from the attacks upon his false positions in principle, is "mass work". The Opposition has never been and is not today able to agree in any sense or to any degree with the standpoint in this question advanced by Weisbord prior to his recent statement. In Weisbord's conception, the question of the Opposition's work among the masses was a bloc between the Marxian Left and the Right wing liquidators. It is for this reason, and not because of our "sectarian opposition" to "mass work," that the League steadily rejected, and still does, the crude program advocated by Weisbord. As Trotsky wrote in January 1931:

"Certain comrades—to be sure, only individual ones (in the literal sense of the word)—speak for a bloc with the Lovestonites in the name of . . . 'mass work'. It is hard to imagine a more ridiculous, a more inept, a more sterile project than this. Do these people know at least a little of the history of the Bolshevik party? Have they read the works of Lenin? Do they know the correspondence of Marx and Engels? Or has all the history of the revolutionary movement passed them by without leaving a trace? Fortunately, the overwhelming majority of the American League has nothing in common with such ideas."

And again, in his recent letter to Weisbord, comrade Trotsky again points out that "mass work" as such does not exist as a question to be disputed in the ranks of the Left Opposition, but is indissolubly bound up with a correct position in principle, which Weisbord did not possess and which, consequently, vitiated his whole conception and rendered it sterile and reactionary:

"Mass work must be on the basis of definite principles and methods. Until the time that, in a number of fundamental questions a necessary unanimity will be attained, disputes on 'mass work' will inevitably remain lifeless."

And several months ago, comrade Trotsky pointed out in his letter to Weisbord, just as we had done in our discussions with him:

"Before one turns to the masses, one must construct a principle basis. One begins as a propaganda group and develops in the direction of mass action." (*Militant*, November 23, 1931.)

The Communist League at no time opposed mass work as such, but we always considered the question as part and parcel of the means of the organization, its resources, the concrete situation of the moment, the relation of forces and above all, the fundamental principles of our faction. This is evidenced by even a cursory knowledge of the past of the League. In Minneapolis, virtually at the inception of the League, when all our energies were bent upon the ideological and theoretical front, the Opposition even went so far as to present its own candidate for Mayor in opposition not only to the bourgeois candidates but also to the Stalinist nominee, a step taken upon the basis of our estimation of the concrete conditions of the time and place. This holds for several other campaigns undertaken by the League in that locality. In the case of the three indicted New York Marine Workers, despite the active opposition of the official party (and unfortunately, of Weisbord himself), the League took the initiative in organizing the movement for their defense and bearing the largest part of the work in their behalf. In Illinois, not for the first time, the League is even now engaged in its own independent campaign to advance

the views of the Left Opposition among the miners in the present strike and new-union situation.

In the first years of its existence, the League was of necessity obligated to bend all its energies to the task of marking itself off organizationally and, above all, ideologically from all the other currents in the proletarian movement, especially from the Right wing and the Center, as well as from all confusionist and accidental streams. We had struggles internally, sometimes of an acute nature, in order to attain the necessary degree of clarification in principle—against the advocates and tendencies of a second Communist party, against semi-syndicalist elements, and other currents of an equally destructive nature. Especially, these circumstances inexorably and necessarily shaped the main characteristics of the League's activity.

There is no doubt that conditions are now maturing for a turn. The intensive propaganda work carried on by the League has borne fruit in the consolidation of the initial cadre of the Left Opposition which is the pre-requisite for the movement to "develop in the direction of mass action". It stands in no imperative necessity. But it latens in no contradiction to our past concentration upon propagandistic activities; on the contrary, the turn to mass work which must now be made could be accomplished only upon the basis of what has gone before it. As long ago as December 12, 1931, the *Militant* declared in speaking about the expansion of the press of the League:

"The roots of our movement are spreading wide and going deep. In all these developments we see the proof that the conditions are maturing for a transformation of the form and character of our organization. There is reason to believe that we are on the way toward breaking out of the narrow confines of a purely propaganda body."

At no stage in our development has our aim and perspective been akin to a sectarian abstention from the general class struggle, nor was our propaganda work ever conceived as an end in itself. We regarded it as the absolutely essential preliminary means for a successful approach to the masses in a revolutionary sense.

We do not find ourselves in agreement with that part of comrade Trotsky's letter to Weisbord, if it is to be given the interpretation placed on it by the latter, which says: "Let us admit, for a minute, that the American League lacks this or that possibility in mass work, I am ready to admit that your group would be able in that respect (i. e., mass work) to complete the work of the American League."

Even in this hypothetical form it is necessarily based upon representations of Weisbord rather than upon our concrete experiences with him.

In this respect, the "Textile Unity Committee," constituted as an anti-party bloc between Weisbord and the Lovestone group, is a shining example. Had the League adopted the insistent proposals of Weisbord for "mass work" as construed by him, it would have discredited itself, blurred the lines between itself and the Right wing instead of making them stand out more clearly and raised the authority of the Lovestone faction. Yet this is precisely what Weisbord did by his T. U. C. against our most, comrade contrary advice. The influence he had among the textile workers of Paterson went entirely to the profit of the Right wing partner in the bloc, and under the circumstances, had to go there. The T. U. C. was the springboard for the Right wing to the position it subsequently gained in the Paterson strike.

Weisbord bears a share of the responsibility for this, although it must be said that he later broke the alliance and tried, during the Paterson strike in particular, to repair the damage. But the damage itself, and the policy which inevitably produced it, is the important aspect of the whole point.

We do not believe that the Weisbord group has a special formula for work in this field, or a special contribution to make, and we are in general opposed to the conceptions expounded by him on this subject. By this we do not aim to deny

that the addition of the Weisbord group would add to the forces of the League, even if not fundamentally, and by that increase its capacities to expand its activities in direct and more extensive participation in the class struggle as well as in the other phases of its work.

THE TACTIC OF THE WEISBORD GROUP IN OTHER QUESTIONS

Weisbord's letter raises a number of questions which we do not consider fundamental for the present discussion, which is calculated not for a solution of all the questions in dispute, and certainly not those of second and tenth order, but solely for the fundamental clarification of the basic questions of principle. That is why we omit from consideration or even mention, on this occasion, many of the points dealt with in the letter of Weisbord. It is impossible to permit these issues to push into the background those which we consider primary. Thus, Weisbord raises among what he designates as "decisive questions" of dispute with the Opposition, certain points from which we take one as an example: "Is it not 'decisive' that a League should be run by people who voluntarily turn over the names and addresses of members and sympathizers, subscribers to their paper, to the United States government?"

This is a sample of that distorted, indignant and naive "criticism" which muddled up the discussion of the basic questions and heightened the antagonisms against him. What he refers to is the filing of proof of circulation, etc., with the authorities at the time of applying for convenient second class mailing privileges—which has been done by the entire labor press in this country for decades. Nearly four years ago, at the time the *Militant* applied for second class status and rates, the initial orders from various parts of the country were presented to the postal authorities in compliance with governmental regulations as proof of circulation. This has been done by all working class papers, without anyone, at any time, having made an issue of it in the labor movement—for such an issue would have met with the ridicule which Weisbord's present accusation justly merits. He could just as logically object to the filing of Communist petitions to put candidates on the ballot, for they are signed, with names and addresses, by thousands of workers sympathetic with the radical movement. We do not like the official regulations, but without the strength as yet to abolish them we adapt ourselves, for the sake of legal agitation, to bourgeois statutes, frankly and without apology.

Similarly with the Negro question, on which we allegedly have no position. This is not true. The League has taken a position on the fundamental aspects of the Negro question. The accusation of Weisbord is "true" exactly, and only, in so far as the League has not taken a stand on one phase of the Negro problem: the slogan of self-determination in the "Black Belt," a subject upon which the League has been conducting an internal discussion and will soon come to a conclusion. It is certainly not the merit of the League that it has spent such a protracted period in arriving at a conclusion on this question, but if Weisbord had used greater deliberation and caution, it is possible that he would not have arrived at so thoroughly false a position as he has in his own thesis. Neither the American party nor the C. I. ever considered this phase of the Negro question here of such decisive importance, from 1919 to 1923, as to utter a single word on it, and it was raised only four years ago by the Stalinist apparatus as their improvement upon the Leninist standpoint.

More important than these secondary, exaggerated or non-existent issues, is such a question as Weisbord's conduct during the Marine Workers' Defense campaign, and toward comrades of his own organization with whom he was in dispute. In the former case, Weisbord took a position which, from the class standpoint, we still hold to be incompatible with the basic principles of class solidarity against the class enemy. His step of bringing his own comrade into court, called forth the sharpest condemnation from the League, and rightly so. From

this we have nothing to retract. The Left Opposition distinguishes itself by a scrupulous adherence to the fundamental concepts of class solidarity under all circumstances and can not tolerate the slightest departure from them in its ranks.

"UNITY" MANEUVERS OF WEISBORD

The partial turn which the Weisbord group has made toward the International Left Opposition, and thereby toward the Communist League, has to a considerable extent been vitiated by the paitry maneuvers in which he has since engaged in the name of unity with us.

He began with proposals to us for "united fronts" on single and subsidiary questions when the problem was the clarification of his principled position to be made in a preliminary statement of his group in which, as comrade Trotsky advised, he would "attentively revise your baggage so as to take care to uncover by that not only your manifest political faults but also the historical and principled roots of these faults." Before issuing this necessary statement, he called a public meeting to which members of the League were invited to discuss the question. Without any formal proposals to the National Committee of the League, and before any public declaration of a change in his position, he addressed himself to the branches of the League over the head of the National Committee with the request that he be invited to "discuss" the question of unity

Archives of the Opposition

"Socialism in One Country"

The central theory of Stalinism, around which revolve or from which emanate all the false policies which it defends, is the idea of "socialism in one country". At one time, in the early days of the struggle of the Russian Opposition against this nationalistic revision of Marxism, Stalin, when confronted with an overwhelming array of excerpts from the socialist classics, admitted that the question of the possibility of constructing a socialist society in one country was first raised by Lenin in 1915. The implication was that up to that time the prevailing conceptions in Marxian circles ran counter to the theory. Since the expulsion of the Opposition from the party, Stalin and his satellites have rid themselves of the need of any apologies for the theory, or of any qualifications. It is now advanced, not as a revelation first handed down from Mount Stalin in 1924, nor even as an innovation first introduced into Marxism by Lenin in 1915, but as an essential foundation stone of Marxism as such.

We have frequently had occasion to present our readers with countless quotations from the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin which categorically contradicted this utopian—by your leave—theory. Not a few of the pre-1924 writings of Bucharin and Stalin are available which speak as a matter of course concerning the impossibility of constructing an independent, national socialist society. To add to this lengthy collection, we present here a significant passage from the pamphlet by the Russian Marxist, A. Yashchenko, "Socialism and Internationalism," published in Moscow in 1907, and quoted approvingly in the "History of the First International" (page 11) by G. M. Steklov, the Bolshevik historian:

"From the economic point of view, the characteristic feature of socialist organization is unity in economic relationships, in place of the extent system of production—devoid of order, plan, and method, entirely uncoordinated to chance, competition and the struggle of interests—socialism will create order and stability. The work of production will then be in the hands of one whole community, as a unified economy; and it will be directed by the central authority. . . . The nearest thing to such a collectivity can only be the State, although even the establishment of an isolated socialist State does not of itself imply the introduction of complete order and harmony into economic life. In that case competition and the economic struggle between the various

States will continue, and this competition will perpetually disturb the internal harmony of their relationships, for under the present conditions of the life of mankind, it is impossible to conceive of a State as economically isolated and independent. In fact, it is impossible to imagine the existence of a national socialist State amid States organized upon the individual system."

Fortunate is Yashchenko that he did not live and write under the Stalinist dispensation! For what he, as well as all Marxists, took for granted as impossible, has not only been made "possible" by decree of the Secretariat, but those who question the correctness of the new theory are free to meditate on their doubts in the prisons and places of exile to which the bureaucracy dispatches the Left Opposition.—S.

On Hopeless Idiots

On August 24, 1919, Lenin wrote:

"Either the dictatorship (that is, the iron power) of the landowners and the capitalists, or the dictatorship of the working class. There is no middle ground. In vain do the lordlets, would-be intellectuals and petty gentlemen, who have learned badly in bad books, dream about a middle ground. Nowhere in the world is there a middle ground or can there be one. Either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, covered with the pompous phrases of S. R.'s and Mensheviks about the power of the people, the Constituent Assembly, freedom, etc.—or the dictatorship of the proletariat. He who has not learned this from the history of the whole nineteenth century is a hopeless idiot." (Works, Volume XVI, page 206.)

What about the "democratic dictatorship" which Stalin and Bucharin included in the program of the Communist International? It is obvious that the democratic dictatorship, if it differs from the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat, must stand somewhere between the two. But Lenin declares to us that "there is no middle ground," that only "petty gentlemen who have learned badly" can dream about a middle ground, or worse yet, "hopeless idiots". Can it be assumed, even for a minute that theoreticians of these two categories had a hand in the program of the Communist International?

directly with them, attempting thereby once more to apply the well-known tactic of the "united front from below". This disruptive strategy which violated the whole essence of the engagements he undertook and the warning of comrade Trotsky that "before everything, you must keep clearly in mind that the road to the International Left Opposition leads through the American League; a second road does not exist"—has very properly encountered the solid rejection of all the branches of the League.

If Weisbord sincerely wishes to approach the League in the spirit of unity, it will be necessary for him to alter this strategy and retrace his steps in this respect. The Communist League is an organization and must be dealt with seriously as such through its duly constituted organs.

The National Committee of the League emphasizes that it is desirous of consummating the unity of the Left Opposition with the Weisbord group with the greatest celerity, of putting no petty obstacles in the road but, on the contrary, of facilitating the rapprochement to the extent that considerations of principle permit. It is ready to have aside small and secondary questions for the moment, to refrain from converting them into conditions for unity, in the sense that within the framework of one organization the normal processes of internal democracy will permit a discussion and satisfactory solution of all the questions which still divide Weisbord from the League. But on the basic questions, the National Committee cannot and does not propose to make the slightest concession which would only militate against the soundness and future progress of the Opposition.

Impelled solely by these considerations, the National Committee views the problem from the point of view that the next step must be taken by the Weisbord group. This step and what follows from it, we conceive as follows:

1. The Weisbord group, on the basis of the present statement of the Communist League, should reconsider its reply to comrade Trotsky and elaborate such a declaration as it more seriously and more satisfactorily constitute a revision of its ideological baggage, especially on the questions of Centrism and the bloc with the Right wing. We do not regard its letter to comrade Trotsky as adequate, for the reasons outlined in this statement, and we deem a re-statement by the Weisbord group an essential preliminary to further steps of unification.

2. Upon the basis of the statement by the Weisbord group which we propose in the preceding point, the National Committee will request representatives of the "Communist League of Struggle" to be selected for the purpose of holding a joint meeting at which a formal discussion of the respective standpoints of the League and the Weisbord group may be discussed with the aim of arranging both the remaining points of difference—which we hope will be reduced to a minimum at that stage—and any organizational details that may be involved.

—NATIONAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF
AMERICA (OPPOSITION)

JAPAN

Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat

By Jack Weber

(Continued from last issue)

II. The Dearth of Raw Materials

Without ample coal and iron reserves no country can aspire to a place of first rank among modern industrial powers. Lacking in adequate home reserves of these essentials, Japanese capitalism is under the imperative necessity of importing them from abroad. In this respect and more generally, Japan ranks with Italy.

Influence of Iron Ores

In 1923 Japan produced 8% of the total iron ores she consumed. Of the 92% she imported 11% came from Japanese colonies and the remainder mainly from China and Straits Settlement. The known iron ores of the Far East, including Japan, Korea, Manchuria and China, are so small in quantity that if Japan were to consume these ores at the per capita rate of the U. S. the entire body of ores would be exhausted in 15 years. Manchuria has reserves whose metallic content is equal to that of Germany or of Great Britain, but these ores are of such low grade that they are hardly reckoned as ores in the U. S. Large outlays are necessary for the extra operation of preparing them for use since they must first be chemically treated to

obtain a higher concentration of metal. Thus no solid metallurgical basis exists for a steel industry of enduring importance. Nevertheless, despite the cost handicap, Japan maintains her steel industry through tax exemptions, high subsidies and protective tariffs, obviously for armament purposes. The government arsenal founded at Yawata in 1900 produces 1-2 the steel used by industry but operates at a serious loss each year in spite of the high rates charged for the steel products; for example, round steel bars costing \$43 to \$51 per ton are sold in Germany for \$25 to \$30. Japanese capitalists submit quite willingly to this handicap to strengthen imperialist militarism which aims first of all to seize those parts of Asia which can supply basic raw materials and food.

The Problem of Coal

Measured in terms of coal production, Japanese industry is far from an advanced stage. The output is 1-2 ton per capita as compared with over 4-12 tons for the U. S. and over 5 for the United Kingdom. Even if we include hydro-electric power (converted to tons of coal) Japan's position is not improved. The coal reserves of all Japan are only 118 tons per capita, less even than those

of British India, and far below the 4,070 tons for Great Britain and the 27,500 tons for the U. S. To make matters worse the coal that Japan does possess, while good as bunker coal on ships, is unfit for coking and therefore unfit for steel production. The high cost of coke is a major problem for the Japanese steel industry and renders her competition in this field utterly impossible under present technology. The cost of coke per ton of pig iron in 1927 was \$3.25 in the U. S. and \$7.50 in Japan. Only in China (with its 2,200 tons per capita reserves) is there coking coal in the Far East and even there not in large amounts.

Coal mining is far more difficult in Japan than in the other capitalist countries as the seams lie much deeper and are thinner. Less machinery being used, the output per miner is less. Thus each miner produced 1-2 ton per day in 1925 as against 4-12 tons for the U. S. Nor is this cost made up by cheaper labor—the output being 1-9 as great but the wages being 1-5 those in the U. S.

Textiles

Barred from rapid progress in the heavy industries by her lack of the necessary raw materials, Japanese capitalism has been forced—for other reasons as well—to turn to the lighter textile industries. Yet even here Japan is forced to import cotton, the raw material of greatest importance to her manufacturing. Supplied with an abundance of raw silk, Japan is nevertheless not a great manufacturer of silk but rather a source of raw material for the U. S. silk industry.

It is above all this poverty in raw materials that makes Japan a debtor nation, hyper-sensitive to world market conditions, unstable financially owing to difficulties of international payments.

III. The Imperialist Struggle for Markets

Japanese feudal-capitalism entered the world arena even later than German imperialism and her struggle for markets commenced at the very birth of her capitalism, particularly in competition with the powers in China. China and India, with half the world's population, form a fabulous market. But India is pre-empted by England. More than any other power Japan depends on foreign markets, for no other country exports so large a percentage of the total production of goods. The desperate effort of Japanese imperialism to subjugate China as a colony to function as market and as source of raw material, is the reflection of the stifling action of capitalist world economy on the further growth of Japanese productive forces. But China is also essential to U. S. capitalism and Chinese capitalists desire to exploit the home market themselves. Young as is Japanese capitalism, it has already passed through many crises and has had to limit its productive capacities again and again due to the competition for markets. Japanese capitalism is faced with the task of carving out its own markets by seizing China or by wresting colonies from the established powers. This external struggle manifests the desperate effort of the feudal-capitalist combination to maintain the inner exploitation of the workers and peasants.

(To be continued)

A Picture of the Party from Inside

What the Party Bulletin Says About the «Achievements»

The criticisms levelled by the Opposition against the Stalinist leadership for the organizational and ideological devastation it has produced in the ranks of the party, have never been met by our opponents. On the contrary, from time to time, under the pressure of the events themselves or the discontentment of the comrades in the ranks, the Stalinist officials have been compelled to make admissions which confirm to the hilt every one of our criticisms. A case in point is the official internal bulletin of the New York district committee of the Communist party. We take some excerpts at random from its leading article:

"It is a known fact that the life of the units is very sterile and dead."

Could a more damning confession be made in a more off-handed manner? The Communist party should be distinguished from all other parties in precisely this respect, that is, in the existence of a virile, productive internal life at its base. In the revolutionary proletarian party there is no class distinction between leadership and ranks, there is no need of a leadership which must convert its followers into dumb, footweary cattle. The absence of this distinction serves as a terrific arraignment of those responsible—the leaders. For how can the life of the party units be other than sterile when the initiative of the ranks is systematically crushed for fear that its unfolding may disturb the pupal domination exercised by the bureaucracy? How can the "life" in the ranks be anything but "dead" when the bureaucratic leeches confine their activities largely to bleeding the party of every vital element?

For years now, the party leaders have promised a change in this system by means of the biggest fraud since Baruch's white elephant: Stalinist "self-criticism", i. e., the practice of finding scapegoats in the second, third and fourth ranks for the crimes committed by the first rank. But the disease is not rooted below—that is only where its effects are manifested most disastrously; it has its seat at the top. Like fish, the Stalinist hierarchy begins to decay and stink at the head.

"The general understanding of the membership of political and economic events in the district," continues the bulletin, "is at an extremely low level."

Nor can it be otherwise. The Communist party at its birth was to distinguish itself from the social democracy and the syndicalists by vigorously combating that contempt for theory which was practically the only "theory" tolerated in those movements. In the post-Lenin period, the Communist movement was inundated with that "unprincipled practicalism" against which Lenin inveighed so contemptuously, and which has received the acme of its expression in the Stalin faction.

A leadership which has played duets and drakes with such fundamental tenets of Marxism as its teaching on the class role of the State (China, "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry", etc.), as the independent role of the proletarian party (subordination of Communism to Sun Yat Senism and the Kuo Min Tang, the masquerades of Muenzenberg, Barbusse, Stalin and Co.), as internationalism and its economic and political implications ("socialism in one country")—to mention but a few of the points in which Stalin contributed only revisionist conceptions—such a leadership could scarcely be expected to do anything but bring to "an extremely low level" the "general understanding of the membership of political and economic events."

Can a wolf instruct its cubs in vegetarianism? Can a catholic priest teach his flock the truths of evolution? Can a witch-doctor teach savages the elements of science? Can the man who is up to his neck in a swamp lift another to a safe and higher point? That is how the Stalin school teachers can raise the extremely low level of the general understanding of the membership.

More: the raising of the level of the membership of the party will be accomplished at exactly the same rate that the party bureaucracy is kicked out of the place it has usurped. Between these two forces in the party there is no harmonious link; there is a fatal conflict, a gnawing contradiction which can be eliminated only by an upheaval from below.

"Our trade union work," we read further on, "despite the objective favorable situation is lagging far behind. . . . We have not developed any real struggle in the A. F. of L. . . . This Bulletin will give concrete aid in this work."

If the aid to be furnished the party members by the editors of the Bulletin and their associates in the leadership, is of the same caliber as the aid given in the past, then the prediction may be freely ventured that next year's Bulletin and the resolutions of next year's Central Committee Plenum will contain the same lamentations about mysterious failures of the party. Here, for example, is the warning given as early as two and a half years ago by the March 31, 1930 Plenum in an obscure reference made in the "Resolution on Party Fractions":

"Party fractions must be established and must be engaged in active work in all A. F. of L. unions. All tendencies to neglect work in the A. F. of L. unions must be sharply condemned and corrected."

Similar admonitions have not been lacking in the intervening period, nor will they be in the future. Nor, furthermore, will the work of the party in the A. F. of L. be improved one hair's breadth thereby. And that for the simple reason that the naked instructions: "must be established," "must be engaged," "must be sharply condemned," have proved

to be quite meaningless without a fundamental correction of the party's analysis of the trade union problem in this country. The hierarchy may continue to establish and engage, to condemn and correct until the stroke of doom, but the party will not advance one step in the reactionary unions until it proceeds beyond administrative orders of a technical nature and into a political alteration of its line.

Who is responsible for the party's complete isolation in the reactionary unions when the two principal resolutions of the March 1930 Plenum do not by as much as one single word (literally!) mention the need of working within the A. F. of L.? Is such an attitude conducive to the proper functioning of the Communists among the mass of organized workers? In the thesis on the "Economic and Political Situation," we read about "the reformist organizations and elements, some of which (A. F. of L.) are outright Fascist" (page 11); that (only!) on the basis of the Trade Union Unity League will the party be able to assume the leadership of these economic struggles" (page 20); that it "has been a mistake on our part (hear, hear! self-criticism!) that we did not sooner clearly analyze and characterize the open Fascism of the A. F. of L." (page 33).

Is there any wonder that with such an analysis and perspective, the party's fractions in the A. F. of L. (they can be counted on your thumbs) "have not developed any real struggle in the A. F. of L."? What progress in this direction could be made by a Communist worker who, in his A. F. of L. local, would have to repeat after the blockheaded theses writers: This is an outright Fascist union and we can move ahead only on the basis of the T. U. U. L.?

But have no fear, the marauders are still at work. The doctor who reported that his "patient was improving" until she died . . . of improvements—cannot even compete with the directors of the Party Builder who promise to "give concrete aid in this work." A little more concrete aid of the type they have given in the past and the poor patient. . . .

"The struggle against social-Fascism in the district," we note finally, "is in an extremely weak shape. Despite the repeated acts of treachery of the social-Fascist leaders, we have been unable to develop any real struggles and exposures of these people. . . . The Bulletin will give leadership and guidance. . . ."

One would imagine that after the record rolled up by them in the past, the party chiefs would be more modest with their offers of leadership and guidance. But we are dealing here with people who have lost all sense of proportion and place. The party has now been shouting itself hoarse against all species of "social-Fascism" imaginable. It has fought a furious battle in a vacuum of its own invention. And yet, "despite the repeated acts of treachery," the Bulletin observes with a puzzled air, no real struggle or exposure of the reformists has been developed. Why? The Bulletin scarcely bothers to attempt an explanation, it simply recommends more "persistent exposures" and volunteers its leadership and guidance.

But the question is important and requires an answer. How have the "social-Fascist" demagogues been able to make the steady headway which even the Stalinist sages can no longer ignore? Essentially because of the enormous blunders which the party leaders have chalked up to their account. Especially in the period of the crisis, when the weakened working class feels most acutely the need of all its forces to resist the capitalist offensive, the Stalinists have met their aspirations and appeals with a scornful rebuff. The workers who have not yet developed to Communism increasingly gain the conviction that the Communists pit their own party interests above the interests of the class. To answer them with the trite phrase that the party has no interests separate from those of the whole proletariat, means to substitute what should be, for what actually is.

In this whole period of the crisis, the party has unexampled opportunities to champion the fight for the united front of the working class. By forcing the reformist leaders to the wall in every concrete question of struggle, the party would have had chance after chance to break the workers' present allegiances and win them to Communism on the basis of concrete experiences through which the workers would then pass together with their own leaders and the Communist leaders—experiences which would give them the best possible opportunity to judge which group is superior.

But the Stalinists, who only yesterday lay in the arms of Chiang Kai-Shek and A. A. Purcell, were overcome with such a tremendous wave of remorse, you see, that they now indignantly reject any united front with the reformist organizations or leaders. From the ivory tower of splendid isolation to which they have retired, they choose to hurl down anathema and vocal thunderbolts upon the reformist demagogues. The only trouble is that the mass of the workers shrugs its shoulders, in despair, in indifference, or in contempt. Such exposures have just about the same practical political value as the campaigns of the socialist muckrakers in the pre-war days: they set no appreciable mass of people into motion. The "social-Fascists" continue their "repeated acts of treachery," the struggle against them continues to be "in an extremely weak shape," and the Stalinist balliffs at the head of the party continue to be, we suppose, the very essence of Bolshevik wisdom, strain-

(Continued from page 1)

The Conditions of the Movement

There is not yet in the United States a serious unemployment movement of a national character; and hence to set the workers into motion around this issue still remains the task. It imposes a serious duty upon the Communists. But it is precisely in this respect that the official Communist Party has failed despite the fact of masses responding to its early demonstrations. This is entirely due to the false policies pursued. At a time when serious preparations on a broad basis and mass propaganda were required the party frittered away its opportunity in adventurist extremes. The objectives of its demonstrations were characterized by the slogans: "Right the police" and "Conquer the streets," which almost entirely isolated the Communist vanguard and left the workers disinterested in the party appeals. From this the party swung to the other extreme, to opportunist methods of fighting for unemployment relief, as, for example, the purely parliamentary petition campaign for the social insurance bill, not to speak of the almost exclusive centering of the struggle against petty cheating and thieving of local relief agencies and losing sight of the large objectives.

In regard to the organizational problem the party at first pursued the sectarian method of arbitrarily harnessing the unemployment movement within the extremely narrow framework of the T. U. U. L. It imposed upon it all sorts of bureaucratic limitations. While the force of objective reality and the weight of our criticism have compelled the party to abandon its extreme adventurism and the most sectarian organization methods, many of the above mentioned false policies and bureaucratic limitations still remain. This presents a picture today, in the fourth year of the crisis, where workers who were attracted to Communism have been expelled by the thousands; and where most of the once organized and party controlled Unemployment Councils are non-functioning, some in the process of dissolution and some have entirely disappeared. Many workers who were attracted to the Communist Party have therefore again left its ranks in disappointment.

The Social Reformists and the Unemployed

With the decline of the party controlled Unemployment Councils other unemployment organizations have arisen, mainly on a local scale, under leadership of the social reformists. There are, for example, the Citizens' Unemployment Leagues in the State of Washington, in Superior, Wisconsin, and the miners' unemployment movement of West Virginia developed under the direction of the Musteltes. There are also the unemployment leagues organized by the Socialist party in some cities. The first mentioned have attracted broad masses on a local scale because of their "practicalness" of securing measure of relief largely by the methods of mutual self-help. All of these movements reflect the pressure of the working class, but being essentially reformist in character, they are taking the direction either of practical parliamentary (reformist) politics or purely mutual self-help societies, in some instances promulgating the false illusions of running the industries for capitalism to create jobs.

While it is perfectly clear that neither direction will lead to a serious fight for relief at the expense of capitalism, and not at all show the way out of the unemployment situation, nevertheless these movements are becoming effective instruments in the hands of the reformists to attract the workers and to contest the Communist party for mass leadership. They are becoming serious contenders. The headway they have made so far in no small measure due to the false policies and the bureaucratic blunders of the party which, it should be remembered, at first held sway over the movement of the unemployed.

This proves conclusively that the course of the American working class, even its unemployed section, is not at all yet decided in favor of Communism. It flows in both directions, both the revolutionary and the reformist. Inevitably, however, the deception and the impotency of the reformist leadership will stand out more clearly in the more serious and the more decisive situations and therefore constantly offer new opportunities for Communist leadership, provided the party can learn to advance the demands and slogans which will attract masses, set them into motion and lead in a revolutionary direction. But to do that effectively the Communists must also penetrate the reformist unemployment movement to fight for the revolutionary program.

An Unemployment Program of Relief

An unemployment program must of necessity be in harmony with the elementary needs of the situation. As such it must present immediate demands and agitation slogans which appeal to the broad masses by offering means of temporary amelioration. They cannot offer a solution in themselves and should not be so designed. They are by the very

ed twice through chesscloth and silk. The reformists make progress, the party stagnates, the trade union work lags behind, the life of the units is sterile, the work among the Negro masses is at a standstill—but the party leadership is as inviolate and impeccable as the College of Cardinals. Aren't people with such a record of achievement just the ones to complain irritably about the extremely low level of the general understanding of the membership? Thank God somebody in the party is on a different level.

—M. S.

League's Program of Action on Unemployment

nature of the class struggle strictly limited to the character of a partial help. But they must also become a help to unite the workers on the basis of their common interests and to set them into motion against their class enemy. These demands and slogans cannot solve the problem. There can be no solution to the unemployment problem under capitalism. Its solution can be found only in the proletarian revolution; in our agitation and struggles we must always make this clear.

Approaching the fourth year of the unemployment crisis the question of immediate relief has become a matter of life and death necessity for the American workers. The growing hunger and want has been met only by the miserable, debasing charity rations. This must be substituted by immediate governmental relief, federal, state and municipal. By virtue of its pressing necessity this demand stands in the forefront as one which brooks no delay in organizing the fight for its attainment.

The permanent feature of the unemployed army, however, makes imperative the advancement as an immediate objective also of the demands for a system of unemployment insurance, the cost of which is to be borne by the state and by the employers. That it can be obtained only by mass pressure, by tenacious struggle against and over the opposition of the capitalist rulers, has been made amply clear by all experiences so far. The capitalist way out of the crisis is the opposite one, the one of forcing the working class to shoulder the whole burden. The reformist way of unemployment insurance is the one of all classes alike carrying the cost and awaiting their mutual voluntary consent, which cannot be expected from capitalism. But this is only so much more a reason for the Communists to make this demand a class demand and a fighting demand, one which must bring the broad masses within its scope.

The Problem of the Shorter Workday
The scourge of unemployment threatens all workers and is a problem of the class as a whole. Unity of the employed and the jobless is therefore essential. That must be taken into account in a programmatic sense. When keeping in view the perspectives of a standing unemployed army and a developing workers' struggle resisting the further attacks upon their standard of living, the necessity of advancing the slogan for the shorter workday assumes additional importance. The concrete slogan must be: "the six hour workday, the five day week, without reduction in pay."

The workers' struggle for the shorter workday flows from the contradiction between the constantly developing production forces and the enormous surplus labor power. The employers are now endeavoring to reorganize this relationship at the workers' expense. Hence the bosses and their government are advancing their stagger plan proposals of the shorter workday with a corresponding reduction of the standard of living. This the Communist forces must counteract correctly. The demand for the six hour workday, the five day week, without reduction of

pay is today a propaganda slogan addressed directly to the working class for it to adopt to become a slogan for action. More than any other demand this has the quality both of offering real and tangible improvement of the workers' conditions and of moving them into action. Hence it will meet with serious opposition from the employers. But its advancement today as a propaganda slogan will help to prepare for the struggles of tomorrow. By virtue of this it becomes the slogan of the working class offensive. The demand for the shorter workday is the most fundamental of all immediate demands from the standpoint of class relations. It possesses the quality of welding the unemployed and employed workers alike into united efforts for its attainment and for the advancement of their struggle on a class basis. The Communist forces must take upon themselves particularly the duty of arousing the existing labor unions and workers' organizations and unite them in a powerful movement for the shorter work day.

Large Scale Credits to the Soviet Union

An unemployment program must give correct attention to the world-wide character of the unemployed crisis which embraces the whole of the capitalist world. To that appears the enormous contrast of the Soviet Union teeming with activity of industrial construction, but seriously hampered by the difficulty of obtaining sufficient credits from the capitalist countries with which to buy the materials needed from the world market. This is still a decisive issue before the Communist movement. It involves essentially the question of the international working class objective. It offers the opportunity of definitely uniting the needs of the Soviet Union with the immediate aims and demands of the proletariat in the capitalist countries. Therefore, the proposal of the Left Opposition to demand large scale credits from the capitalist world to the Soviet Union, remains as correct and as imperative as when first advanced.

In the United States this becomes a particularly potent demand. Here is a superabundance of credits available. The further success of the great industrialization progress of the Soviet Union is bound up with the facilitation of an increased supply of machinery and material for the immediate future. The placing of new orders for machinery in this country will provide more work for our unemployed. It would make the American workers real participants in the struggle toward Socialism in the Soviet Union.

The American Communist movement must unequivocally take up the slogan for the extension of large scale credits from U. S. capitalism to the Soviet Union. It should without delay initiate united front conferences of all working class organizations for the purpose of laying definite plans for the promulgation of this demand on a practical concrete basis.

To sum up we recapitulate our proposed concrete slogans for the unemployment movement as follows:

Immediate Governmental Relief, Federal, State and Municipal.

Unemployment Insurance at the Expense of the State and the Employers.

The Six Hour Workday, Five Day Week, Without Reduction of Pay.

Recognition and Extension of Long Term Credits to the Soviet Union.

It goes without saying that the unemployment movement should generally take up slogans of special local issues and also such concerning evictions, union conditions and dues payments, etc., according to conditions prevailing and in conformity with the general program.

The Organization of the Movement

The existing unemployment situation can be viewed correctly only in the light of its revolutionary perspectives. In that sense the demands advanced today must become stepping stones toward the revolutionary goal, hence it is necessary to preserve their class content and organize the fight for their realization on a class basis. They can become so only when the Communist forces thoroughly understand and practice, in action, the tactics which enable them to become the leading force of ever broader masses and establish the logical unity between the struggles of today and the solutions of tomorrow.

The unemployment situation cannot be considered as an isolated problem separate and apart from the general working class problems, nor can the unemployment movement succeed as a separate and isolated movement. It can remain so only on the penalty of degeneration and impotency. Its objectives must become those of the general working class objectives, its struggles a part of the general working class struggle for the revolution. The potentialities for advance on this basis are growing daily. When the Communist movement begins to employ seriously and genuinely the united front policy the first steps will have been taken to unify the workers, employed and unemployed, in common struggle for their common interest of today as well as toward their ultimate objective.

In this direction it is necessary to reorganize the Unemployed Councils. There should be block councils in the cities, composed of unemployed and employed alike. These should be centralized on a territorial or a citywide basis into delegated bodies fighting for the minimum program of the unemployed. To these central bodies all other workers' organizations should be invited to send representatives for common action for the needs of the unemployed. They should include the workers' political parties, such as the Communist party, the Socialist party, the Unemployment Leagues, where such exist; and above all the trade unions. This is the way to put reformist and reactionary labor leaders to the test. It is the way to establish the working class united front for specific immediate objectives and set the masses into motion for its immediate interests and needs. The duty of the Communist party in such a broad movement is the one of functioning independently, maintaining its right of criticism and of fighting for the revolutionary program to push the movement forward to a higher plane.

A New Crisis in Soviet Economy

(Concluded from last issue)

Above all, the following unpostponable measures appear to us to be necessary:

(1) To put a decisive stop to the inflation. To stabilize the "chervonets" on a realistic basis—by the introduction of a budget (industrial budget included) that lies within the framework of the actual possibilities of economy. To reinvest the "chervonets" with the means of playing a role in economic regulation.

(2) To renounce the maintenance by coercion of collectives incapable of an existence. To elaborate a series of practical measures so calculated, that the disintegration of these so-called collectives into individual holdings does not effect the interests of the collectivized village poor and so that it does not burden too painfully the foodstuff and raw material situation in the country.

(3) Formally and openly to liquidate the policy of "liquidating the kulaks as a class", which has already been torn up at the root by a series of decrees in the course of the last two years. But, to keep in mind at the same time that the re-establishment of private trade will deepen and accelerate the differentiation in the village (both between as well as inside of the collectives); to introduce a concretely thought-out system of measures for the limitation of the exploitative activities of the kulak.

(4) To create for the more promising of the collectives, such technical and economic conditions, that they, together with the Soviet farms, will be able to assure the feeding of industry and of the cities.

The Second Five Year Plan

(5) To utilize as a basis for the second Five Year Plan, the actual and not the falsified results of the experience of the first Five Year Plan. To recognize that the economic irregularities, which existed even before the Five Year Plan, have been made more profound by the latter and that they have assumed a menacing character. To make the highest criterion of the second Five Year Plan, the problem of the "smytchika".

(6) On the basis of the actual technical and economic results of experience, but insofar as industry as a whole is concerned as well as with regard to the individual enterprises, to work out realistic possibilities of growth. The most important elements of every industrial and financial plan must be: (1) providing of each enterprise with labor power of satisfactory quality. (2)—providing labor power with normal condi-

The following document arrived from Russia in a foreign language, into which it had been translated for conspirative reasons. The first page was missing. Editorial revision was provided for by the Editorial Board of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition.

tions of life (3)—establishment of certain qualitative standards, without which the process of production is converted into the production of "seconds".

7. A very serious danger for the entire economy is constituted by the deterioration of all forms of calculation and accounting as well as by the decline in the reliability of all statistical data connected with the Five Year Plan and with the economic situation in the country as a whole. The false system of statistics can only be destroyed with the destruction of the whole system of bureaucratic lies. The economic atmosphere can be cleared and cured only by party, trade union and Soviet democracy.

8. Clearly to take into account that the prospective difficult, economic reorientation, which will be inevitable even in the case of a turn toward a correct policy will favor the rise of the temporary consolidation of efforts at a bourgeois restoration. The rebirth of the Bolshevik party as the independent proletarian vanguard will under these conditions become a question of life or death for the proletarian dictatorship. To bring about a change in the economic course, the Stalin regime must first of all be renounced, it is a regime which stifles the party and economy and threatens to destroy the dictatorship.

Capitalist Crisis and Soviet Economy

9. The years of capitalist crisis have been utilized extremely little and unsystematically by the Soviet government in the economic, and by the Comintern in the agitational, sense. As the Left Opposition has more than once affirmed, both sides of this matter can and must be linked up with one another. With a correct approach to world economy the difficulties of the capitalist world could be exploited in a far greater measure to weaken even the sharpest of the disproportionate relationships in Soviet economy, thereby alone raising the standard of living of the masses.

The question of collaboration between Soviet economy and capitalist world economy must be raised as a center of attention for the European and American

working masses and especially the unemployed. It is not a matter of possible credits and orders, but of a developed plan going beyond the borders of Soviet economy and including the capitalist countries. As incomplete as our experience is—it nevertheless permits, for the first time to show with figures and facts in hand, what enormous and at the same time close and immediate possibilities are opened up for planned economy once it extends to the advanced countries.

We do not consider these first drafts as a finished platform. Without discussion, such cannot be elaborated. The lack of party democracy is a double burden for the Left Opposition. At any rate, we believe that the L. O. of the U. S. S. R. must make haste with the elaboration of a collective opinion, no matter how difficult the conditions are at present.

At the same time, we consider it timely and urgent to declare immediately in the name of the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) that today as always we are prepared to render every possible aid to the present faction—in the defense of the country against the external dangers as well as in conducting it out of its present economic difficulties.

The Opposition's Attitude

We have more than once declared that the sentiment of revenge—is not a political sentiment. We have not directed ourselves according to this sentiment and have no intention to. But it is to be understood that the serious education of the party requires a serious and open re-examination of the policies in the years of the factional domination of the Stalinists. But we are prepared, on our side, to switch this critical work onto the rails of mutual understanding and agreement.

We are prepared to exert every effort in order to prepare the transition from the present, manifestly unhealthy and untenable regime to the regime of party democracy with the least possible convulsions and dangers, with the least possible loss of our valuable time.

The stoppage of the police measures of suppression against the Bolshevik-Leninists, the liberation and recalling of all the imprisoned, banished and exiled comrades must be the first signal for the rebirth of the Leninist party.

Representing a group of comrades, Leningrad-Moscow, July 1932. —N. —M.



Zinoviev Expelled Again

New Expulsions Denote Dangerous Crisis for Stalinist Regime

For the second time in less than five years, the former head of the Communist International, Gregory Zinoviev, and the former chairman of the Russian party's Political Bureau, Leo Kamenev, have been expelled by the ruling faction in the Russian party. The expulsion from the Moscow party to the official press leaves everything in obscurity, as is to be expected. From its own internal evidence, only one thing is clear: the charges against Zinoviev and Kamenev, as well as the other twenty-two party members who were expelled along with them, are a typical product of that disloyalty and ruthlessness for which Lenin's stigmatized Stalin and demanded his removal from the post of general party secretary.

The "Counter-Revolutionary Plot"

It is possible to believe that the expelled twenty-two were actually engaged in what the party press, without the slightest idea of the actual standpoint of the dissidents, already glibly denounces as a counter-revolutionary conspiracy to overthrow the Soviet power and re-introduce capitalism. Still less worthy of our credence is the charge that Zinoviev and Kamenev, however wretched their political course in the past few years, knew of a real counter-revolutionary plot and failed to inform the party of its existence.

The whole affair, we are prepared to say even without the more detailed information which we know will shortly be available, smacks of those despicable Thermidorian amalgams produced in the factional laboratories of the Stalinist clique, which seriously told the Communist Chambers that the Opposition was allied with Chamberlain and Chiang Kai-Shek and that the most trusted leaders of the October revolution were working together with a "Wraugel officer" in 1927 to overturn the Soviet regime.

The Daily Worker reports that those expelled were in "counter-revolutionary groups...which drafted programs opposing the party and aiming at restoration of capitalism and kulak power, a dissolution of the Soviet and collective farms and the granting of important concessions to capitalists." The finality and certitude with which the journalistic footmen of Stalinism speak is determined not merely by their subservience, but also by their complete ignorance of the facts in the case.

The truth about the situation that has been revealed with such breath-taking abruptness is more closely approached by the report printed in the organ of the Left Opposition in France two weeks ago:

"A short time ago rumors began to circulate about dissension at the top of the party: the harbingers of a new and deep-going turn-about face to the Right have been perceived: furthermore, the rumors were recorded in the 'Letter from Moscow' (printed in the Militant a few issues back). A dispatch from the T. A. S. S., published without comment by L'Humanite simply denied the report that Stalin was going to quit of his own will or under compulsion—the post of secretary of the C. P. S. U.

"Letter of the 18 Bolsheviks"

"Now, a document is being talked about which is called the letter of the eighteen Bolsheviks, which is circulating in the Russian party. It appears to emanate from circles close to the Central apparatus. Its central slogan is: **remove Stalin!** It is a letter to the members of the party. Stalin is accused in it of having stifled the Communist International, stifled all workers' democracy in the party, of having zig-zagged in economic policy, of having broken the bridges between town and country, and having led the Five Year Plan and all of Soviet economy into a state of profound crisis."

In a word, it is already plain that the new group which the Stalinists have "discovered" is a manifestation of that profound crisis which is tearing away the foundations of that structure of contradictions, patch-work and bureaucratic violence which the usurpatory ruling clique has sought in vain to pass off as Bolshevism. The crisis in present day Soviet economy, superinduced by the whole series of incoherent, disastrous, zig-zagging blunders which make up the "line" of Centrism, we have already analyzed in these columns. The reflection of this state of affairs in the form of a new party crisis had to come to light. The expulsions just announced are unmistakably the first tangible evidence of the new party crisis in the Soviet Union.

It is as yet too early to pass judgment on the program of those who have been expelled. In the miserable inadequate reports, the official cables to the party press and the semi-official cables to the capitalist press, there is a lack of those specific details necessary for a complete analysis. Among those whose expulsion is announced we find the former "Trotskyist", Rintin. We also read the name of Tglanov, the former head of the Moscow organization who was the first victim of the organizational measures taken

MASS MEETING THE NEW CRISIS IN THE SOVIET UNION

What Is the Significance of the New Expulsions in the Russian Communist Party?

Come and Hear

MAX SHACHTMAN

ARNE SWABECK

Thursday, OCTOBER 20, 1932 8 P. M.
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126 East 16 Street

The Regular Open Forum Season in New York Begins on Friday, October 28, 1932

"THE NEW MINERS' REVOLT"

Speaker:

JAMES P. CANNON

Auspices: New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

Lytton Report Aims at Partitioning China Among the Imperialist Bandit Powers

Hardly a day goes by without some report or other regarding engagements between Chinese and Japanese troops in Manchuria. Japan, by the ruthless extermination of all opposition, is attempting to consolidate its position in the territory that is predominantly Chinese and extremely hostile to the Japanese domination. Putting up a stiff resistance, the Chinese are nevertheless being slowly subjugated.

It was to investigate the present conditions in Manchuria, and to suggest action, that the Lytton commission was created by the League of Nations some time ago. On October 2 the lengthy and voluminous report was made public. The commission being dominated by America and Great Britain, the content of the report could very easily have been predicted. As a matter of fact, a Washington dispatch to the New York Times of October 3 emphasizes the similarity between the proposals made by the United States in the past, and those of the Lytton report.

The report does not however devote itself only to the question of Japan and the invasion of Manchuria. One even gets the feeling that the above questions sort of occupy a secondary position. Throughout the entire report the danger and menace of Communism is stressed. The spread of the Communist movement in China represents a real and live danger to the bourgeoisie, and they mine no words in expressing their opinion on the subject. "There is a new menace, which had its origin in China in 1921—Communism." Thus reads the report. "In that country," the report continues, "Communism has become an actual rival of the National government." Created to investigate the conditions attending the slaughter of many hundreds of thousands of Chinese workers and peasants by the Japanese marines, the commission finds

instead the existence of a strong Communist movement.

The report does not stop there; it continues by suggesting a solution—"international cooperation." The American and British imperialists seeing in Japan a future ally in suppressing Communism, and recognizing their own technique in Japan's invasion of Manchuria are unable to attack too strongly the actions of their rival. But the hand of the United States is obvious even in the mild attack that is leveled against Japan. We thus find actual recognition of the fact that the government of Manchukuo (Henry Pu Yi) was forced on the Manchurian people against their will, by the Japanese, and would collapse should the Japanese troops be withdrawn. Does the report therefore demand the unconditional withdrawal of the Japanese bluejackets? Hardly. It points to the need for a force capable of coping with the so called main danger—Communism, and suggests the creation of an international police force to oppose this danger. The report stresses the importance of law and order to the safety of capital already invested, and that to be invested in the future. It recognizes that should Japan be given a free hand to establish its own "law and order", it would mean the virtual exclusion of the other imperialists from the enormous Manchurian market. The opposing imperialists are thus forced to demand "international cooperation" and the creation of an "international constabulary", as opposed to the Japanese marines only.

In discussing the question of who started the war (Sino-Japanese) a thousand and one minor incidents are stressed. Particular emphasis is given to the killing of one Nakamura, a Japanese captain. The by now universally accepted fact that the complete plans and maneuvers

(Continued on page 4)

IN THE ELECTIONS

'Labor' or C.P. Ticket?

The Lovestoneites Propose a Reformist 'United Labor' Slate

Political elections at this stage of development in the United States offer, from our point of view, opportunities for revolutionary propaganda and activities. It is because of this that they can be utilized to advance the working class political level. More than this we should therefore not expect from them.

Elections do not decide the important issues of the working class which we approach in the sense of being essentially issues of power. That is, as the issue of which class shall hold power in society. There is no other way to approach it.

But elections can become stepping stones for working class advance only when they are correctly utilized to help make clear the existing class relationships. The collisions of the conflicting

interests between capitalism and the workers are manifested daily in the shop, in the unions, in demonstrations and on the picket lines. There the economic basis is established. In the elections they can become the focusing points around which the workers can express their interest from a class point of view and to that extent further prepare themselves for the struggle for power.

Reformist or Revolutionary Objective?

In that particular objective the essential difference between a reformist and a revolutionary policy becomes apparent. The reformist policy can never educate the workers to the concept of power, nor can it serve to advance them in that direction because that is not at all its

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Banquet Saturday to Celebrate New Headquarters and School Opening

One more forward step is being realized by the Left Opposition. Saturday, October 15, we move into our new headquarters at 126 East 16 St., where the International Workers School will be located.

Essentially the International Workers School is a part of the general program of the League, heading toward becoming ever more of a factor of active intervention in the class struggle. For this it is to be a training school. There are,

for the first part of the winter semester, four courses scheduled. They run as follows:

The History of the American Communist Movement. Instructor James P. Cannon.

The State and Revolution. Instructor Jack Weber.

The History of the Comintern. Instructor Max Shachtman.

The Theoretical System of Marxism. Instructor Hugo Oehler.

Right Wing Wins at Gillespie Mine Workers Conference

Miners Militant but Small Left Wing Fails to Stop \$5.00 Day Scale Adoption

GILLESPIE, ILL.—

The first convention of the Progressive Miners of America has ended with the acceptance of the Walker-Lewis five dollar wage scale.

This is the result of the political confusion existing amongst the leadership, and the lack of an organized Left wing, which can be placed on the heads of our official Communist party. The militancy of the rank and file still exists. They raise no cry of betrayal or sell-out, and in all probability will not cede the existing temporary leadership at the coming elections in December of this year. They will replace the present leadership with militant fighters, who will more amply mirror the degree of militancy displayed by the miners since the fight began.

An indefiniteness and overcautiousness, due to the Red-baiting campaign carried on by the bosses and reactionaries, were high-water marks during the proceedings. This was evidenced by the advice of Claude Pearcey, temporary president, to the delegates—"because of radicals who are trying to cause dissension in our ranks, and whose only aim is to smash the union". This point was taken up by Joe Pickel of Beul, who spoke of brotherly love and an "equitable share" in the products of labor. The Militant in former issues has had brief sketches of the other leaders.

The miners, disliking the acceptance of the new wage scale, are mighty glad to have rid themselves of the sterile bureaucracy created in the old U. M. W. A. by John L. Lewis and John H. Walker. The miners are jubilant that no president of the P. M. A. can hold office more than two years, and feel that the agreements entered into are only preparatory for a counter-offensive in the near future. Toward that end, the militant Left wing workers are at the moment preparing.

The preamble adopted, while not conforming in its entirety to the class character of society, demands that the workers receive the "full social value of their product." A motion by Gerry Allard, of West Frankfort, for a National Miners' Unity Convention, to be held on January 15, was defeated and an amendment carried which left the date to the discretion of the executive board.

The N. M. U. made a plea for unity, which was turned down on the pretext that the N. M. U. never won any battles. This, the leadership thought, was enough to prevent unification, forgetting the great battles fought by the N. M. U. in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Kentucky, which, if not for the incorrect policies of the leadership, would have made the birth of the P. M. A. unnecessary. The P. M. A. made another mistake at its first convention by not joining hands in unity with the N. M. U. and putting all groups to the test of sincerity.

Frank Borah, secretary of the N. M. U., in a written appeal for unity said, "It is only because we feel that we are duty-bound to do everything in our power to help you the Illinois miners, to win your fight, on the outcome of which depends much of the future of the miners throughout the country. And because of this we feel we have the right and even the duty, to freely and in a comradely spirit discuss your and our problems. We feel that we have for many years been carrying on a fight similar to yours, and must impart to you our experiences. Though we are separated into two different organizations, thanks to the strike-breaking policy of Lewis, who sold out the miners in the 1927-1928 strike we feel we are one, and must come closer together. The rank and file of the miners' union must be united for a common struggle."

The voice of the Left Opposition, though feeble, was the only consistent organized fighter for a Left wing policy throughout the convention. We proposed a united front to the party on this score, and while not being called "counter-revolutionaries" the proposal for unity was rejected.

More than 300 Militants were placed in the hands of the delegates. Our policies were discussed by the assembled miners and met with a favorable reception. The Militant will succeed in advancing Communism in the Illinois coal-fields.

—CARMODY.

Some Lessons of the Gillespie Conference

GILLESPIE, ILL.—

The first convention of the Progressive Miners of America has just ended. It was a rank and file gathering with a Noah's ark of political tendencies. The convention adopted a constitution and program which is far in advance of its temporary official leadership. Altho there was quite a number of delegates who were formerly members of the National Miners Union, the convention refused to seat the National Miners Union delegates of six. It would be wrong to create the impression that the refusal to seat the N. M. U. delegation was a victory for reaction. The reason for not seating the N. M. U. delegation expressed itself mostly against the blundering tactics and false policies pursued by the Stalinized Communist Party in its work in the Illinois coal fields.

That the convention was imbued with some internationalism is proven with the adoption of the resolution declaring itself in solidarity with the first workers republic and calling for recognition of the Soviet Union and the establishment of large scale credits to the Soviet Union.

It adopted a preamble which vaguely recognizes the class-struggle and a clause in the constitution which provides that officials can only hold two terms as officials and then must go back into the ranks; that salaries of the officials can not be over \$1,700 a year and quite a few other improvements over the old United Mine Workers constitution which will give more power to the rank and file of the union.

The wage-scale adopted was the same that the Lewis-Walker machine tried to put over the miners of Illinois. This was a terrible step backward. The reason for this wage-scale being adopted, it was claimed by some of the leaders, was that the striking coal-miners in the Peoria and

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LEON TROTSKY

The Peasant War in China

The Standpoint of the Red Proletariat in the Present Situation

Dear Comrades,

Following a considerable lapse, we received your letter of June 15. There is no need of stating how much we were overjoyed by the revival and the renaissance of the Chinese Left Opposition after the most ferocious police persecutions it had endured. Insofar as one may judge from here, handicapped as we are by extreme lack of information, the position expressed in your letter corresponds to ours.

The irreconcilable attitude to the vulgar democratic view taken by the Stalinists towards the peasant movement has, of course, nothing in common with a careless or a passive attitude to the peasant movement itself. The Manifesto of the International Left Opposition

The Progressive Miners constitutional convention, just concluded at Gillespie, Ill., had before it, as its main job, the matter of laying a militant union foundation. Second in order came the question of the wage scale. The break with the decrepit Lewis-Walker clique, which led to the formation of the Progressive Miners of America, ostensibly occurred over the issue of the betrayal by the former of the basic \$5.10 a day wage scale. In reality, of course, it had a far more deep going cause. Nevertheless the question of the wage scale, the manner in which it found its "solution" at the convention and the consequences which will flow from it in the future, are of real importance.

It is in respect to this that we can say confidently that the correctness of the fight made by the delegates of the Left wing, by Allard, Fraser, Sted and others against a retreat will be more than vindicated in the future. The convention, however, concluded by accepting the reduction to the \$5.00 a day scale, recorded in a vote of 98 to 47.

But even in this retreat the true revolutionists and the proven militants in the field will know their duty. Their sympathy, their warmest and unstinted support, their every ounce of energy and ability of sacrifice as well as their resources of strength extends to and belongs to the cause of the new union. That we can affirm even with the knowledge that the future course of the union cannot yet be foreseen. We know today that it is a union created by the will and determination of the rank and file to have forever done with the corruptionists, fakery, grafters and capitalist agents of the bygone days. They have taken measures to draft their constitution so as to give the utmost possible guarantee against a repetition. It is a union belonging to the miners and it can become the harbinger of a real militant national coal diggers union.

The Left Wing Position

The Progressive Miners of America now constitutes a serious challenge to the rule of corruption and servility to the operators of the Lewis-Walker combine. That is its great capital which it is duty-bound to preserve. But it will be faced with a serious combat to survive, to strengthen itself and to grow.

It is from this point of view that the fight made by the Left wing against a wage cut retreat assumes enormous significance. There was serious substance to the arguments made by Alex Fraser, showing that under the \$5.10 wage scale the Illinois operators had gained 9.4 percent in coal markets; that the operators could afford to pay the \$6.10 was demonstrated by more than 100 independent mines signed up on the above scale with the P. M. A. prior to Oct. 3; that it was not the P. M. A. but the Belleville operators who had called for the scale conference which showed their desperate circumstances and that a definite attitude and an intensive drive would also force Peabody to his knees.

But the Left wing did not carry its point and it would be wrong to argue

(Continued on page 2)

Letters from Militants

The Strike of the Embroiderers

NEW YORK—

On Tuesday, October 4th at 4 P. M., Local 66 of the ILGWU called a general strike of the industry.

At the meeting in Bryant Hall, McGrady of the A. F. of L. spoke to the strikers in flowery words of how he will stand at the head of the strike and will lead us on to victory. He told of how he fought side by side with us in the strike that was carried on by this local last March.

What was the purpose of this strike? Did you hear in the strike hall talk of the exploitation of the workers? Did they talk about the organizing of the open shops? Did they talk about the forty-hour week which was promised to the workers long ago? No! There were a few words spoken about getting back pay from the bosses who broke their agreement on Sept. 1 by not giving their employees, who were working below the minimum wage scale, a ten per cent increase in wages. There were a few words spoken about time and a half that the bosses were supposed to give workers for overtime.

The meeting was divided into three sections, and sent to three different strike halls. When we came to the hall that we were assigned to we were surprised to see our bosses there before us. Our leaders, Leon Labbot, Quickstein and Hessel, then got up and told us that a meeting between the union officials and the bosses will take place that evening in the Hotel New Yorker, to come to an agreement on the strike. Meanwhile, we are to elect a committee from our shop to go to the hotel. After these small committees were elected from the various shops a member of the executive board came over to discuss with the committee what was to be taken up. The executive board member had a list of the workers that were working in the shop and they carried the back dues. Each member of the shop owed from \$5.00 to \$45.00. The wanted to straighten out the lists and embezzlers who are the most skilled and the longest organized branch of the made owed the very large sums. These workers haven't had a full week since March. The workers were not asked when they would or could pay up. The union simmered down to the following: You cannot (speaking direct to the boss) get the workers back in your shops unless you pay their dues for them. We will leave it to you (bosses) as to how to collect the money from your workers.

Many bosses paid the union as high as \$500, that night and in the morning the workers reported back to work. The bosses deducted the money from the workers' pay. Some workers owed \$18 a week all they earned was \$18 a week the bosses kept the whole pay. Other bosses were kinder, they deducted only one-third of the amount due the union and will deduct the rest in the following weeks.

This was a fake strike of the first water. Not many union officials have the workers so well hoodwinked that they can do a thing like that without being afraid. This was a united front of the union officials and the bosses to make the workers pay their dues. Many of the workers have not worked one single day since the beginning of June and that was their first week or so back on the job. Most of the workers could ill afford to have sums deducted from their pay.

Workers, you must organize yourselves so that things like this should not be repeated. We must have a real union that is willing to fight for our demands and not one that will unite with the bosses, get drunk with them and then

come to us with pretty stories. Organize so that you will be able to get your minimum wage scale, so that you will have a forty-hour week and that you will get time and a half for overtime when there is work.

—STITCHER.

Elections in Pocketbook Makers Union

NEW YORK—

Eight months ago the discredited Walrusy-Shiplacoff gang with all kinds of fake promises during an election campaign succeeded again in fooling the workers, and elected a majority of the administration in the Pocketbook Workers Union. The workers have paid the price and will pay if they do not defeat the traitors in the coming election that will take place Saturday, October 15.

The present "Fraternal Club" administration slogan during the campaign was, first, a job to every worker; second, they will bring back the out of town shops; third, a vigorous leadership is needed to deal with employers and negotiate a new agreement whereby the workers will get back the best conditions, which their predecessors gave to the employers without a struggle.

As soon as the "Fraternal Club" administration took office the workers convinced themselves that not only did they not fulfill one of their promises, but they brought matters to a situation where conditions became deplorable since they took office.

Now let us analyze and see what are the achievements of the S. P. gang on the "Fraternal Club" administration in the Pocketbook Workers Union for the last eight months. The misleaders signed a treacherous agreement last June with the employers. They saved they had a victory over the employers; only once a year 5 percent reorganization will take place instead of twice a year, they claimed.

What actually happened was this: in the agreement there is a clause that only 5 percent of reorganization will take place once a year, but the rank and file pointed out at the meetings that the employers will have a right of readjustment which is far more dangerous than reorganization. This, our leaders said, is untrue, and Communist propaganda. It did not take long and the workers convinced themselves. They also brought a gang to the meeting and terrorized the workers. That's how they put over the agreement.

The Chuck Bag Company have thrown out 50 or 60 workers from their shops. Mexik's shops have thrown out the same amount, and many other employers have done likewise. Wages under the present administration were reduced to about fifty percent. The 40 hour week which was so vital to introduce in the pocketbook industry in order to relieve some what the unemployment situation was given up without a fight.

The "Fraternal Club" administration have promised to bring back the out of town shops and give every worker a job. These promises they kept—more or less. The workers in New York under the present administration work as cheap as the out of town workers do. About giving every worker a job—well, they give jobs to their own clique, but not to workers who are idle for a year or two.

In New York there are about 200 non-union shops in the pocketbook industry. The rank and file always demanded an organization campaign in order to organize the open shops, which undermine the conditions of the workers; but it always fell on deaf ears. Finally the Joint Council decided to start an organization

campaign. Who was the head of the organization campaign? Abe Fine, who scabbed in the Binen shop when the workers were on strike. The administration claims they organized 48 shops, which I doubt. The significant thing is that in not one of these shops the workers gained any better conditions, with the exception that they will have to pay dues and taxes. We can imagine what workers think of such unions. Let our misleaders deny it.

Another thing—we have an unemployment insurance fund; for the last five months not a cent was paid out to the workers. The only one who is making a living from the fund is the S. P. funder, Dr. Hendlin, and his wife. He still gets \$75 dollars a week and his wife \$35. Recently the trustees decided only workers who have books from 1932 will be entitled to unemployment insurance, although the majority of the trustees are the labor group. Which means that workers who are unemployed for a year or two will be deprived of unemployment insurance—and who is to get unemployment insurance?—the clique, of course! The unemployed workers should be deprived and driven out from the industry altogether.

The "Fraternal Club" administration's accomplishments are wage-cuts, reorganization, readjustments, a reign of terror to keep the workers in submission, and

above all to work with the employers, hand in hand against the interests of the workers. This is the "Fraternal Club" administration's achievements since they are in power.

On the other hand the rank and file carried on struggle against wage-cuts, against reorganizations, readjustments, etc. The rank and file always fought for a militant policy in the union. Therefore every worker should vote a straight rank and file ticket and not let themselves be terrorized by the "Fraternal Club" gangsters. Workers, be on guard! Do not let yourself be misled by the "Fraternal Club" fake progressives or the L. W. society. They are all united for the purpose of defeating the rank and file who fought and will continue to fight for a militant union for the interests of the workers, not the interests of cliques and the bosses.

Pocketbook workers! A vote for the rank and file is a vote against wage cuts, reorganization, readjustments, against terror, against gunmen, and for the union in the interests of the workers. Vote a rank and file ticket. These are the rank and file candidates: for manager, H. Gutter; secretary-treasurer, U. Kassman; business agent, Ch. Shapiro; organizer, C. Mehlman; recording secretary, M. Lyons; chairman, M. Drevnowitz.

—N. DAVIS.

Right Wing Wins at Gillespie

(Continued from page 1)

that the convention was not made up of delegates at least a majority of whom were directly from the pits and knew the question involved. Undoubtedly even the majority of those 98 who voted for the retreat were rank and file working miners. The convention was an affair mainly observing the rules of working class democracy. We gather that it particularly felt the weight of a situation essentially created by the traitorous action of the Lewis-Walker sell-out. But there were two aspects to the question which influenced the convention decision, deserving some special attention.

The Opportunists Favor Retreat
First of all, the opportunistic elements within the leadership, who glaringly showed their timidity and lack of moral courage were essentially animated by fear of courting the displeasure of capitalist society. Their cry was: "We must not soil our hands with the Reds". The logic of their position drew the conclusion to avoid any sharpening of the struggle by any means. Their arguments showed clearly that they did not even approach this question from the point of a temporary retreat compelled by a situation over which they had no control and to be overcome again by a renewed and strengthened offensive under more favorable conditions. No, their position was rather the one of admitting defeat in advance for the sake of collaboration with the enemy at all costs, and to remain respectable in his estimation.

Such was the essential character of the position taken by Pearcey, Keck Jones, Pick, Humphries and others. By this they were marking out further their Rightward course. They were speaking to a young movement, as yet inexperienced in conducting its own union, and the false position carried its weight in influencing the decision for a retreat. There should be little doubt, however, that the miners in general will look upon it only as a temporary one and turn their attention toward speedy preparations for a new offensive to regain what has been lost.

But there was another factor of at least equal importance playing its part in the decision. It was expressed in the numerical weakness of the Left wing. Those among the delegates in agreement with the position we have advocated, had to make the fight alone. The com-

rades of the Left Opposition proposed to the leaders of the official party, who were on the spot, a united front for the Left wing program of militant unionism, including a fight against proposals to accept a wage cut retreat. The party leaders refused this offer. They thus bear the responsibility for the weakening of the Left wing.

To the Right or to the Left—Which?

The new union is now starting out with a handicap. Only fools would contend that it cannot be overcome, or that what is lost cannot be regained. But the success of this depends entirely upon the course the new union will steer in the future. So long as the Lewis-Walker machine will be able to maintain the remnants of the U. M. W. A. intact and bolstered up by the favors of the Peabody company, so long will the new union be in a position of a rival union. There should in that very position be many factors at work which will press it in a Leftward direction. As far as the objective conditions are concerned such is undoubtedly the case, but the union course is not decided by the objective conditions alone. Much depends upon the union leadership. And it is time to say with all possible emphasis that the degree to which the opportunistic elements are permitted to hold sway in the leadership to that degree the danger of a backward direction increases. A sentiment, as expressed by them today, for collaboration with the operators rather than struggle will tomorrow become a sentiment for rapprochement and collaboration with the Lewis-Walker clique as well.

It is in this respect particularly that the miners must watch themselves on the road of retreat which they have chosen. With a militant union leadership, one step backward, which sometimes may become unavoidable, will mean only preparation to gain two steps forward later. Given this condition the Progressive Miners of America will be able to perform its duty. But a militant leadership is still to be created and the experiences which will inevitably flow from this retreat will help the rank and file miners in making their selections.

—A. S.

Shachtman in Boston

Two lectures will be delivered in Boston and vicinity by Max Shachtman, editor of the Militant, under the auspices of the Boston branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). The first lecture on "Communism or Fascism in Germany?", analyzing all the factors and parties in the present situation in that country, will be held at Otisfield Hall, corner of Blue Hill Ave., and Otisfield Street, Roxbury, Mass., on Friday, October 21, 1932, 8 P. M. Admission to the hall will be fifteen cents.

The second lecture, on the same topic, will be held in Lynn, Mass., 235 Summer Street. Admission to the Lynn meeting is free to all, and a silver collection will be taken to defray the expenses.

All workers interested in the burning problems created by the German situation today are cordially invited to attend.

LITERATURE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

The reading matter required and suggested for the courses offered by the International Workers School can be had from Pioneer Publishers. List and prices will be supplied on request.

This applies not only to students locally, but to out-of-town students as well. The school is preparing correspondence courses. The necessary texts will be indicated in the outlines and most probably will be unavailable in smaller cities and towns. This is where we come in.

For some time now we have been supplying the "Communist Manifesto" and other Marxian works to our propagandists in the field. We are making these works staple items in our stock.

ATTACK IN UNION SQUARE

NEW YORK.—It has been brought to my attention that certain dubious characters, who pose as members of the Communist party

MILITANT SUB DRIVE

Our Club Plan

WANTED—\$1.00

Comrade Hamilton of Chicago sent us a dollar with the following words: "This being the notable day of the P. M. A. convention in Gillespie, I feel moved to celebrate by sending you the sum of a dollar to put a couple of miners on the list as per your liberal offer in the current Militant. I regret that this contribution is no larger but, as you have, no doubt heard, the spirit is what counts anyway. Chiefly I am writing to express my extreme gratification at the excellence of the material on the miners in the current, special miners' edition. Such work justifies the claim of the Left Opposition to be the expression of the true Marxian line, and should make every member of the L. O. enthusiastic all the more for his affiliation with this group."

Now who will watch this spirit and donation so we can make up a complete club plan of four subs for two dollars? Who will send us another dollar for this purpose?

WANTED—\$2.00

Who is going to give the snowball another push on its way? Who will send us two dollars to start four more subs rolling on their way to the mine fields? In New York we have seen a number of comrades with their club plan blanks half filled out, looking for workers to sign up in the blank spaces. They have promised to report in a day or two. We dropped them a hint about the mine field sub idea and they rushed off hot foot. Watch next week's issue.

GOOD NEWS

Just as the issue was about to be closed the postman brought in some of the best news we have seen in a long time. Here it is, comrade Ruby of the Chicago Friends of the Militant Club reporting: "At the last meeting of the Friends of the Militant Club we collected the following sums: donations for the Militant—\$2.50; for four new six month subs on the new club plan—\$2; one new six month sub at the old rate and one six months renewal."

And listen to this from comrade Vom-

vas in Pittsburgh: "Enclosed you will find \$2. for four subs for the miners. The subs were given by Nick Leperis—\$1; L. Fotinos—\$.50; and a worker—\$.50" Roy! It's not going to be a snowball rolling downhill, but an avalanche. Come on. Who's Next?

MILITANT BUILDERS

With our plan beginning to hit on all six cylinders we are now able, for the first time, to give a standing of the staff.

H. A.	\$2
P. Vomvas	2
Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	2
J. Hamilton	1

Keep your eye on the Chicago Friends of the Militant Club. We'll tell you all about it in the next issue or so. Here's the record by cities.

Chicago	\$5
Pittsburgh	2

How about it New York, Minneapolis, Philadelphia and the other hives of Left Opposition activity? Are you going to take a licking lying down? Or are you going to stand up and fight?

JUBILEE ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

As the Militant announces elsewhere we have made a change in plan for the Jubilee Anniversary Issue. Instead of devoting the issue of November 12 to this celebration we are moving it up to the issue of November 5 and combining it with a celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of the October revolution.

We are going to put out an 8-page issue. It will carry documents on the Russian revolution never before published in the English language. As previously announced we expect to carry greetings from comrade Trotsky and our brother sections. We will also carry a page of greetings from our comrades, sympathizers, friends, and workers organizations. The premium we offered to the Militant Builder who stands highest at that time, "The Proletarian Revolution in Russia" by Lenin and Trotsky still holds good. But as one week has been lopped off the time, get busy. Use the blanks below for subs and greetings.

MILITANT BUILDERS CLUB PLAN BLANK

A \$1 HALF YEAR SUB OF 26 ISSUES for 50c in CLUBS of FOUR or MORE. THE MILITANT, 84 E. 10th Street, New York City.

Enclosed find \$2 for which send the MILITANT for 26 weeks to the following:

NAMES	ADDRESSES	CITY	STATE

MILITANT BUILDER Address
City State
Help Circulate a Marxian Paper for Class Conscious Workers

A Double Anniversary

After the Paris Commune, 1905. After 1905, 1917, the March days, the July days and finally November 7, the victory of the workers supported by the peasants, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks at whose head stood Lenin and Trotsky.

Intervention, counter-revolution, civil war, the blockade, famine. But the aroused and victorious masses following the policies of Bolshevism hammered out by Lenin and Trotsky, fought their way through to a second victory against the imperialist brigands and their brothers at home.

The dark days of Lenin's sickness, the mole-like work of the disloyal Stalin in gathering into his hands the apparatus of the party, the campaign against Trotsky; finally the birth of the Opposition.

The fight for the policies of Lenin against the revisionism of Stalin and the Rights. The ultra-Left zig-zag, the capitulations, the banner of the Left Opposition carried into the prison camps, into exile—throughout the Comintern.

In the United States a handful of comrades, three generals without an army, raised their voices for the Left Opposition. They founded the Communist League of America (Opposition). They issued the Militant as the clarion of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism against the American and International Stalinist regime.

The publication of The Militant is a direct continuation of the fight for Bolshevism. It is an extension of the Bolshevik tradition. It floats the banner of the great traditions of revolutionary internationalism.

For four years it has raised its voice, loudly and consistently for these ideas. It has stung the Stalinist leadership of the party and the Comintern with its

THE MILITANT
84 EAST 10th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Enclosed find for which please enter my greeting in the Jubilee Anniversary issue, November 12, 1932.

Name Address
City State

and circulate in and about Union Square, where thousands of workers congregate daily, try to incite to riots by picking first on the issue of "Trotskyism" and gradually took the discussion into a physical fight.

Last Saturday night one of our comrades was attacked and mauled about by a bunch of such hoodlums, and only the interference of some workers who happened to be around prevented a more serious clash. Sunday, one of our sympathizers was threatened.

Marxian criticism of their opportunist policies and blunders. It has put forward the policies of the League concretely in opposition to the caricature of Marxism that pass for policies and programs in the Stalinist Comintern today.

November 15 will be the fourth anniversary of the appearance of the Militant. It comes close to the 7th of November, the fifteenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Both days are ours. What more fitting than a joint celebration? We have decided to put out the November 5 issue, which falls closest to the November, as a joint anniversary number of the fifteenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution and as the fourth year of the Militant.

It will be an 8-page issue. We will print historic documents of the Russian Revolution never before published in the English language. The issue will carry other appropriate material on the two great events.

The back page will be a page of greetings from comrades, sympathizers, friends, and workers' organizations. If you want to greet the Militant make use of the blank below. The rate for single names is 25 cents. The rate for a one-inch one-column wide greeting is \$1; for a two-inch, one-column wide greeting \$1.75; for a five-inch, one-column wide greeting—\$3.00. The rate for two-column widths is double the other rates.

This issue marks a significant day in the history of the League. It should be distributed and sold widely. We want our comrades and friends to help us in this sale by ordering bundles now, in advance. The rate is three cents a copy. Orders must be accompanied by remittance in full. Use this blank:

NAME ADDRESS
CITY STATE

We warn all class conscious workers and Communists to refuse to be provoked by such provocateurs and clear away from them. We must not by any means give an "excuse" to the police to interfere and attack workers in the Square. Instead, we must unite our forces, expose the capitalist tools, who try to bring about confusion amongst the masses by picking on "Trotskyism", and strengthen our forces thereby to be able to fight more efficiently against the whole capitalist system.

—P.

'United Labor' or Communist Ticket?

(Continued from page 1)

objective. It is definitely circumscribed by the limits of the existing capitalist society and conforms to the rules of the capitalist state. It cannot step beyond these limits because that would lead to a conflict with the state power and lead to revolutionary conclusions, which is something the social reformists would never permit. The logic of the class struggle, however, presses inexorably beyond these limitations and the social reformists, fearing the revolutionary conclusions, betray the interests of the working class and give up even the struggle for reforms.

What is the Right Wing Position?

The revolutionary policy, on the other hand, does not at all reject the struggle for necessary reforms. On the contrary, considering reforms as by-products of the revolutionary struggle, it takes the every-day needs of the working class as the basis of its immediate demands. But it sets for itself the objective of change in the class relationships, the objective of replacing the capitalist power with the working class power, the objective of revolution. Only when this is made clear in political elections by the revolutionary party, will it fully perform its duty and only on that basis can it fully justify its participation in them.

It should follow from this, that the Communist party in a political election is also duty bound to appear before the working class directly under its own banner, planted solidly upon a revolutionary platform. With this, the Right wing Lovestone group is in total disagreement. True to its opportunist position in every respect, this group proposes a "united labor ticket" for the New York majority elections. The fact that it is advocated for New York should not

deceive anybody for if it is correct for that city there should be no particular reason for its being wrong elsewhere.

In the Workers Age of September 24, a leading editorial, in addition to waxing extremely indignant at the "tin box" corruption of Tammany Hall and in the City Hall, gives precisely such advice. To make sure of no misinterpretation, we quote directly from this editorial:

"The job of the labor movement in this situation is clear: to unite all its forces and all its organizations in support of a UNITED LABOR TICKET (emphasis in original), standing foursquare for the interests of labor and determined and able to make a clean sweep of the whole dirty mess."

Which labor movement is here referred to? Perhaps the trade unions are taken into account. Be that as it may, there need be no doubt that the editorial aims at the Socialist party and the Communist party as both are mentioned in this connection—a united election ticket of the reformist party and the revolutionary party. Only from a politically degenerated group could such a proposal emanate, despite its attempt at still covering itself with the name of the Communists.

A United Front or a Reformist Sham?

We have often in these columns commented upon and emphasized the necessity of a working class united front for specific and limited objectives of struggle. We have important historical experiences of working class unity of action in the sense of revolutionary and reformist organizations or parties joining forces to attain specific and limited aims upon which members of both were in accord and which were of general interest to the broad mass movement. The threatening Fascist menace in Germany still demands the united front of the

Communists, the social democrats and the trade unions to defeat that menace. A united front in this country for the struggle for freedom of political prisoners is a vital necessity. A united front of the Communist forces, the socialist forces and the trade unions in the struggle for the immediate needs of the unemployed would be entirely correct, and help to put the social reformists as well as the reactionary leaders of the trade unions to the test on their professed claim of favoring actual relief measures from capitalist society. But political elections are an entirely different matter. None of these issues is decided by elections. They are decided only by actual struggle.

Where is the common point of interest between the two parties in an election? To propagandize and to rally the workers for the attainment of reforms or for the working class revolutionary objectives? To win expression of support for the candidate voicing the reformist program or for the candidate voicing the aspirations of the revolutionary program? To educate the working class in an election campaign, to obtain reforms under capitalism or to educate to the concept of the struggle for power? Obviously there can be no point of common interest between the two.

Among the brethren of the various reformist stripes there would be no obstacles in the road to unity in elections. Their objectives in essence coincide. The Lovestone group should therefore have confined its proposal to that camp where they could find full harmony. Their group would only complete the circle, that is, with the exception of the workers within it who still see the revolutionary objectives, who will separate from it and march with the revolutionary sections.

—A. S.

The Power Trust and the Elections

Without electricity modern capitalism would not be writing history in its present form. Modern capitalism rests upon economic relations which have been accelerated, and the exploitation heightened by the use and control of electric power. Electric power grips the entire modern industrial structure. The electrification of the capitalist tools of production has not been completed and will not be completed under capitalism, but in America there are still prospects for forward steps in this line by the capitalist class.

Problem of Power Control

The control of power becomes a burning problem of the ruling class, not only between imperialist nations but also between sections of the capitalist class within the nation. The control of electric power, like other important capitalist industries has evolved and now confronts the "people" as the Power Trust. It is an octopus of modern capitalism, more powerful in control of life than many other capitalist trusts and more menacing to the "people"—say those out of office to those in it.

The capitalist, private-owned power utilities are centralized into about a dozen gigantic holding companies. These power combines are "regulated" by State Utilities Commissions, but like the Sherman Anti-Trust Act or the Interstate Commerce Commission they are of no value to the "people" but only cloaks for further concentration of industries.

The State Utilities Commissions have, without a doubt proven bankrupt in safeguarding rates for the consumers or protecting the small investors. No wonder the small investors, the middle class, have their representatives in Congress clamoring for revenge. No wonder they want to make "Power" an issue in this election campaign.

The Federal Trade Commission, like all government commissions have conducted several costly investigations of the Power Trust, and as in all other investigations "abuses" and "startling" information have been unearthed—but nothing, except as nothing has been done about it, absolutely no political capital for the out against the ins, and as middle class campaign material.

The Federal Trade Commission unearthed many abuses liable to criminal action. For example, watered stock or arbitrarily "writing up" the valuation of the utility property, was found prevalent. This enabled the trust to increase the rate base. The books show a "fair return" and "normal rates" but facts prove (for the thousandth time) a tremendous return and robber rates.

Fictitious Capitalizations

The Federal Trade Commission found the following fictitious capitalizations:

American Gas and Electric Company	\$88,492,000
American Power and Light	74,000,000
Electric Power and Light Company	70,103,600
Miss. Electric Power and Light	10,000,000
Buffalo Niagara and Eastern	53,000,000
La. Power and Light	10,000,000

The inflation of only those investigated showed padding running into billions of dollars. This increased the consumers' bill by millions. Monopoly prices are the order of the day.

The present crisis has hit the Power Trust too. The Tri-Utility System has gone under. The Middle West Utilities, the Insull economic and political organization with ramifications in 31 states, is in the hands of receivers. They are still investigating the company.

The consumers have no voice. The trusts control part of the government and, with the other financiers and monopolists, control the whole government. The middle class investigations never complete the rounds and in the long run help let off steam, while profits continue to roll in. The shareholders have less say-so. The shareholders should, according to

"fair ethics", have a voice, but the ramifications of the holding companies, of separate classes of bonds, prevent all this. It is well known that the great mass of "unfortunate" and "discontented" investors are disfranchised and have no voice in the actual business. But these investors need not worry. Norman Thomas of the Socialist party has come to their rescue. Norris and Roosevelt are "doing" their share. So, all in all, the middle class is . . . well protected, while the monopolists move forward.

The Muscle Shoals war project has not been of service to the middle class in spite of the "public sentiment" and the fight of the middle class and farm interests.

The Power Projects

The Power Trust told Washington what to do—and orders are orders. But in spite of this the Power Trust is a good campaign issue and will be used as such. Roosevelt pulled a fast one on Hoover over the discussion of the St. Lawrence project. The St. Lawrence project for navigation and power, is vital for a whole section of the American capitalists all the way over to Chicago and the two parties of the capitalists and their reformer brothers, the socialists, know this well enough. He who serves his master on this big waterway and power project will obtain his just reward, because it has great value for American imperialism in the coming period.

The economic and political organization of the Power Trust is great. Muscle

Shoals was an early test of strength and the monopolist won. The urban and rural middle class are reorganizing for this fight in the present campaign. The four great power projects under way in one degree or the other in the United States are vital for the capitalists and the financiers; the industrialists and the middle class are endeavoring to obtain their sectional interests now. Muscle Shoals, the Hoover Dam, the St. Lawrence dam and the Columbia River dam will lay the basis for a vast electrification. It will in turn accelerate the centralization and concentration of wealth. That is the reason the forces are again testing their strength in the present election. Certain control gained now will go a long way for future domination.

The Insull Collapse

Insull is down but not out of the race. Years ago the Senate investigation proved that Samuel Insull was a campaign contributor to the Republican and Democratic parties in the Illinois fight for U. S. Senator. He gave the greater part of both campaign funds. Col. Smith accidentally happened to be chairman of the Illinois Commerce Commission which regulates utilities in the state as well as a candidate.

The fall of the Insull interests in the middle West, has transferred control directly to the other financial capitalists. The "prosecution" of the Insulls will not alter the process. The Morgan United Corporation, with assets above six hundred million, through stock ownership,

and interlocking interests, dominates the Eastern field. Three groups, the Morgans in the East, the banks which took over the Insull interests in the middle West and one in the West are utilizing the depression for further domination of the electric power.

In Montana the Power Trust and the Anaconda Copper Company struggle for power. The two control the state. Wheeler, who had the backing of Anaconda, made a heroic "middle class" fight against the Power Trust. Similar examples can be multiplied manifold. Many prominent politicians, national committeemen and state officials are officers of Power Companies. The reformers object to this. The reformer seems to think that private capitalist ownership is alright providing these same robbers keep out of politics!

The Power Trust, the holding companies, the monopolists and financiers have their sectional class interest, just like the industrialists, who need a large supply of cheap power. They have their objections to the monopolist prices as well as the middle class, urban and rural, who by all means want cheap power—and the mass of consumers who can be lined up to fight the trust. The Republicans represent this standpoint Trust's interest. The Democrats and Roosevelt are not a bit better, but have their own sectional class interests. The progressives and socialists are the champions of the middle class. They want government ownership. Only the Communist party has a program suitable for the working class. The solution of the Power Trust like other trusts is only possible through the proletarian revolution.

—HUGO OEHLEH.

Some Lessons of the Gillespie Convention

(Continued from page 1)

Belleville sections were getting impatient and would go back to work under Lewis unless something was done. There is a doubt whether this was true and even if this was true, by mass demonstrations, by mobilizing relief, by correct strategy and tactics these miners could have been strengthened. At the same time it would be necessary to continue the drive to bring the West Frankfort section out on strike and the miners of Illinois could have been able to negotiate a much better wage-scale. The yellow opportunism within the leadership is directly responsible for this present wage-cut.

The miners must learn a lesson from this experience and in the future they must take more initiative in the affairs of their new union. The miners at all times must continue a ceaseless struggle against the coal-operators and their bosses because if this is not done then more wage-reductions become natural and inevitable in circumstances like the present situation under the decaying system of capitalism. The object of the capitalist system is to maintain profits. And under the capitalist system the purpose of the coal-operators and their bosses is not to provide fuel but to make profits and the purpose of the railroads is not to transport people and commodities, but to transport gold into the pockets of the capitalists. Further the miners of Illinois have learned by the experiences in Franklin County, Taylorville, Canton and other places that in order to maintain their profits the capitalists are protected by all the forces of the state, the courts, the legislatures, and aided by the church. Only by a class-conscious organization, only by a united front of the coal-miners against the united front of the bosses can the coal-miners defeat the onslaughts of the coal-operators and their bosses.

The miners must watch closely such men as Claude Pearcy and Joe Pick, who on the floor of the convention said that, "the coal-operators are good friends of the Progressive Miners of America and that they will help to build the new union."

After all these years of struggle the

miners know that the coal-operators' interests have always been diametrically opposed to that of the miners. The whole

The Demonstration of Solidarity

After the splendid demonstration of solidarity in the face of terror and starvation, the Progressive Miners union is writing under the realization that they have been defeated in their fight against the wage-cut.

The mass demonstration in Gillespie previous to the opening of the convention was estimated to be over 5,000 strong. Then in executive and closed session on the discussion on the wage demands. Dan McGill, of Springfield moved that the \$5.00 wage-scale be accepted. The wage-reduction was strongly supported by Joe Pick, of Benoit, the reactionary Musteite who even voted and spoke against the preamble adopted by his own local union, which embodied the demand for the full social value of labor; this noted expert on economics from Brookwood voted for a minority report submitted by another pseudo-expert of industrial unionism which asked for an equitable share. This is exactly the way that the plous William Green of the A. F. of L. and his good friend John Walker put it. But militant unionists fight for all that is due labor. This winning opportunist and plous student of Brookwood, according to his conduct seems to have ignored intentionally his duty as he voted against the mandates of his local union.

The miners are not satisfied and the leaders are realizing it is not so easy to keep the confidence of the rank and file when they could have made a more strenuous effort to obtain a wage higher than the Lewis-Walker wage-scale. The coal-operators have signed so as to fill their winter contracts and next year they will demand another reduction. The Progressive Miners of America led by militant leadership could have gained a higher wage-scale than what was accepted.

—JACK AYRSHERE.

history of the coal miners of this country, is a history of struggle against the coal-operators. How can the coal-operators be a friends of the miners union when they are sitting on the back of the miners. When men like Pearcy and Pick get advice in the councils of the P. M. A. and advocate a policy of class-collaboration as they have done they are bringing rotten pus over from the old United Mine Workers Union that was inoculated and corrupted by the Lewises, Farringtons and Walkers. The new union must make a complete break with the past, and clean out from their midst all those practices of the past.

In order to accomplish this the rank and file miners must be trained to a realization of the need of militant, class-conscious industrial unity. This is the work of the Left wing within the union. There is a large sentiment through the state of Illinois for a Left wing program and this sentiment must be crystallized into an organization. There was a small group of Left wingers in the convention and they raised their voices on many progressive matters pertaining to the affairs of the new union. If the Left wing was organized their voices would have been louder and the Progressive Miners Union would have been strengthened tremendously to cope with the every-day struggles. The task of the immediate present must be the organization of the Left wing within the union for purpose of carrying out the strivings and protecting the interests of the rank and file miners.

—JOSEPH ANGELO.

THE MILITANT

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most entirely in peasant households. The exacting labor for their production goes almost totally unchanged, the peasant relying on the small sum of money paid him for this "extra" commodity to make

Raw Silk in Foreign Trade

up for the losses sustained in farming. Japan does not use her raw silk for manufacturing but exports 88% of it, by value, to the world's richest market, the U. S. The reason for this lies in the protective tariff set up by the U. S. (amounting in 1930 to about 70% ad valorem) which acts to strangle Japan's attempts to establish a silk industry. Raw silk forms 40% of the value of all exports so that when "prosperity" gave way to the world economic crisis, Japan was placed in an extremely precarious position, the burden falling most heavily on workers and peasants.

The Cotton Industry

At the present time the competition for the cotton piece goods markets among the exporting countries is at the very forefront of the imperialist struggles on the economic field. Cotton cloth is a staple in great demand in densely populated lands with little industrial development. Design and quality are of little importance in the largest markets (China, India) which buy the cheapest goods obtainable. The cost of labor is a vital part (more than 1-2) of the cost of the finished product, so that Japan, with its lower paid workers, has a great advantage over England and the U. S. in competitive markets. Thus England is in danger of being ousted from the Indian market, particularly by the Hindus boycotting British goods. Each year from 1923 to 1929 Japan exported considerably more cotton tissues and yarns to British India than did Great Britain. Similarly, in these years Japan practically controlled the Chinese market. This has had far-reaching results of such tre-

mendous significance for world economy that it is worth digressing into a short history of the cotton industry in general.

Cotton and Opium—A Study in Historic Materialism

Although known in ancient times, cotton was virtually discovered for Western Europe by the East India Company in its trade with the Orient. In the latter half of the 16th century the company bought Indian cotton piece goods for England where a large market was created. Soon the enterprising merchants decided to do their own manufacturing and they began to import raw cotton. Expert Hindu weavers were engaged to teach the English workers their art. At the same time cotton seed were carried to the new colony in Virginia (1650) and shortly this colony became a more important source of supply than India.

Mercantilism and Money

The early stages of capitalism were marked by a shortage of the money medium which was in great demand. This shortage gave rise to the mercantilist theory of a favorable balance of trade, the exports to be greater than the imports so that money would flow into a country rather than out. In its trade with the East, the India Company was under the constant necessity of shipping large sums of money out of England to pay for its purchases of spices, cotton goods, etc. This raised so loud an outcry from other English merchants that the company's charter was twice withdrawn and the export of silver coins was forbidden. The India merchants were thus forced to cast about for some means of securing gold and silver elsewhere with which to finance their trade, particularly in cotton. China appeared to be a fabulous source of wealth, with its accumulations of ages.

(To be continued)

Highlights at Gillespie

Observations at the Convention of the Illinois Miners

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—

The report I give here is based upon an incomplete convention. I was in and around the convention from Monday until Thursday afternoon, and even though the convention was not finished, I believe the next two days would not basically alter my report.

The Constitutional Convention of the Progressive Miners of America was called for one month after the preliminary, provisional convention. The events that preceded these meetings are well-known—the months-long strike, —Lewis' agreement with the operators for a slash from \$6.10 to \$5 a day in the basic wage rate, the referendum and Lewis' insolent stealing of the miners' ballots marked overwhelmingly with "No" and his amazing nerve in stating that the miners supported his wage-cut. Then came the gigantic wild-cat movement, the march upon Taylorville and the forcing of the operators and state out of the pits. Then the epochal crusade on Franklin county of 35,000 miners, the ambush and the shattering of the army but not morale of the northern and central Illinois miners. The result of all this was a resolve never to go back to the mines at \$5 a day and that Lewis had committed his last act of betrayal—the miners were going to form a rank and file controlled militant union.

The crucially important convention, which was to lay the plans for the winning of the strike, as the miners hoped, and lay the foundation of the new union, was called for Monday October 3, 1932 at Gillespie. A miner upon arriving in this little coal-mining center would have seen the city bedecked with stars and stripes as if for a convention of some Bahá'ist organization. The flag was everywhere and over a main street was a sign of "WELCOME PROGRESSIVE MINERS OF AMERICA."

Two Conflicting Currents

The flag, I believe, represented the crossing point of two antagonistic currents: the outside forces including the operators who were united with the Right wing of the convention (possibly the latter were unconscious of this) and who together wanted to psychologize the P. M. A. into becoming a class-collaborationist, anti-radical, "American" union; and travelling in an opposite direction, the militant miners, Leftward bound, who in their first steps towards radicalism unconsciously attempt to hide behind legality, and mask their developing radicalism from a possibly hostile public opinion and even themselves.

The parade of 3,000 people, in which much in evidence were 750 members of the ladies' auxiliary, was full of pep. The women, with their cheering and singing gave all to know that the female of the species was as deadly as the male—a fact which has been proven even on the picket-line. The Lewis machine never aroused this dormant section of the class. The youth are also conspicuous for their part in the movement. The parade was led by the democratic mayor of Gillespie, who is a coal miner and a delegate to the convention.

A preacher-delegate invoked the help of the celestial powers for the convention at the rap of the gavel. While a majority or even a substantial minority of the miners are not as yet militant materialists, many who were far above this application for heavenly succor arose and bowed their heads for the sake of the protective coloration that this would lend the movement. This has been explained above.

Pearcy, temporary president of the organization, gave a report on the month's term in office since the provisional convention. He raised the point of suing Franklin County for damage done the persons and property of the miners during the ambush that ended the first march on Franklin County. This is a piece of faith in the capitalist courts awe-inspiring in its conviction. More important, he discussed the loss of spirit in Franklin County which had remained at work—explainable—although Pearcy did not point this out—to the white terror there and not to the desire of the miners to scab, if such it can be termed.

Pearcy also placed forward for discussion in connection with the southern Illinois fields, the question whether sectionalism was springing up in the Illinois mine fields. The answer was to be given later in a most unexpected manner. This about summarizes his report.

A Jagged Course

There seems to be a jagged, uneven development of the movement. Sections once noted for their militancy, like Franklin County, have become passive, while regions once inert are full of vigor. The reasons for this will be discussed later. An important task will be to restrain those championing at the bit, and the urging of those behind forward for the grand united counter-blow. The evening-out of this unevenness by raising the backward elements up, will be a condition for a victory of the counter-offensive, otherwise the weight of the lagging ones will drag, hinder and defeat the more advanced.

Greetings to the convention were given by the before-described mayor of Gillespie. A movement of this scope sweeps all varieties of individuals along, who become and have become the Right wing of the movement: job-seeking ex-Lewis men who hasten to desert the sinking ship but still retain the ideas and traditions of Lewisism, and politicians and ward-healers of various sorts.

While the credentials committee deliberated, George Scherer, secretary of the West Virginia Miners' Union addressed the convention. The organization led by Keeney is typically Mustelie. Scherer told the story of the West Virginia miners, of Van Bittner's (Lewis' tool) trail of wreckage in a once pow-

erful district of the U. M. W. A., of the present bitter conditions and low wages, so low that after working a week, the miners, in order to reach an existence standard, must appeal to the Red Cross and county relief for help. Against determined opposition of all non-working class elements such as the petty business men, Scherer reported 24,000 members behind the West Virginia Miners' Union.

Politically, the movement there has reached the "height" of a labor party, formed by and based upon the miners. Scherer is a candidate for sheriff on the Labor Party ticket in one of the coal mining counties of West Virginia.

His speech was saluted with great applause. The instinct of national and international solidarity, choked to hardly glowing embers by a half decade of separate agreements and Lewisism generally has been fanned into a blaze by the present struggle. The miners' eyes glowed with enthusiasm as they rose to give Scherer a vote of thanks, to pledge his organization and the miners everywhere unity.

Later a telegram from an organization with a similar history, in Nova Scotia, was received with the same sentiments.

The credentials committee then reported. There were 199 delegates representing 29,000 men. The Central and Northern Illinois miners were represented by the old U. M. W. A. locals who had changed affiliations as a group.

Contrast this convention with a Lewis convention! There the delegates on per diem and expenses, sleeping and dining in the finest hotels, riding Pullmans, smoking expensive Havanas. Here rolling Bull Durham, freighting, walking, hitchhiking, pressing into service trucks and old Fords whose days from the junk-heap are numbered, eating in the relief kitchen and sleeping with miners' families and on floors. But here virility, power, staunchness, comradeship and courage, while there decadence, impotence, cowardice, bureaucracy, and thuggery. (To Be Continued)

International School to Open

The drive for a school and headquarters is lagging on the financial end. We have not yet succeeded in obtaining the \$300 fund needed. We have another week to complete this drive and we are urging all of the comrades and sympathizers who are going to contribute, to send in their contributions at once. Those who are contributing now and are going to put their names on the INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL sustaining fund list, should send in their pledges now.

Next Saturday night we are holding a banquet and house warming party for the opening of the new headquarters and school at 126 East 16th St. The following week our classes and forums will start. The first lessons will be:

Monday, October 17th—8 P. M.

The History of the American Communist Movement by J. P. Cannon.

Primitive Society, by J. Weber

Wednesday, October 19th—8 P. M.

Origin of the Third International by Max Shachtman

Dialectic Materialism by Hugo Oehler

Friday, October 21st—8 P. M.

Open Forum of the N. Y. Branch of the Left Opposition

Watch for announcement
Registration fee \$1.00 per course. J. Weber, Administrator, 84 East 10th St., New York City.

Zinoviev Expelled

(Continued from page 1)
the hierarchy, have been expelled with the others. How critical must Stalin's position be at the present time if he is obliged to resort to the expulsions even of such able capitalists as Zinoviev and Kamenyev! How critical the whole situation must be, how pregnant with terrific, imminent consequences, when even Zinoviev and Kamenyev dare to conduct themselves in a manner which brings about their expulsion!

But where is the party in all this? It has not been informed, it has not discussed the question, it has not decided—in a word, it has not acted like an independent proletarian party. And for cause! There is no such party in the Soviet Union—the Stalinist bureaucracy has demoralized, disoriented, strangled and crushed it! Only the disconnected and scattered component parts of Lenin's party are still in existence. These parts must be welded together again, and that can be done only by ideas of Bolshevism and its banner-bearers, the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists). Stalin is leading the October revolution into the abyss. Only the resurgent party can check his fatal course and steer the revolution back to solid terrain.

Now more than ever before must Lenin's last counsel to the party be heeded: REMOVE STALIN! Restore the party to itself and to its rights and powers! Convene a democratically elected special congress of the party, with a genuine preliminary discussion, and with the unhampered participation of L. D. Trotsky and the whole Left Opposition!

The revolution is at a critical stage, and time is precious. "Bolshevik-Leninists, forward!" —S.

JAPAN

Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat

By Jack Weber

(Continued from last issue)
Present Status of Japanese Manufacturing.
In the Western sense of the term, Japan, with all her speed of development, far from being advanced industrially, is still in the handicraft stage. Not more than 10% of her population (workers and their families) depend for their livelihood on the factory system. Small scale industry is still the rule with high rate of exception. In 1923 the largest number of factories (29,116) employed only from 5 to 9 workers; 2,283 factories employed from 100 to 500 workers; only 537 factories employed 500 workers and over. Three industries have passed entirely beyond the domestic stage and are concentrated in factories or establishments employing more than 500 workers. These are cotton spinning (95%), shipbuilding (91%) and the primary metal industries (73%), the percentages representing the number of workers in the large establishments.

The Textile Industries

The textiles industries form the line of least resistance in Japanese development. They require relatively inexpensive plants and light machinery, using little power. Above all they represent an intensive exploitation of cheap labor.

Textiles engage 50% of the factory workers; they represent some 45% of the total value of all manufactures; they absorb 28% of the total capital investment in partnerships and stock companies; they use 24% of the total power con-

sumed by industry; and finally they form 98.7% of the value of all exports. These figures do not include household production which is extremely important. Thus, silk reeling, the most important industry, employs 395,000 workers in 3,500 factories (20% of all factory workers) but there are, in addition, 62,000 peasant households engaged in reeling raw silk.

The Contract System

Just as in England before the industrial revolution, contracting is resorted to on a vast scale by wholesaler and jobber. Almost every farm household does some weaving as a necessary adjunct to the farm labor. The women, the very old and the very young are used for this work at sweatshop piece rates. Women earn about 30c per day—50c if 12 hours). This home-sweatshop system applies to a large number of industries they work steadily all day (more than besides weaving of cotton or silk. Where the articles are complicated they go into a number of separate homes, the final assembling or finishing being done by the entrepreneur in a "factory". Thus lanterns are made by 6 different families, each one specializing in some part of the work.

Nothing illustrates better the poverty of Japanese agriculture than the willingness of labor to keep alive so parasitic an industry as the production of cocoons for the manufacture of raw silk. 81% of the cost of producing raw silk is due to the cost of the cocoons, produced al-

The Road to Socialism

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC BLIND ALLEY; THE SOVIET SUCCESSES AND THE GERMAN SITUATION; ECONOMIC COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE U. S. S. R. AND GERMANY. THE UNITED FRONT WITH THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY AGAINST THE PAPEN MILITARY-BONAPARTIST DICTATORSHIP

From the Series of Articles in the Forthcoming Book 'The Only Road' :- by Leon Trotsky

KAUTSKY and Hilferding, among others, have declared more than once in recent years that they never shared the theory of the collapse of capitalism which the revisionists once ascribed to the Marxists and which the Kautskyans themselves now frequently attribute to the Communists.

The Bernsteinians outlined two perspectives: one, unreal, allegedly orthodox—"Marxian", according to which, in the long run, under the influence of the internal antagonisms of capitalism its mechanical collapse was supposed to take place; and a second, "realistic", according to which a gradual evolution from capitalism to socialism was to be accomplished. Antithetical as these two schemas may be at first glance, they are nevertheless united by a common trait: the absence of the revolutionary factor. While they disavowed the caricature of the automatic collapse of capitalism attributed to them, the Marxists demonstrated that under the influence of the sharpening class struggle, the proletariat would carry through the revolution much sooner than the objective contradictions of capitalism could lead to its automatic collapse.

This dispute was carried on as long ago as the end of the present century. It must however be acknowledged that the capitalist reality since the war, approached, in a certain respect, much closer to the Bernsteinian caricature of Marxism than anyone might ever have assumed, above all—the revisionists themselves: for they had only portrayed the spectre of the collapse in order to bring out its unreality. Nevertheless, capitalism proves in actuality to be closer to automatic decay the more delayed is the revolutionary intervention of the proletariat in the destiny of society.

The most important component part of the theory of collapse was the theory of pauperization. The Marxists contended with a certain caution that the sharpening of the social antagonisms need not necessarily be equivalent to an absolute sinking of the standard of living of the masses. In reality, it is this latter process which is experiencing its unfoldment. Wherein could the collapse of capitalism express itself more acutely than in chronic unemployment and the destruction of social insurance, that is, in the refusal of the social order to feed its own slaves?

The opportunistic brakes in the working class have proved to be powerful enough to grant the elementary forces of outlived capitalism additional decades of life. As a result, it was not the idyl of the peaceful transformation of capitalism into socialism which took place, but a state of affairs infinitely closer to social decay.

The responsibility for the present state of society, the reformists sought for a long time to shift upon the shoulders of the war. But in the first place, the war did not create the destructive tendencies of capitalism, but only brought them to the outside and accelerated them; secondly, the war would have been unable to accomplish its work of destruction without the political support of reformism; thirdly, the hopeless contradictions of capitalism are preparing new wars from various sides. Reformism will be unable to shift the historical responsibility from itself. By paralyzing and curbing the revolutionary energy of the proletariat, the international social democracy invests the process of the capitalist collapse with the blindest, unreluctant, most catastrophic and bloodiest forms.

Of course, one may speak only conditionally of a realization of the revisionist caricature of Marxism, applicable to a definite historical period. The way out of decaying capitalism, however, will be found, even if after a great delay, not upon the road of the automatic collapse but upon the revolutionary road.

The present crisis has swept aside with a final flourish of the broom the remnants of the reformist utopias. The opportunist praxis at the present time possesses no theoretical covering whatsoever. For in the long run it is pretty much a matter of indifference to Wels, Hilferding, Grzesinski and Noske as to the number of catastrophes that will still hurtle down upon the heads of the masses of the people, if only their own interests remain immune. Only, the point is that the crisis of the bourgeois régime strikes at the reformist leaders, too.

"Act, state, act!" the social democracy still cried a short while ago, as it fell back before Fascism. And the state acted: Otto Braun and Severing were kicked into the street.—Now, wrote the *VORWAERTS*, everybody must recognize the advantages of democracy over the régime of dictatorship.—Yes, democracy has substantial advantages, reflected Grzesinski while he made the acquaintance of prison from the inside.

From this experience resulted the conclusion: "It is time to proceed to socialization!" Tarnow, yesterday still a doctor of capitalism, suddenly decided to become its grave-digger. Well, where capitalism has turned the reformist ministers, police chiefs and lord lieutenants into unemployed, it has manifestly exhausted itself. Wels writes a programmatic article: The hour of socialism has struck! There only remains for Schleicher to rob the deputies of their salary and the former ministers of their pension—and Hilferding will write a study on the historic rôle of the general strike.

The "Left" turn of the social democratic leaders startsle one with its stupidity and deceitfulness. This by no means signifies, however, that the maneuver is condemned in advance to failure. This party, laden with crimes, still stands at the head of millions. It will not fall of its own accord. One must know how to overthrow it.

The Communist party will declare that the Wels-Tarnow course towards socialism is a new form of mass deception, and that will be correct. It will relate the history of the social democratic "socializations" of the last fourteen years. That will be useful. But it is insufficient: history, even the most recent, cannot substitute for active politics.

Tarnow seeks to reduce the question of the revolutionary or the reformist road to socialism to the simple question of the "tempo" of the transformations. Deeper a theoretician cannot sink. The tempo of the socialist transformations depends in reality upon the state of the productive forces of the country, its culture, the extent of the overhead imposed upon it for defense, etc. But socialist transformations, the speedy as well as the slow, are possible only if at the summits of society stands a class interested in socialism, and at the head of this class a party which does not dupe the exploited, and which is always ready to suppress the resistance of the exploiters. We must explain to the workers that precisely in that consists the régime of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Only, even this does not suffice. Once it is a question of the burning problems of the world proletariat, one should not—as the Comintern does—forget the fact of the existence of the Soviet Union. With regard to Germany, the task today does not lie in commencing a socialist construction for the first time, but in tying together Germany's productive forces, its culture, its technical and organizational genius with the socialist construction already in process in the Soviet Union.

The German Communist Party confines itself to the mere eulogizing of the Soviet successes, and in this connection commits gross and dangerous exaggerations. But it is completely incapable of linking together the socialist construction in the U. S. S. R., its enormous experiences and valuable achievements, with the tasks of the proletarian revolution in Germany. The Stalinist bureaucracy, on its part, is least of all in a position to render the German Communist Party any assistance in this highly important question: its perspectives are limited to one single country.

The incoherent and cowardly state capitalistic projects of the social democracy must be countered with a general plan for the joint socialist construction of the U. S. S. R. and Germany. Nobody demands that a detailed plan should be worked out instantly. A preliminary rough draft suffices. Foundation pillars are necessary. This plan must as speedily as possible be made the object of action by every organization of the German working class, primarily of its trade unions.

Into this action must be drawn the progressive forces among the German technicians, statisticians and economists. The discussions about planned economy so widespread in Germany, reflecting the hopelessness of German capitalism, remain purely academic, bureaucratic, lifeless-pedantic. The Communist vanguard alone is capable of drawing the treatment of the question out of the charmed circle.

The socialist construction is already in progress—to this work a bridge must be thrown over the state frontiers. Here is the first plan: study it, improve it, make it concrete! Workers, elect special planning commissions, charge them with entering into contact with the trade unions and economic organs of the Soviets. On the basis of the German trade unions, the factory councils and other labor organizations, create a central planning commission which has the job of entering into contact with the Gosplan of the U. S. S. R. Draw into this work German engineers, organizers, economists!

This is the only correct preliminary to the question of planned economy, today, in the year 1932, after fifteen years of the existence of the Soviets, after fourteen years of convulsions of the German capitalist republic.

Nothing is easier than to ridicule the social democratic bureaucracy, beginning with Wels, who has struck up a Song of Solomon to socialism. Yet, it must not be forgotten that the reformist workers have a thoroughly serious attitude to the question of socialism. One must have a serious attitude to the reformist workers. Here the problem of the united front rises up once again in its full scope.

If the social democracy sets itself the task (in words we know that!), not to save capitalism but to build up socialism, then it must seek an agreement not with the Center but with the Communists. Will the Communist party reject such an agreement? By no means. On the contrary, it will itself propose such an agreement, demand it before the masses as a redemption of the only now exhibited socialist change.

The attack of the Communist party upon the social democracy must proceed at the present time along three lines. The task of demolishing Fascism retains all its acuteness. The decisive battle of the proletariat against Fascism will signify simultaneously the collision with the Bonapartist state apparatus. This makes the general strike an indispensable fighting weapon. It must be prepared. A special general strike plan must be worked out, that is, a plan for the mobilization of the forces to carry it out. Proceeding from this plan, to unfold a mass campaign. On the basis of this campaign, to propose to the social democracy an agreement for the carrying out of the general strike under definite political conditions. Repeated and made concrete at every new stage, this proposal will lead in the process of its development to the creation of the Soviets as the highest organs of the united front.

That Papen's economic plan, which has now become law, brings the German proletariat unprecedented poverty, is recognized in words also by the leaders of the social democracy and the trade unions. In the press, they express themselves with a vehemence they have not voiced for a long time. Between their words and their deeds lies an abyss, we know that well,—but we must understand how to pin them down to their word. A system of joint measures of struggles against the régime of emergency decrees and Bonapartism must be elaborated. This struggle imposed upon the proletariat by the whole situation cannot, by its very nature,

LEON TROTSKY

Proletariat and Peasant War in China

(Continued from page 1)

expressing the hope that—under a correct policy—it will be possible to fuse the workers, and the urban movement, in general, with the peasant war; and this would constitute the beginning of the third Chinese revolution. But meanwhile this still remains only a hope and not a certainty. The most important work lies ahead.

In this letter I should like to pose only one question, which appears to me, or at any rate from the distance, to be important and acute to the greatest degree. Once again I must stress that the information at my disposal is altogether insufficient, accidental and disjointed. I would indeed welcome all amplifications and corrections.

THE PEASANT ARMY AND THE INDUSTRIAL CENTERS

The peasant movement has created its own armies, has seized upon great territories, and has placed at their head its own institutions. In the event of further successes—and all of us, of course, passionately desire such successes—the movement will become linked up with the urban and industrial centers and through that very fact it will come face to face with the working class. What will be the nature of this encounter? Is it certain that its character will be peaceable and comradely?

At first glance the question might appear to be superfluous. At the head of the peasant movement stand Communists or sympathizers. Is it not self-evident that in the event of their coming together the workers and the peasants must unanimously unite under the Communist banner?

Unfortunately the question is not at all so simple. Let me refer to the experience of Russia. During the years of the civil war the peasantry in various parts of the country created its own guerrilla detachments, that sometimes grew into whole armies. Some of these detachments considered themselves Bolshevik, and often had workers at their head. Others remained non-party and most often had at their head former non-Communist officers from among the peasantry. There also was an "anarchist" army under the command of Maklino. So long as the guerrilla armies operated in the rear of the White Guards, they served the cause of the revolution. Some of them were distinguished by exceptional heroism and trustworthiness. But within the cities these armies often came into conflict with the workers and with the local party organizations. Conflicts also arose during the encounters of the partisans with the regular Red Army, and in some instances they took on a painful and an acute character.

The grim experience of the civil war demonstrated to us the necessity for disarming peasant detachments immediately after the Red Army occupied those provinces that were purged of the White Guards. The best, the most class-conscious and disciplined elements were on the occasion absorbed into the ranks of the Red Army. But a considerable portion of the partisans strived to maintain an independent existence and often came into direct armed conflict with the Soviet authority. Such was the case with the anarchist, entirely kulak in spirit, army of Maklino. But that was not the sole instance; many peasant detachments, which fought splendidly enough against the restoration of the landlords, became transformed after victory into the weapons of counter-revolution.

PEASANTS' OUTLOOK AND THE WORKERS

The conflicts between armed peasants and workers, no matter what their origin was in each isolated instance, whether called forth by the conscious provocation of the White Guards, or by the tactlessness of the Communists or by an unfavorable concatenation of circumstances, had underlying them one and the same social soil: the difference between the class position and the bringing up of the workers and of the peasants. The worker approaches questions from the socialist standpoint; the peasant's viewpoint is petty bourgeois. The worker strives to socialize the property that is taken away from the exploiters; the peasant seeks to divide it. The worker desires to put to common use palaces and parks; whereas the peasant, insofar as he cannot divide them, leans toward burning the palaces and cutting down the parks. The worker strives to solve problems on a national scale, and in accordance with a plan; the peasant, on the other hand, approaches all problems on a local scale, and is inimical in his attitude to the plans from a center, etc., etc.

It is understood that a peasant also is capable of raising himself to the socialist viewpoint. Under a proletarian regime ever larger masses of peasants become educated and brought up in the

be conducted within the framework of democracy. A situation where Hitler possesses an army of 400,000 men, Papen-Schleicher, besides the Reichswehr, the semi-private Stahlhelm army of 200,000 men, the bourgeois democracy the half-tolerated Reichsbanner army, the Communist party the proscribed Red Front army—such a situation by itself lays here the problem of the state as a problem of power. A better revolutionary school cannot be imagined!

The Communist party must say to the working class: Schleicher is not to be overthrown by any parliamentary game. If the social democracy wants to set to work to overthrow the Bonapartist government with other means, the Communist party is ready to aid the social democracy with all its strength. At the same time, the Communists obligate themselves in advance to use no violent methods against a social democratic government insofar as the latter bases itself

A Letter to the Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists

socialist spirit. But this requires time, years, even decades. When one deals with the initial stages of the revolution, then the contradictions between proletarian socialism and mawkish individualism often take on an extremely acute character.

But it is not a fact that at the head of the Chinese Red Armies are none other than Communists? Doesn't this alone exclude the possibility of conflicts between the peasant detachments and the workers' organizations? No, that does not exclude it. The fact that individual Communists stand at the head of the peasant armies does not at all transform the social character of the latter, even if the Communists at the head bear a definite proletarian stamp. And how do matters stand in China? Among the Communist leaders of the Red detachments there are undoubtedly to be found many declassed intellectuals and semi-intellectuals who have not gone through the severe school of proletarian struggle. In the course of two or three years they live the lives of partisan commanders and commissars, they wage battles, seize territories, etc. They absorb the spirit of the environment that surrounds them. Meanwhile the majority of the rank and file Communists within the Red detachments consists, undoubtedly, of peasants, who assume the name Communist in all

The Lytton Report

(Continued from page 1)

vers for an invasion of Manchuria have been replying in the Tokyo war offices for several years, is not even considered by these august gentlemen. But then again, Japan may have to take a leading part in the attack against Communism for it to be harshly dealt with.

Interesting are the remarks on the question of the boycott. England still remembering the successful boycott against itself several years ago, and faced with one at the present time in India, and America constantly faced with the same threat, cannot bring themselves to ignore the question. In very diplomatic language, they question the right of one country to institute a boycott against another in times of peace.

The Soviet Union is mentioned twice. The report, as is to be expected, calls for an international conference, and suggests that the Soviet Union be included in the call. In the words of Pravda, they look upon the USSR as but another imperialist power. The inclusion of the Soviet Union may have some hidden purpose behind it. This only the future can tell. But of greater danger are the references to the strategic Chinese Eastern Railway. Here they speak very boldly of the inclusion of the Sino-Soviet owned Chinese Eastern into a greater Manchurian system. The designs of the imperialist powers are too obvious to be ignored.

The report concludes with the repetition of the necessity of the establishment of law and order, again stresses the danger of the growing Communist movement and the spread of the "Soviet territory", and repeats the demand for the creation of an international gendarmerie, as opposed to Japanese troops alone.

Manchukuo, puppet state of Japan, remains yet unrecognized by the major imperialist powers (except Japan). American imperialism has been instrumental in delivering this left-handed slap to Japan in the form of the Lytton report. The western bourgeoisie are withholding official recognition of Manchukuo in the hope that they will thereby be able to get a share in the booty. The working class however looks upon Manchukuo as being but the tool of the Japanese in their attempt to exploit the Chinese masses. It is therefore with great satisfaction, that we read of the official denials by Moscow of the rumors that it intended to grant official recognition to the new state. The Lytton report has attempted to lump together the Soviet Union with the imperialist powers. Now by means of a sharply defined policy exposing the aims of the American, British and Japanese bourgeoisie the workers' republic can give the lie to the above implication, and come forth as the defender of the rights of the Chinese peoples. —H. S.

VOTE COMMUNIST!

(To Be Continued)

honesty and sincerity but who remain in actuality revolutionary paupers or revolutionary petty proprietors. He is lost who judges in politics according to denominations and labels and not according to social facts. All the more so when the matter deals with politics in which hands are equipped with weapons.

THE DANGER OF PEASANT-WORKER CONFLICTS

The true Communist party is the organization of the proletarian vanguard. One must not forget that the working class of China during the last four years has been held in an oppressed and unpropitious condition and only recently does it evince signs of reviving. It is one thing when the Communist party, firmly leaning upon the flower of the urban proletariat, strives through the workers to lead the peasant war. It is an altogether different thing when a few thousand or even tens of thousands of revolutionists assume the leadership of the peasant war and are in reality Communists or take on the name, without having serious support from the proletariat. This is precisely the situation in China. This acts in the extreme to augment the danger of conflicts between the workers and the armed peasants. In any event, there will be no dearth, one may rest assured, of bourgeois provocateurs. In Russia, in the epoch of civil war, the proletariat was already in power in the greater part of the country; the leadership in the struggle was in the hands of a strong and tempered party; the entire commanding apparatus of the centralized Red Army was in the hands of the workers. Notwithstanding all this, the peasant detachments, incomparably weaker than the Red Army often came into conflict with it, after it victoriously moved into the sector of peasant partisanship.

In China the situation differs radically, and thereto entirely to the disadvantage of the workers. In the most important regions of China the power is in the hands of bourgeois militarists. In other regions, in the hands of armed peasants. Proletarian power is as yet nowhere. The trade unions are weak. The influence of the party among the workers is insignificant. The peasant detachments flushed with knowledge of victories they have achieved stand under the wing of the Comintern. They call themselves, "The Red Army", i. e., they identify themselves with the armed forces of the Soviets. What results consequently is that the revolutionary peasantry of China, through the medium of its ruling stratum, seems to have accrued to itself beforehand the political and moral values which should be the nature of things belong to the Chinese workers. Isn't it possible that things may turn out so that all these values will be directed at a certain moment against the workers?

Of course, the peasant poor—and in China they constitute the overwhelming majority—to the extent to which they think politically—and these compose a small minority—sincerely and passionately desire alliance and friendship with the workers. But the peasantry, even when armed, is incapable of directing an independent policy.

BOURGEOISIE LEADS OR PROLETARIAT

Commonly occupying as it does an intermediate, indeterminate and vacillating position, the peasantry, in decisive moments, can follow either the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. Its road to the proletariat the peasantry does not find so easily and only after a series of mistakes and defeats. The bridge between the peasantry and the bourgeoisie is composed by the urban petty bourgeoisie, chiefly by the intellectuals, who commonly come forward under the banner of Socialism and even Communism.

The commanding stratum of the Chinese "Red Army" has no doubt succeeded in cultivating in itself the psychology of commanders. The absence of a strong revolutionary party and of mass organizations of the proletariat make control over the commanding stratum factually impossible. The commanders and commissars appear in the guise of absolute lords of the situation and upon occupying cities will be rather apt to look down from above upon the workers. The demands of the workers might often appear to them either inopportune or ill-advised. Nor should one forget such "trifles" as the fact that within cities, the staffs and the offices of the victorious armies are established not within the proletarian slums but within the finest buildings of the cities, within the houses and apartments of the bourgeoisie; and all this facilitates the inclination of the upper stratum of the peasant armies to feel itself as a part of the "cultured" and "educated" classes, nowise the proletarian.

upon the majority of the working class and insofar as it guarantees the Communist party the freedom of agitation and organization. Such a way of putting the question will be comprehensible to every social democratic and non-party worker.

The third line, finally, is the fight for socialism. Here too the iron must be forged while it is hot and the social democracy pressed to the wall with a concrete plan of collaboration with the U. S. S. R. What is necessary on this point has already been said above.

Naturally, these sectors of struggle, which are of varying significance in the strategical complete perspective, are not separated from each other, but rather overlap and merge. The political crisis of society demands the combining of the partial questions with the general questions: precisely therein lies the essence of the revolutionary situation.

PRANKIPO, September 10, 1932

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Von Papen's Elections

Our Appeal for United Front Struggle of the German Workers

BERLIN.—Papen and Schleicher have once more proclaimed elections in accordance with the Weimar system. At first sight, this must arouse wonderment, since our new Bonapartes have made no secret of their contempt for this "new structure"—though they made good use of it in 1919. Why therefore? Because they too realize their own weakness. They also know that "the source of existence of the Papen government lies in the neutralization of the irreconcilable camps" as Trotsky writes in "The Only Road". And all its strivings must be directed towards getting out of this tight-rope walker's position and to find a firm footing for itself. The development of the conjuncture on the basis of its economic program does not now give it any great hopes in this respect. Insupportable agriculture is rebelling. The foreign political ally has up to now produced only negative results. There remains, then, only the renewed attempt at combinations and maneuvers with the parties, especially the Nazis and the Center. That there have been concrete attempts made in this direction is shown by the visit of Kerl to Hindenburg, the conversations of Papen-Schleicher, Papen-Böhl, the Nazi retreat in the Prussian parliament, as well as the reflections of the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung on September 19, for example, on the negotiations of Papen with the Bavarian People's Party:

Reconciliation Proposals

"Is there really no longer any reconciliation, a reconciliation with the understanding that it is a question of political collaboration within the framework of the national tasks which are common to the government and the National Socialist?... Irreconcilable antagonisms of today may become political alliances of expediency tomorrow, the interior hostility between compatriots is nothing final. Perhaps the next few days will again offer opportunities of tying together some threads... Should it not be possible, since precisely in Bavaria has there developed a certain tactical approach between the National Socialists and the Bavarian People's Party, to utilize this practical stimulation to building a bridge?"

Papen-Schleicher hope to carry out this maneuver with all the greater success since they may after all succeed on the basis of their program in the new elections to strengthen the German Nationalists or similar to such an extent that the absolute majority of Center-Nazis is broken.

But should all these attempts nevertheless fail, then new elections offer an excellent measure for demonstrating anew the futility of the Weimar constitution, and for ripening the ground, by means of interminable elections, for changing the constitution, for carrying on a "strategy of exhaustion".

The Papen government can engage in all these hide-and-seek maneuvers so long as there is no serious extra-parliamentary

mass resistance. The popular referendum slogan of the Social Democratic Party, which aims at crippling any attempt at an extra-parliamentary struggle, and to postpone it, is in this respect nothing but a prop to the Papen government. It also quite corresponds with the pious belief which the S. D. P. puts in the existence of the Papen government and the imminence of a favorable conjuncture.

For the Fighting United Front

It is clear that for a revolutionary worker, the elections have only one party for which to vote: the Communist Party. All experiments with non-voting for little grouplets would only help the class enemy. It is certainly just as clear that this election, more than any that preceded it, has only the significance of one demonstration out of many. The central question today is the unfolding of the extra-parliamentary struggle; the premise for it is the establishment of the united front. Consequently, there can be no question for the C. P. G. of setting into motion the election machine in the good old socialist party manner, but of doing everything for the establishment of the united front, that is, to change its tactics fundamentally. Only successes on this front, and not election votes, will represent a real value and checkmate Papen's maneuver. This is the first and most important "electoral work".

October 1932.

School Term Opens

The International Workers School was able to open the new headquarters on time due to the successful banquet held last Saturday night. Over one hundred dollars was obtained, from a good attendance of a hundred and thirty comrades and sympathizers. This brings the total fund collected on the Three Hundred Dollar Drive up to two hundred dollars. We must obtain the remainder of this fund. This amount has enabled us to obtain the lease, make the necessary alterations on the new hall and buy part of the new equipment. We must have the reminder for chairs and other necessary needs for the school and headquarters.

The school opened its courses Monday, with a few weeks delay of the series of lectures to be delivered by Cannon on Monday and Shachtman on Wednesday. The study class and lecture are to be held at the same hour, but sufficient funds to obtain folding doors and other needs to have two meetings proceeding at once, are lacking. Just as soon as the funds are raised the series of lectures by Cannon and Shachtman will be held. Registration for these two classes is still open.

Next week we have the following classes:

Monday, October 24, Second Lesson, Genesis of the State.—J. Weber.

Wed., October 26, Second Lesson.—The Dialectic process of Nature—Hugo Oehler.

OPEN FORUM

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 28th
8 P. M.

The New Miners' Revolt

Speaker:

ARNE SWABECK

126 East 16th St.

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ADMISSION 10 Cents

Auspices:

N. Y. Br. Communist League of America

German Organ Suppressed

The weekly paper of the German Left Opposition, *Die Permanente Revolution*, has just been suppressed by the police. The von Papen government is sharpening its struggle against the revolutionary press in general. The party daily, *Die Rote Fahne*, is now almost permanently prohibited from appearing. The paper of the Urbahn group, *Volkswille*, has been suppressed for 13 weeks. The weekly organ of the Socialist Workers Party, *Kampfsignal*, has also felt the iron fist.

The latest victim of the Bonapartist clique in power is the organ of our German comrades. Significantly enough—and as a damning reply to the disgraceful slanders of the Stalinist calumniators—the reason given for its suppression was the article in No. 23 of *Die Permanente Revolution* which voices an energetic protest against the suppression of *Die Rote Fahne*, the central organ of the German Communist Party!

The official text of the police order, which is printed in the last issue of our German paper (one sheet upon which nothing else is permitted to appear except the decree), declares over the signature of Herr von Wedder that the motive for the suppression is that:

"Number 23 of Volume 2 of the weekly paper *Die Permanente Revolution*, in the article 'Die Rote Fahne Prohibited', 'Workers, protest against this infamy' and which concludes with the words: 'Down with this regime which has recourse to such measures in order to veil its infamies', contains a serious insult and the intention to render contemptible the government of the Reich, according to Paragraph 6, figure 1, article 2 as 0."

How little this arch-Bismarckian measure harmonizes with the clamorous of the Stalinists about the "Trotskyist united front with Hindenburg" is self-evident....

Whatever the official reasons given for the suppression, it is a fact that the increased activity of the Left Opposition in Germany, as well as the generally acknowledged growth of popularity of the views expressed on the German situation by the Opposition and by comrade Trotsky in particular, have not given the East Prussian barons who are in power any cause for remaining inactive.

Although the suppression of *Die Permanente Revolution* has been a severe blow to our German comrades, it has nevertheless just been found possible to issue the district paper of the Saxon organization, *Der Rote Kurier*, which formerly appeared in mimeographed form, in printed form, as the "Information Paper of the Left Opposition of the German Communist Party (Bolshevik-Leninists) and the Left Party Faction Within the G. O. P. (Saxon District)". This paper is being distributed on a national scale.

Indo-China Militants Held

L'Humanité, official organ of the French Communist Party, is once again hiding the truth from its readers. Once more it is trying to draw a veil over the Left Opposition's activities in the class struggle, to keep the workers from knowing the truth about the suppressions undergone by the International Left Opposition in the course of its revolutionary advances. This time the silence of the Stalinists is more damning than ever: Fifteen militant Oppositionists of Saigon, Indo-China have been thrown in jail for leading the fight against French imperialism, a fight in which the party's role is doubly and trebly opportunist—its slogan being "For general amnesty!" Several weeks ago comrade Chan van Giac, secretary of the Red Aid, was sentenced to two years in prison for distributing a leaflet. But because the comrade is a "Trotskyist", the International Red Aid, which is organized to help class war prisoners regardless of political tendency, lifts not a finger in his defense.

Our Russian Revolution Celebration

An entertainment in celebration of the Fifteenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, and the Fourth Year of the Militant, will be held on Saturday, November 5, at our new headquarters, 126 East 16 Street. We will begin promptly at 8 P. M.

The New York Branch of the League under whose auspices the celebration is being held is preparing an appropriate program to all our comrades and sympathizers. An interesting evening is assured. We would like them to turn out in full force for this evening.

Needle Trades Convention Gets Left Opposition's Resolution.

Our Resolution

Presented to the Convention of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union by the Needle Trades Fraction of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition).

The convention of the Industrial Union and the necessity of making adequate preparations for the coming dress strike raise once again in the most pressing manner the problem of trade union unity among the needle trades workers in general, and the Ladies' garment workers in particular. The outstanding need of the hour is the consolidation of their forces into a single organization in which the militant program and leadership of the Left wing can be fused together with the mass strength of the workers and directed effectively at the class enemy. In this question, as in all others concerning the interests of the workers, the Left wing must take the initiative and lead the way. The slogan which corresponds most directly to the requirements of the present situation, and which can move the workers more than any other, is the slogan of unity. The Industrial Union must inscribe this slogan on its banner and begin a resolute struggle for its realization.

The present division of the workers into separate organizations, with great masses unorganized and standing aside from either, plays into the hands of the bosses and their labor agents, the Right wing bureaucrats. By the division the position of the working masses is weakened and undermined. They suffer heavy encroachments on their labor conditions, wages and standards. The workers who have been forced into the Right wing union are deprived of the vitalizing influence of the Left wing and are unable to organize an effective struggle against the systematic treachery of the bureaucrats and the oppression of the bosses. On the other hand the Industrial Union, containing the most experienced and advanced militants, has been unable to mobilize a sufficient mass support to enforce its program. For this state of affairs, with all the demoralization and hardship it has brought to the workers, the boss-serving bureaucrats of the Right wing are directly responsible. It must never be forgotten that the disruption and splitting of the unions was begun by their expulsion campaigns against the Left wing and their strike-breaking attacks on the workers in collaboration with the bosses, the police and the A. P. of L. officialdom. The errors of the Left wing, however, contributed to the demoralization and facilitated the reactionary game. The sectarian policy imposed on the industrial union, and in particular the abandonment of the slogan of trade union unity, worked against the proper organization of the workers' struggle and defeated the purposes of the Left wing. It is high time now to correct these errors and to steer a new course.

One of the chief negative results of the division into rival organizations is the discouragement of wide masses of the workers in the industry and their loss of confidence in either of its reactionary leadership and policies, and the Industrial Union because of its sectarian policy and lack of mass strength to reinforce its struggles. Under other conditions these same workers, who have demonstrated their fighting qualities before, can be rallied and organized for new struggles. What is needed to reinvigorate their morale, and after that to reorganize them on a mass scale, is a sincere and genuine move for unity. In this the Left wing alone can and must take the initiative. By such a move the convention of the Industrial Union will greatly increase its influence and regain much of the prestige that has been lost by the sectarian policies and practices of the past and pave the way for a revival of the fighting spirit and organization of the needle trades masses. But it must be a real move for unity! Not a maneuver—the workers are sick of maneuvers—but a real step for the unification of forces in a single organization that will bear the stamp of genuineness on its face.

The action to be taken by the convention of the Industrial Union must proceed from a realistic appraisal of the present situation and the relation of forces. The Industrial Union must demonstrate here that it is concerned solely with the life interests of the workers; that it has no separate interests of its own and does not impose on the workers an organization fetishism; that it is not afraid to look reality in the face. This reality is the following: the flower of the needle trade militants remain faithful to the banner of the Left wing and to the Industrial Union. Its moral force in the industry, although weakened by false tactics of the leadership, remains a great and decisive factor. But it must be recognized and acknowledged that the Industrial Union did not succeed in becoming a mass organization on a scale necessary to enable it to wage a successful struggle. As a result of a combination of circumstances—the combined pressure of the bosses, police and labor

takers, and tactical errors of the Left wing—a large section of the workers have been again pressed into right union and thousands of others have remained organized. From this it is clear that the heroic struggle of the Left wing to unite the masses into the new union—a struggle which was forced upon it in the first place by the expulsions and splitting activities of the bureaucrats—has (Continued on page 2)

Miners' Relief!

Within the span of a few brief weeks the major sections of the Illinois coal fields have become transformed into what Siberia was under the regime of the czars. In the southern part of the state the miners are compelled to go to work in the Peabody mines at the point of sheriffs' guns. Those fighting for the progressive union are ambushed. This regime has now also extended to the Taylorville region.

It is the desperate attempt of the Peabody coal company with the assistance of the Lewis machine and the state militia to break any strike against its pay cuts. But the miners of Illinois are just as militant, just as determined as at the beginning of this struggle. When pickets will stay on the picket lines without food for two days, as they have done in Taylorville, and still continue to fight, it is a battle that will not soon be over. The miners movement has been stirred to its very foundation.

There need be no doubt that they will know how to fight on. But they need the help of the whole working class. They need relief to carry on the strike. They are fighting the battle of the working class as a whole and therefore the question of what the workers in other industries will do to help them becomes a much more pressing one.

We are sure that the readers of *The Militant* will give their assistance. But it should be done in the most practical manner possible. The League has already decided to work as a unit for miners' relief, to help collect funds and clothing. We will endeavor to influence other organizations to do likewise. Our members will be active in this respect. That much we also expect from our sympathizers. We would suggest that you who read this immediately take upon yourself, in addition to what you can do directly, also to try to get others interested. Try to bring it before any workers' organization you belong to and ask your friends and comrades to do likewise. Finally we urge you to assist in this work of the organizations which have undertaken to collect funds for the Progressive Miners Relief.

All funds should be sent to the Progressive Miners of America, Gillespie, Ill.

The Bureaucrats Attack

We go to press too early to enable us to give our readers a full report and analysis of the national convention of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union which is taking place as we write in New York. But we print below the resolution presented to the convention in the name of the needle trades fraction of the Communist League of America (Opposition). As was easily to be foreseen, the whole convention is now revolving around this resolution, if only because it has no really firm axis of its own. But there is more to say for it than that: the analysis made of the situation in the industry and the relationships of forces between the Right wing and the Left wing, together with the concrete proposals we advance in the resolution to make it possible for the Left wing to emerge from the blind alley into which the Stalinist course has led it—these are matters which so vitally concern the next future of the movement in the needle trades that the bureaucratic managers of the convention can no longer ignore them.

The convention thus far has been silent, on the floor, and bombastic on platform. As we go to press, not yet of the rank and file delegates has yet spoken, even though the recently returned "president", Hyman, has attempted—in his own words—to provoke a discussion from the floor. One after another, the official union spokesmen have occupied the time of the convention with the customary absurdities on the "successes", plus the "self-criticism", and equally absurd, "equal-criticism". Stachel, the representative of the T. U. U. L., centered his principal fire upon the "resolution of the Trotskyites", and thus set the tone for the rest of the irresponsible convention bosses. However, the Stalinists and misrepresentations of the Stalinists will not succeed in covering up the deep, open wounds inflicted upon the needle trades Left wing movement by the disastrous policies they have pursued, against which the Left Opposition has conducted a persistent and systematic struggle for a correct line which is summed up in our resolution. No objective consideration of our analysis and proposals can be looked for from the Hyman, Golds and Stachels. But we are confident that the thinking militants in the movement will seriously reflect upon the situation and draw the conclusions that flow inevitably from it.

ADDRESS:

FOR THE MILITANT AND THE
COMMUNIST LEAGUE,
126 East 16th Street
FOR PIONEER PUBLISHERS,
84 East 10th Street

12th Plenum of E.C.C.I.

The Need of the Hour: a Democratically Convened Congress

We are reliably informed from abroad: The long since due Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International took place in September. As the first point on the order of the day stood a report on the situation in the USSR. Upon the proposal of the Czechs and the Poles, it was decided to have a report on the situation in Germany as the first point. This report was delivered by Thaelmann, whereupon these participating in the session left the hall in protest. The representative of the Communist Party of Poland then went to Stalin, who, as the "leader of the world revolution", did not even condescend to make a single appearance at the Plenum. The Polish comrade explained to him the insufferable situation presented by the fact that at the head of the second strongest party in the Comintern there should be so politically inept a comrade as Stalin shifted. When it is reported that Stalin snuffed the whole matter on to Zinoviev as the one who appointed Thaelmann to lead the German party, the characteristic irresponsibility of this "best disciple of Lenin" will stand out all the more clearly.

Why hasn't there been, to this day, a single report on the Plenum of the E. C. I. ? Why do not the party members receive an accounting about what was said and done about the vital problems facing the international revolutionary movement today? Darningly characteristic of the present situation in the Comintern is the fact that the first intimation of the fact that the 12th Plenum of the E. C. I. had been held was given the American Communists last week in a passing observation made at the end of a cabled report to the New York Times by our well-informed Walter Duranty, on the expulsion of Zinoviev, Kamenev and the others.

That the 12th Plenum had been called, was never known. What its agenda was to be, was never known. That it was

in session, was never known until Duranty was permitted to inform the readers of... the Times. The party members (as is customary in these days of Stalinist domination) had no opportunity to discuss the problems which face such a Plenum of the E. C. I. They will be given precious little opportunity to discuss them now, after the fact. Without yet knowing the exact nature of the decisions made in Moscow, it is unfortunately safe to say in advance that the party members will be made to swallow the latest revelation of bureaucratic ignorance and impotence.

The Daily Worker informs us now that a bombardment was started at the 12th Plenum, against the Right wing conciliator, Humbert-Droz, for the resolution he presented. We will have occasion to return to this phase of the question. But more important than these by-products of the bureaucratic jugglery which passes for political struggle in the top ranks, is the imperative necessity for a democratically prepared, democratically convened, broadly discussed Seventh Congress of the Comintern, which is now more than two years overdue. The burning need of the moment is not a machine-made Plenum of bureaucrats held in the dark of the moon, and guaranteed in advance to leave no serious trace on the movement, but a genuine Congress, prepared and held as was the custom in Lenin's days, with the fullest opportunities granted the membership, and the expelled Left Opposition, to discuss and participate in it.

Chen Du-Hsiu Arrested

Seven Bolshevik-Leninists Seized in Raid in Shanghai

A special cable to the New York Times of October 17 announces: "The most important Communist arrest ever made in Shanghai was carried out this morning when International Settlement police, acting on warrants issued by Chinese authorities, raided secret Communist headquarters and seized Chen Du-hsiu, secretary general of the Chinese Communist Party, and six co-workers and confiscated a mass of documents and records."

The reference is obviously to our comrade Chen Du-hsiu, who was politically secretary of the party during the period of the revolutionary struggle of 1925-1927 and who subsequently came to the conclusion, which he expressed in an open letter to the Chinese Communists, that the whole Stalin-Bucharin course during the Chinese revolution had inexorably driven the movement to its catastrophe. In that letter, he voiced his agreement with the standpoint of comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition. Founder of the Communist movement in China though he was, the Stalinists promptly expelled him from the party and sought to make him the scapegoat for the disastrous policy of the Comintern leaders. In the official literature he has since been denounced as a "counter-revolutionist."

At the last conference where the three Left Opposition groups in China were united, comrade Chen was elected to a prominent post. The white terror of Chiang Kai-Shek was immediately unleashed in a raid at which several members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists were arrested. At that time it was reported that comrade Chen was among the victims, but the information proved to be unfounded. It now appears from the Times account that in alliance with the police of the foreign imperialists stationed in Shanghai, the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie has finally arrested Chen Du-hsiu together with six other comrades.

The meager reports which penetrate through to us from the illegality in which our Chinese comrades are compelled to operate, indicate that the activities of the Bolshevik-Leninists, in spite of the terror of the bourgeoisie and the violence of the Stalinists, are on the increase. The raid just carried out is objective testimony to the progress being made and the fear it arouses among the bourgeoisie.

We await with great anxiety a more detailed and authoritative report from our Chinese comrades about the fate of the arrested Bolsheviks.

In the meanwhile, we ask: "Will the International Labor Defense in this country, and the Red Aid movement internationally, continue to maintain the same disgraceful silence and indifference towards the arrest of our seven Chinese comrades as it has manifested in the cases of so many other Opposition fighters who have been arrested in the United States, Belgium, Spain, Greece, Indo-China and elsewhere?"

The Daily Worker, taking the Times report without realizing that the Stalinist bosses expelled comrade Chen two years ago as a "counter-revolutionist", first informed its readers on the front page about the arrest of the "general secretary of the party". The next day, on page 3, it made good its "mistake" by pointing out with triumphant relief that it was not the party's secretary who had been seized, but a "Trotskyist renegade". According to the Worker editors, apparently, this relieves them of all responsibility in the matter, and makes unnecessary the appeal they made on the first day that the workers of the entire world should protest vigorously against the new crime of the Chiang Kai-Shek terror. With the lives of seven revolutionists in danger—if they are still alive—the blind factional calumnies of the Stalinists can be stigmatized only as a despicable crime. We do not believe that the class conscious fighters will condone such mendacious

Letters from Militants

Socialist Meetings In Youngstown

YOUNGSTOWN—

Two members of the Opposition and two party members attended a recent lecture of the S. L. P. on "Historical Materialism." The lecture was used as a "take off" for election campaign propaganda. The S. L. P. was represented as the "only" revolutionary workers' party; the Communist party was criticized as "reformist" because it took a part in the daily struggle of the employed and unemployed workers and encouraged them to fight for "reforms" or partial demands.

When the chairman called for questions an Opposition comrade immediately arose and defended the Communist standpoint, pointing out the necessity of taking part in the daily struggle of the masses in order to prepare them organizationally and politically for smashing the capitalist state and setting up a dictatorship of the working class which will organize a socialist republic. The S. L. P. replied to the effect that the Communists were trying to apply the tactics which met the situation in backward Russia to "our advanced" America. "We ought to be thankful," he said, "for the ripened development of American industry and the freedom and democracy we enjoy here." The workers have only to elect the S. L. P. to the presidency and to congress and then everything will be hunky-dory and heaven-like in America!

A very odd thing happened then. For the first time in this city, so far as we know, a party member got up at a rival party's meeting and very successfully defended the Communist strategy and tactics as set forth by Lenin in "Left Communism." (This comrade is "new" in this town, probably a T. U. U. L. functionary). All that the S. L. P. had to say after that only revealed their complete sectarianism and bankruptcy. In fact, it was so apparent to them that the small number of workers present had been won over to the Communist viewpoint more than to the S. L. P.'s, that after the meeting many of their members said, "Since we're trying to get new members of our party we had better not allow the Communists to talk Communism at our meetings."

Y. P. S. L.

The following night the local Oppositionists attended a street meeting of the Y. P. S. L. which has recently organized a branch here. Four speakers exhausted the usual "socialist" twaddle, denouncing the capitalists, reciting a sweet poem about Jesus' return to earth and promising to abolish unemployment by practicing their "right of eminent domain" (?) if elected.

They were obviously afraid from the

very beginning that the Communists would begin to heckle them. A young Y. P. S. L. introduced a local member of the S. P. who immediately announced that there were three workers' parties but that he wasn't there to "throw mud." Referring to the S. P., S. L. P., and C. P., he asked, "Why can't we all get together?" And this certainly was one thing we as Communists wanted to explain to the workers present. But after the last speaker, who was the Y. P. S. L. organizer for Ohio, concluded, he announced that if those present had any questions to ask they were to write them down with their name and address on application cards. "Then we'll send you literature dealing with these questions," he cravenly announced as he stepped down. "QUESTIONS!" we and the party members and sympathizers called.

The Y. P. S. L. organizer got up again and with a lot of loud talk revealed very plainly to all the workers present that the "socialists" were afraid of the Communists and could not answer our questions. The crowd was with us and we explained to small groups of workers why we weren't "united" with the S. P., that the "socialists" are mere salesmen for the capitalists when really we should kick them out, and also what the Milwaukee "socialists" are doing to the workers with their sweet "right of eminent domain."

Both instances, the S. L. P. lecture and the Y. P. S. L. meeting, prove that if the Communists pursue the Leninist tactic they can win over the class-conscious proletarian elements, who are now blindly following the so-called "socialists", to the cause of Communism. We "can and must" combat it ("the unthinkable confidence of the masses" in the Socialist-Revolutionist and Social-Democratic parties—M. K.) ONLY ideologically, by comradely persuasion, by reference to life's experience." (Lenin, WORKS, Vol. XX, B. I page 135). "All party agitators, in factories, in regiments, in the streets, etc., must advocate these views and this proposition (regarding Bolshevik position on Soviets)—M. K.) by means of peaceful discussions and peaceful demonstrations, as well as meetings everywhere... taking great care to preserve strict order and comradely discipline." (Ibid, pp. 245, 246). It is the Leninist duty of every Communist, particularly of Oppositionists, to protest against the breakup of workers' meetings no matter by whom organized. In the eyes of the workers, to refuse to take part in a comradely discussion of different ideas and programs is to admit the bankruptcy of your own ideas.

The Youngstown members of the Opposition are few, but we intend to take a more and more active part in the labor movement, patiently propagandizing the revolutionary teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

—M. KOEHLER.

The Opposition at Work

The Opposition in Davenport

SITUATION IN DAVENPORT

On September 30, 1932, a debate took place over the question of "Socialism in One Country or World Revolution" between the section organizer, Jack Wilson, of the C. P. and George Papcun of the Left Opposition. Immediately after the debate both of the speakers were taken to the Police Station, where Jack Wilson first was quizzed by the Chief of Police and detectives. He stayed in the room by himself with the Chief of Police for about one hour. Then he was let go and George Papcun was taken in under protest, demanding that the comrades be allowed to go with him. After about ten minutes of questions and answers about when Papcun was born and the like, he was told that he must leave town. Then comrade Peck was called in and asked to prevail on Papcun to leave town. Peck immediately objected. This request of the Chief of Police to leave town was made as the result of a demonstration of the unemployed which took place on the morning of September 30 before the Civic Planning Commission. The Chief then decided to let Papcun decide by ten o'clock Saturday morning, October 1, whether he would leave town or not. The comrades from the debate went over to the police station with the two comrades and demanded their release. Immediately on coming out of the police station, about midnight, Jack Wilson, who remained with the crowd of workers, immediately got hold of comrade Papcun and told him to leave town, for that was the best thing to do. Comrade Papcun immediately refused to carry out this advice of the party section organizer, and the workers and party members backed him up in this decision.

October 1 at ten o'clock in the morning Papcun with a large group of workers came back and told the chief of police that he was not leaving town. Then the Chief of Police, Ward, threatened that he would be prosecuted on the charge of disorderly conduct, but he still refused and under the pressure of the workers was released. Then the workers and the party members present adjourned to a hall to discuss the situation, and it was decided that the party should back up comrade Papcun. Jack Wilson also changed his mind as to him leaving town, and in fact extended an invitation to comrade Papcun to make a statement for re-entry into the party, and that Papcun should discuss it with the Section Committee. October 3, at the Unemployed Council meeting, it was also proposed that the Unemployed Council back comrade Papcun against police terror and it

was endorsed very enthusiastically by the Unemployed Council. And due to the fact that the newspapers have been raging continually about Papcun's refusal to leave town, a meeting was arranged where Papcun and Jack Wilson should speak to show that there was unity against the boss.

In the meantime the capitalist press carried on a vicious agitation against Reds and Communists generally, tried to stir up an agitation to ride Papcun out of town. Police haunted comrade Papcun's place of residence daily. On October 7, about an hour before the meeting, Papcun was arrested, thrown in jail, and held under \$200.00 cash bond, charged with vagrancy. Comrade Peck gave the bond for Papcun's release. Comrade Papcun immediately proceeded to the meeting and spoke with Peck and Wilson. The comrades received him very enthusiastically and passed a resolution of protest against the persecution of workers, pledging themselves to support Papcun. From the meeting rose a bureaucrat from Chicago by the name of Becker who was introduced by the chairman as a representative of the District 8 Executive Committee. It seemed that in his opinion it was terrible that such a meeting should be taking place where the Section Organizer of the party should speak with a Left Oppositionist, so he got up and in an underhanded way attacked the Left Opposition though not openly. He began by utilizing the same old arguments, stressing the so-called "outside interference" (meaning the Left Opposition).

His actual work of destruction and the Stalinization of the membership began the next day when he began to hold meetings with the Section Committee and the comrades generally, when he made statements to the effect that the party should never have allowed the debate to go on and they should never have supported Papcun in his fight against being deported by the police. Much of his inner-party instructions and discussion was devoted to the Left Opposition and how to get rid of them and their influence among the workers in the Tri-Cities, but despite this, on October 10, when the trial came up, the court room was packed full at the city hall—about three hundred workers packing in the small room and many more standing outside in spite of the rain and snow that was going on. Many of the workers came before eight o'clock though the trial was not to start until nine, and it didn't actually start until a quarter of ten.

The trial was made into a political trial in spite of the Chief of Police and the prosecuting attorney who tried to make it a vagrancy charge. Comrade Papcun explained from the witness stand

who were the Communists and the Unemployed Council. He further exposed the conditions of the unemployed workers in the city. The workers were very enthusiastic and interjected several times during the trial, and the judge threatened several times to clear the courtroom but evidently didn't have the nerve to try to do so because of the mood the workers were in. The case was dismissed after the American Civil Liberties Union lawyer made his appeal to the court.

That evening a meeting of the Unemployed Council took place where the party brought in a plan of reorganization which in itself is very good. They tried to cram it through without a discussion, but it was prevented by the workers and the comrades of the Left Opposition. A real discussion was had in the Unemployed Council for the first time, fifteen to twenty workers taking the floor. This surprised the party members, and many of them were enthusiastic over the fact that workers took the floor. One of our comrades of the Left Opposition was elected to the Committee to reorganize the Unemployed Council in spite of the fact that the party had a full slate of its own.

On October 11 a meeting took place at which Ford, the vice-presidential candidate, spoke. This meeting was held in Rock Island at the Workers' Hall, with about 200 in attendance. Ford made a very good agitational speech outside of the fact that he tried to make an attack on the Left Opposition and especially on our comrades in Illinois in the mining situation where he tried to leave an impression that they were working hand in hand with John L. Lewis, and in regards to the Five Year Plan in the Soviet Union which he tried to show that the Communist Left Opposition was trying to defeat.

It seemed that this did not satisfy the Chicago district bureaucrat or Jack Wilson, so they prepared a question period in which some of the comrades of the party were to ask questions concerning the Left Opposition and then he was forced to come out into the open with the usual tripe. Papcun then took the floor and in a very short statement exposed the real situation existing in the miners' fight. Then the crowning thing happened. A party member or sympathizer got up on the floor and tried to show that comrade Papcun deserted Council Bluffs about a year ago due to the attack of the police. This didn't go over so good because the workers knew differently, as Papcun did not leave Council Bluffs until ten months after the kidnapping and beating that took place, and that in the midst of the attack of the Fascist element he was deserted by the Party leadership who expelled him at that time because he was reading the literature of the Left Opposition. Then the meeting was in an uproar and Jack Wilson, from the platform made an attack and tried to incite to the idea that comrade Papcun should be taken for a ride from which he would not return to spread the views of the Left Opposition. Very little applause was given to these remarks of Jack Wilson. In fact many workers resented that such remarks should be made by a Communist party organizer, and some expressed themselves that if Papcun is taken for a ride Jack Wilson had better prepare himself to take the consequences.

—G. P.

Opposition Debates Socialists

YOUNGSTOWN—

October 9, 1932
Last Thursday we held a debate with the Socialist party of New Castle, Pa., at their local headquarters. About thirty-five workers came to hear the debate and take part in the discussion, all of which was centered around the question of the different strategic and tactical programs of the social-democracy and Communism. Several rank and file members of the Communist party attended the meeting and took an active, comradely part in the open discussion.

It cannot be said that we disclosed conclusively the inability of the workers to succeed in overthrowing Capitalism and establishing Socialism under the leadership of the Socialists, and also the inevitable betrayal of these same leaders. The limited time and the inexperience of our comrade (this being his first attempt of this nature) made this impossible. His chief effort was made in explaining simply why Communists take part in elections, the capitalist nature of "our" democracy, what Soviets or workers' councils are, what is the dictatorship of the workers (proletariat), and other such fundamental Marxist-Leninist teachings. And this he did quite successfully.

In New Castle we are gradually but surely making progress after over six months' contact with rank and file members and sympathizers of both the Socialist and Communist parties. There is a good worker element in both groups; the members of the C. P. especially have shown their unwillingness to follow their so-called leaders blindly or to be bullied by them. We hold comradely discussions with them, and frequently they have demonstrated their agreement with us on individual points by propagandizing our views and distributing our literature, such as *The Militant*, Trotsky's pamphlets and our leaflet on the German situation.

In Youngstown, however, it cannot be said that there is a good worker element among the Socialists; we have successfully made contact with the few workers they have in their ranks. On the situation. We are going to try hard to increase our activities in New Castle during the coming winter: we feel confident that our efforts will meet with success.

It is very unfortunate that, on the other hand, in the Communist party and

its affiliated organizations all real ideological life has been criminally snuffed out by purely mechanical control—the puppets change continually but the strings are always pulled by essentially the same petty bureaucrats. In "Left Communism" Lenin wrote that there are "class representatives who neither think nor are capable of thinking"; we greatly regret that many of the local party functionaries fall under this classification. With our limited forces, we hope to salvage something from their wreckage and to prevent them from completely disgracing the theories of Communism and driving workers away from the movement.

—M. KOEHLER.

Needle Trades Convention

(Continued from page 1)

not met with success. The Industrial Union must have the courage to acknowledge this fact and to adapt its tactics to the situation. Only in this way can the lost ground be regained and a new stage of the struggle be unfolded.

The next step of the Industrial Union is to make an open proposal to the I. L. G. W. U. for the readmission of its membership in a body in the field of its jurisdiction. This proposal must demand the unity of the two organizations on the basis of no discrimination, no special conditions or restrictions imposed on the members of the Industrial Union, full rights for every member, union democracy, and rights of minority political expression. The proposal of the Lovestone group for the dissolution of the Industrial Union and the return to the I. L. G. W. U. as individuals is in no way justified by the situation and the relation of forces at the present moment. This capitulatory and false proposal must be rejected. The Industrial Union members must demand their readmission in a body without any discriminations. This correct and reasonable demand can gain the enthusiastic support of the masses of workers in the industry if it is put squarely and sincerely and reinforced with the proper campaign of agitation.

At the same time every encouragement must be given for the development of a genuine Left wing opposition within the I. L. G. W. U. which will work militantly and constructively for the program of unity with the Industrial Union and for a class program and leadership of the movement as a whole. All futile subterfuges and camouflage "united front" bodies, designed to nibble off little sections of the International must be done away with. The task of the hour is to penetrate deeply into the ranks of the workers in the International, to force a fusion of the two organizations by the pressure of the masses and to reunite the Left wing vanguard with the masses so artificially separated from it by the division of the organizations. The concentration of the Left wing militants on this campaign is the foremost task of the hour.

With the Greek Workers

NEW YORK—

Last fall, as the readers of the *Militant* remember, a group of our comrades were expelled from the Greek Workers Club "Spartacus", because they insisted upon the application of the Constitution of the Club which plainly states that the nature of the Club is educational and as such aims to approach every Greek-speaking worker of N. Y. City. The official Greek Stalinists could not tolerate such criticism and therefore resorted to the same destructive tactics of expulsion toward every comrade that attempted to put an end to the many shortcomings of the Club. Last week thirty workers, through their committee, appealed to the E. C. and the membership of the Club for reinstatement in its ranks, because they are sincerely convinced that only the unification of the revolutionary forces among the Greek workers can bring about the fulfillment of the goal for which we are striving. They stated plainly that as revolutionary workers they must participate in the class struggle and that it is impossible for them to expect in a fatalistic manner the spontaneous awakening of the Greek workers.

They pointed out that the responsibility for the continuation of the division of the revolutionary forces rests upon the shoulders of those who expelled them or those who will prevent their reinstatement in the ranks of the Club. Therefore the organization of another club could be prevented.

Last Monday, October 10 the regular membership meeting of the Club was held. Before the meeting was called to order some Stalinists began to attack comrade Brass with every kind of slander. Brass demanded an explanation of the conduct of the Stalinists but they flatly refused to give one. When the point of correspondence on the agenda was discussed, comrade Brass requested that the letter of the thirty workers be read to the membership in order that every worker acquaint himself with its content. Every epithet was hurled at him by some Stalinists and most of the members kept an icy silence. The comrade left the meeting protesting against the abuse of the elementary rights of the members, and was followed by other members who later returned to the meeting to fight out with the bureaucrats this shameful procedure. Next week we are going to print detailed reports of the proceedings of the meeting.

The Empros

As we pointed out many times in the past the Greek Stalinists, with their sidedness towards the *National Herald*, have clearly given the impression to the workers that they were under the control of the notorious lackey Vassardakis. The reasons of this suspicion were created

MILITANT BUILDERS

Our Club Plan

A QUESTION BY COMRADE COOVER

Last week comrade Coover, whom our readers may know as a star sub-getter from Minneapolis, sent in a couple of subs and raised a question about the club plan: "I collected \$2 from the business agent of the branch for a year's sub and then applied the two fifty cent pieces to two Left wing unemployed members' subs. Hope I can get by on this as a club of four."

We don't like to be too formal about the legal aspects of the club plan. So we have decided to let comrade Coover get away with it. But it's wrong. A club of four is a club of four half-year subs. That means just what it says—four half-year subs. It does not mean one one-year sub and two half-year subs. Nor does it mean one paid one-year sub and one free. No. It means only what it says. In the future we shall have to disallow any such doings. So beware.

ALL AROUND THE CIRCUIT

Since last week's report some additional club plan subs have come in. That was to be expected, of course. The encouraging feature about this growing response is the fact that the subs are coming in from cities, which, as a rule, have been behind the others in our sub drives. It is a long time since we have heard from Montreal, but last week they stepped up to the firing line and delivered the goods. Boston, too, sent in a club plan sub. And so did Minneapolis. We still have to hear from New York, Philadelphia, Newark, Cleveland, Youngstown and several other places. Let us complete the circuit, comrades.

SUBS FOR THE MINERS

Subs are still coming in for the miners. The latest is from comrade Nash of Montreal. We want more. Now more than ever it is important to reach the miners with the *Militant*. The Right wing victory at the Gillespie convention

places upon us the task of presenting the Left wing program for the miners. We cannot draw back now. We must continue to speak out for Communism and the Left Opposition. We must make the *Militant* the recognized spokesman for the views of the Communist Left. So get subs for the miners.

THE DOUBLE ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

Some greetings to the double anniversary issue have come in. Most of them have been gathered in by the New York branch. There is little time left, comrades. If we are to realize our plan of printing a back page of greetings a little speed is necessary in getting the greetings.

The eight pager will appear. The question is whether we can get a whole page of greetings. We think we can. And we want you comrades to get busy and prove that it can be done.

THE STAFF TO DATE

H. Nash	\$3
W. Konikow	2
O. Coover	2
H. A.	2
P. Vomvas	2
Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	2
J. Hamilton	1

The appearance of the name of Coover on this list means trouble for the others. If Coover broke into the list that means there will be local rivals in Minneapolis who make it a point never to let Coover go it alone. That means the whole murderers' row up there will swing into line. Let'er go.

The record by cities follows:

Chicago	\$5
Montreal	3
Pittsburgh	2
Boston	2
Minneapolis	2

Watch it grow!

MILITANT BUILDERS CLUB PLAN BLANK

A \$1 HALF YEAR SUB OF 26 ISSUES for 50c in CLUBS of FOUR or MORE. THE MILITANT, 84 E. 10th Street, New York City.

Enclosed find \$2 for which send the MILITANT for 26 weeks to the following:

NAMES	ADDRESSES	CITY	STATE

MILITANT BUILDER Address
City State
Help Circulate a Marxian Paper for Class Conscious Workers

Our Anniversary Number

We are only two issues away from our first eight-page issue—the double anniversary number, celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of the Bolshevik October, and the fourth year of the *Militant*. We are busily preparing the necessary material; the historic documents never before published in the English language, which we promised and other material dealing with the four years' fight of the *Militant* for the ideas of revolutionary internationalism.

We know that everyone is eagerly awaiting the appearance of this issue. They are expecting us to keep our promises. For our part we will do the very best we can. We will come through. The question we want to pose now is: Is every comrade and sympathizer discharging his obligation to this issue? We must say frankly that there is a noticeable lag in the response on the part of our comrades and friends to our appeals for greetings and special bundle orders.

Everyone knows that the only way of meeting the added expenses of this issue is through the support of our comrades and sympathizers. Unless they send in greetings and special bundle orders we will be unable to meet the expense.

THE MILITANT
84 EAST 10th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Enclosed find for which please enter my greeting in the Jubilee Anniversary Issue, November 5, 1932.

Name Address
City State

on account of the total absence of any revolutionary news in the columns of the *Empros* and its entire preoccupation with the personal love affairs, religious rights of its editor and every other kind of news befitting a tabloid but not a Communist newspaper. The Greek party members protested to the high priests of Stalinism, and the scandal reached such proportions that they were forced to remove the famous editor Saccharios whose despicable record in the labor movement we printed in the *Militant* last year. The new editorial board condemned the past course and promised to the Greek workers that in the future they will follow a correct policy which will not give any suspicions of favoring the monarchist organ *Atlantis*.

To dispel any suspicious of the workers they printed a statement which reads as follows: The collection thieves, in their attempt to color the revelations of *Empros* against them as a personal struggle, attempted to connect Mr. Vassardakis with the *Empros*. We considered this pretension of theirs as needing no repudiation, because every one knows that only members of Communist party participate in the direction of a Communist newspaper. And Mr. Vassardakis is not a Communist but belongs to the bourgeois class. (*Empros*, June 25, 1932.)

For the last 3 months they discontinued their one-sidedness and began to attack both newspapers as equally responsible for the exploitation of the Greek workers. At that time we warned the Greek workers through *Communists* that they must always be alert in order to prevent the repetition of the old course because we were sure that the mere substitution of one bureaucrat by another will not change the evils. How the course of time justified our warnings is proved by the last three issues of the *Empros*. Serious issues of the class struggle are either eliminated from the columns of the *Empros* or are given an insignificant space, and the main issue is becoming again the publication of Vassardakis' affairs with his former master in the Greek and American courts. About the Greek elections they preferred to mention nothing before the elections to enlighten the Greek workers concerning the struggle of the Communists in Greece. Even the Scottsboro case is not considered of such an important nature to be given, prior to the demonstration, any space at all. Well, the Greek Stalinists can pride themselves on being more ideal representatives of Stalinism in America. This claim of theirs we granted to them and they really deserved it.

—A. C.

Highlights at Gillespie

364 pages cloth cover \$1.
PUBLISHERS
New York, N. Y.

What They Say in Prague About the United Front

From the Series of Articles in the Forthcoming Book 'The Only Road' :- by Leon Trotsky

WHEN THE Communist International made a united front with the social democratic leaders in 1926," wrote the central organ of the Czechoslovakia Communist party, *RUDE PRAVO*, on February 27 of this year, allegedly in the name of a worker-correspondent "from the bench", "it did this in order to expose them before the masses of supporters, and at that time Trotsky was terribly opposed to it. Now, when the social democracy has so discredited itself by its countless betrayals of the workers' struggles, Trotsky proposes the united front with its leaders. . . . Trotsky is today against the Anglo-Russian Committee of 1926, but for any sort of Anglo-Russian Committee of 1932."

These lines lead us right to the heart of the question. In 1926, the Comintern sought to "expose" the reformist leaders with the aid of the united front policy, and that was right. But since then the social democracy has "discredited" itself. Before whom? There are still more workers following it than the Communist party. This is sad but true. The task of exposing the reformist leaders thus remain unsolved. If the method of the united front was good in 1926, why should it be bad in 1932?

"Trotsky is for an Anglo-Russian Committee of 1932, against the Anglo-Russian Committee of 1926." In 1926, the united front was concluded only at the top, between the leaders of the Soviet trade unions and the British trade unionists, not in the name of definite practical actions of the masses separated from each other by state frontiers and social conditions, but upon the basis of a friendly-diplomatic, pacifist-evasive "platform". During the miners' strike—and later the general strike—the Anglo-Russian Committee could not even come together, for the "allies" pulled in two opposite directions: the Soviet trade unions strove to assist the strikers, the British trade unionists sought to break the strike. The substantial contributions collected by the Russian workers were rejected by the General Council as "damned gold". Only after the strike had been finally betrayed and broken did the Anglo-Russian Committee come together again to the scheduled banquet to exchange small talk. Thus did the policy of the Anglo-Russian Committee serve to cover up the reformist strike-breakers before the working masses.

At the present time we are speaking of something quite different. In Germany the social democratic and the Communist workers stand on the same ground, before the same danger. They mingle with each other in factories, in trade unions, at the unemployment registries, etc. It is not a question here of a word—"platform" of the leaders, but of thoroughly concrete tasks which are calculated to draw the mass organizations directly into the struggle.

The united front policy on a national scale is ten times harder than on a local scale. The united front policy on an international scale is a hundred times harder than on a national scale. To unite with the British reformists around so general a slogan as "defense of the U. S. S. R." or "defense of the Chinese revolution", is to talk the blue out of the clouds. In Germany, on the contrary, there is the immediate danger of the destruction of the workers' organizations, the social democratic included. To expect the social democracy to fight for the defense of the Soviet Union against the German bourgeoisie would be an illusion. But we certainly can expect that the social democracy will fight for the defense of its mandates, its meetings, periodicals, treasuries and finally, for its own head.

Only, even in Germany we in no way advocate lapsing into a united front fetishism. An agreement is an agreement. It remains in effect so long as it serves the practical goal for which it was concluded. If the reformists begin to curb or to sabotage the movement, the Communists must always put themselves the question: is it not time to tear up the agreement and to lead the masses further under our own banner? Such a policy is not an easy one. But who has ever argued that to lead the proletariat to victory is a simple task? By counterposing the year 1926 to the year 1932, *RUDE PRAVO* has demonstrated only its lack of comprehension of what occurred six years ago as well as what is happening today.

The "worker-correspondent" from the imaginary bench also turns his attention to the example adduced by me of the agreement of the Bolsheviks with the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists. "At that time," he writes, "Kerensky really fought for a certain time against Kornilov and at the same time helped the proletariat smash Kerensky. That the German social democracy today does not fight against Fascism is evident to any little child."

The Thälmann who so closely resembles a "little child" contends that an agreement of the Russian Bolsheviks with the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists never even existed. *RUDE PRAVO*, as we see, pursues a different course. The agreement it does not deny. But according to its conception, the agreement was justified by this, that Kerensky really fought against Kornilov, in distinction to the social democracy which is preparing the road to power for Fascism. The

idealization of Kerensky here is quite astounding. When did Kerensky begin to fight against Kornilov? At the very moment when Kornilov swung the Cossack's saber over Kerensky's own head, that is, on the eve of August 26, 1917. On the previous day, Kerensky was still in a direct conspiracy with Kornilov with the aim of jointly crushing the Petrograd workers and soldiers. If Kerensky began to "fight" against Kornilov or more correctly, to offer no resistance, for a time, to the fight against Kornilov, then it was only because the Bolsheviks left him no other alternative. That Kornilov and Kerensky, both of them conspirators, broe with each other and came into open conflict, was to a certain extent a surprise. That it would have to come to a collision between German Fascism and the social democracy, could and should have been foreseen, were it only on the basis of the Italian and Polish experiences. Why should an agreement with Kerensky against Kornilov have been concluded, and why is it forbidden to preach, to fight for, to advocate and to prepare an agreement with the social democratic mass organizations? Why must such agreements be destroyed wherever they have come into being? That, however, is just how Thälmann and Company proceed.

RUDE PRAVO naturally pounced ravenously upon my words that an agreement on fighting actions may be made with the devil, with his grandmother and even with Noske and Grzesinski. "Look, Communist workers," writes the paper, "you've got to come to terms with Grzesinski who has already shot so many of your comrades-in-arms. Come to an agreement with him for he is to fight together with you against the Fascists, with whom he hobnobs at banquets and in the boards of management of factories and banks." The whole question is shifted here onto the plane of spurious sentimentality. Such an objection is worthy of an anarchist, an old Russian Left wing Social Revolutionist, a "revolutionary pacifist" or of Münzenberg himself. There isn't a glimmer of Marxism in it.

First of all: is it correct that Grzesinski is a worker's hangman? Absolutely correct. But wasn't Kerensky a hangman of the workers and peasants in far greater measure than Grzesinski? Nevertheless, *RUDE PRAVO* approves after the fact the practical agreement with Kerensky.

To support the hangman in every action directed against the workers, is a crime, if not treachery: that is just what the alliance of Stalin with Chiang Kai-Shek consisted of. But if this same Chinese hangman were to find himself engaged tomorrow in a war with the Japanese imperialists, then practical fighting agreements of the Chinese workers with the hangman Chiang Kai-Shek would be quite permissible and even—a duty.

Did Grzesinski hobnob with the Fascists at banquets? I do not know, but I'm quite prepared to grant it. Only, Grzesinski was subsequently obliged to sit in the Berlin prison, not in the name of socialism, it is true, but only because he was loath to give up his warm seat to the Bonapartists and the Fascists. Had the Communist party openly declared at least a year ago: against the Fascist assassins we are prepared to fight jointly even with Grzesinski: had it invested this formula with a fighting character, developed it in speeches and articles, brought it into the depths of the masses—Grzesinski would have been unable to defend his capitulation before the masses in July with references to the sabotage of the Communist party. He would either have had to go along with this or that active step or else expose himself hopelessly in the eyes of his own workers. Isn't this clear?

To be sure, even if Grzesinski were drawn into the struggle by the logic of his situation and the pressure of the masses, he would be an extremely unreliable, a thoroughly perfidious ally. His principal thought would be to pass over as quickly as possible from struggle or half-struggle to an agreement with the capitalists. But the masses set into motion, even the social democratic masses, do not come to a halt as easily as do outraged police chiefs. The approach between the social democratic and the Communist workers in the process of the struggle would offer the Communist party leaders a far broader possibility for influencing the social democratic workers, especially in face of the common danger. And that is precisely what the final aim of the united front consists in.

To reduce the whole policy of the proletariat to agreements with the reformist organizations or, still worse, to the abstract slogan of "unity", is something that only spineless Centrists of the stripe of the Socialist Workers Party can do. For the Marxists, the united front policy is merely one of the methods in the course of the class struggle. Under certain conditions this method becomes completely useless; it would be absurd to want to conclude an agreement with the reformists on the socialist upheaval. But there are conditions under which the rejection of the united front may ruin the revolutionary party for many decades to come. That is the situation in Germany at the present time. (Continued in the Next Issue)

PINKIPO, September 2, 1932. L. TROTSKY.

LEON TROTSKY

Proletariat and Peasant War in China

(Continued from last issue)

Thus, in China, the causes and grounds for the conflicts between the army, which is peasant in composition and petty bourgeois in leadership, and the workers, not only are not eliminated but also all the circumstances are such as to make these conflicts extremely possible and even inevitable; and in addition thereto the chances of the proletariat are incomparably less favorable than was the case in Russia.

From the theoretical and political side the danger is increased manifold as a consequence of the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy hides the contradictory situation under a blanket by its slogan of "democratic dictatorship" of workers and peasants. Is it possible to conceive of a more attractive in appearance and more perfidious in essence? The epigones go through their processes of thinking not by means of social concepts, but by means of pigeon-holed phrases; formalism is the basic trait of bureaucracy.

A REACTIONARY ACCUSATION

The Russian Narodniki ("Populists") betimes accused the Russian Marxists of "ignoring" the peasantry, of not carrying on work in the villages, etc. To this the Marxists replied, "We will arouse and organize the advanced workers and through the workers we shall arouse the peasants." Such in general is the only conceivable road for the proletariat party.

The Chinese Stalinists have acted otherwise. During the revolution of 1925-27 they subordinated directly and immediately the interests of the workers and the peasants to the interests of the national bourgeoisie. In the years of the counter-revolution they passed over from the proletariat to the peasantry; i. e., they undertook that role which was fulfilled in our country by the S. R.'s when they were still a revolutionary party. Had the Chinese Communist Party concentrated its efforts for the last few years in the cities, in industry, in the railroads; had it sustained the trade unions, the educational clubs and circles; had it, without breaking off from the workers, taught them to understand what was occurring in the villages—the share of the proletariat in the general correlation of forces would have been today incomparably more favorable. The party as a matter of fact tore itself away from its class. Thereby in the last analysis it can cause injury to the peasantry as well. For should the proletariat continue still to remain on the sidelines, without organization, without leadership, then the peasant war even if fully victorious will inevitably drive into a blind alley.

In old China every victorious peasant revolution was concluded by the creation of a new dynasty, and subsequently of a new group of large proprietors; the movement was confined within a vicious circle. Under the present conditions the peasant war by itself without the direct leadership of the proletarian vanguard can only pass on the power to a new bourgeois elite, some "Left" Kuo Min Tang or other, "a third party", etc., etc., which in practice will differ very little from the Kuo Min Tang of Chiang Kai-Shek. And this would signify in turn a new onslaught on the workers with the weapons of "democratic dictatorship".

What then are the conclusions that follow from all this? The first conclusion is that one must boldly and openly face the facts as they are. The peasant movement is a mighty revolutionary factor, insofar as it is directed against the large farm owners, militarists, serfdom and usurers. But in the peasant movement itself are very powerful proprietary and reactionary tendencies, and on a given stage it can become hostile to the workers, and sustain that hostility already equipped with arms. Life forgets about the dual nature of the peasantry is not a Marxist. The advanced workers must be taught to distinguish from among "Communist" signs and banners the actual social processes.

The operation of the "Red Armies" must be attentively followed, and the workers must be explained systematically the direction, the significance and the perspectives of the peasant war; and the current demands and the tasks of the proletariat must be tied up with the slogans for the liberation of the peasantry.

STUDY THE CLASS TENDENCIES

On the bases of our own observations, reports and other documents we must painstakingly study the inner life processes of the peasant armies and the order established in the regions occupied by them; we must discover in living facts the contradictory class tendencies and clearly point out to the workers which tendencies we support and against which we are fighting.

With especial care must we follow the inter-relationships between the Red Armies and the local workers, without leaving out of sight even the minor misunderstandings between them. Within the framework of particular cities and regions, conflicts, even if acute, might appear to be insignificant local episodes. But with the further development of events the class conflicts may take on a national sweep and lead the revolution to a catastrophe, i. e., to a new devastation of the workers by the peasants, hoodwinked by the bourgeoisie. History of revolutions is full of such examples.

The more clearly the advanced workers will understand the living dialectic of the class inter-relationships of the proletariat, the peasantry and the bourgeoisie the more confidently will they seek unity with the strata of the peasantry closest to them, the more successfully will they counteract the counter-revolutionary provocateurs, within the body of

A Letter to the Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists

the peasant armies themselves as well as within the cities.

The trade union must be built up and the party nuclei; the advanced workers must be educated, the proletarian vanguard must be fused together and must be drawn into the battle.

We must turn to all the members of the official Communist party with words of explanation and challenge. It is quite probable that the rank and file Communists who have been led astray by the Stalinist faction will not understand us at once. The bureaucrats will set up a howl about our "revolution" of the peasantry, perhaps even about our "hostility" to the peasantry (Chernov always accused Lenin of being hostile to the peasantry). Naturally, such howling will not confuse the Bolshevik-Leninists. When prior to April 1927 we warned against the inevitable coup d'Etat of Chiang Kai-Shek, the Stalinists accused us of hostility to the national Chinese revolution. The events have demonstrated who was right. The events will provide a check this time as well. The Left Opposition may turn out too weak to give the events the direction in the interests of the proletariat at the present stage. But it is sufficiently strong even now in order to point out to the workers the correct way, and by depending upon the further development of the class struggle to demonstrate to the workers its correctness and its political insight. Only in this manner can a revolutionary party gain confidence for itself, only thus will it grow, become strong and take its place at the head of the national masses.

—L. TROTSKY.
Prinkipo, September 22, 1932

P. S. In order to express my ideas with the greatest possible lucidity, I shall sketch the following variant which is theoretically quite possible.

Let us presume that the Chinese Left Opposition carries on within the nearest future—widespread and successful work among the industrial proletariat and attains the preponderant influence in its midst. The official party, in the meantime, continues to concentrate all its forces on the "Red armies" and in the peasant regions. The moment arrives when the peasant armies take occupation of the industrial centers and are brought face to face with the workers. In such a situation, in what manner will the Chinese Stalinists act? It is not difficult to foresee that they will counterpose in a hostile manner the peasant army against "the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists". In other words, they will sic the armed peasants on the advanced workers. This is what the Russian S. R.'s and the Mensheviks did in 1917; having lost the workers, they fought might and main for their support among the soldiers, inciting the barracks against the factory, the armed peasant against the worker Bolshevik. Kerensky, Tsereteli and Dunin, if they did not label the Bolsheviks outright as counter-revolutionists, called them either "unconscious aids" or "involuntary agents" of counter-revolution. The Stalinists are less choice in their application of political terminology. But the tendency is the same, malicious baiting of the peasant—and generally

petty-bourgeois elements against the vanguard of the working class.

CENTRISM SEEKS SUPPORT FROM THE RIGHT

Bureaucratic Centrism, as Centrism, cannot have an independent class support. But in its struggle against the Bolshevik-Leninists it is compelled to seek support from the Right, i. e., from the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, counterposing them to the proletariat. The struggle between the two Communist factions, the Stalinists and the Bolshevik-Leninists bears in itself, in this manner, an inner tendency toward transformation into a class struggle. The revolutionary development of events in China may draw this tendency to its conclusion, i. e., to a civil war between the peasant army led by the Stalinists and the proletarian vanguard led by the Leninists.

Were such a tragic conflict to arise, due entirely to the Chinese Stalinists, it would signify that the Left Opposition and the Stalinists ceased to be Communist fractions and had become hostile political parties, having a different class foundation.

However, is such a perspective inevitable? No, I do not think so at all. Within the Stalinist fraction (the official Chinese Communist Party) there are not only peasant, i. e., petty bourgeois tendencies but also proletarian tendencies. It is important in the highest degree for the Left Opposition to seek to establish connections with the proletarian wing of the Stalinists, by developing for them the Marxist evaluation of "Red armies" and the inter-relationships between the proletariat and the peasantry in general.

While maintaining its political independence, the proletarian vanguard must be invariably ready to assure the united action with revolutionary democracy. While we refuse to identify the armed peasant detachments with the Red Army; and while we have no inclination to shut our eyes to the fact that the Communist banner hides the petty-bourgeois content within the peasant movement; we, on the other hand, take an absolutely clear account of the tremendous revolutionary-democratic significance of the peasant war, we teach the workers to comprehend this significance and we are ready to do all in our power in order to achieve the necessary military alliance with the peasant organizations.

Consequently our task consists not only in not permitting the political and military command over the proletariat on the part of the petty-bourgeois democracy that leans upon the armed peasants but also in preparing and assuring the proletarian leadership of the peasant movement, its "Red armies", in particular.

The more clearly the Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists comprehend the political environment and the tasks that spring from it, the more successfully they extend their bases within the proletariat and the more persistently they put through the policy of the united front in relation to the official party and the peasant movement that is led by it, all the more surely will they succeed not only in shielding the revolution from the frightfully dangerous conflict between the proletariat and the peasantry, and in assuring the necessary united action between the two revolutionary classes, but also in transforming their united front into the historical step toward the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Prinkipo, September 26, 1932. —L. T.

Archives of the Opposition

Marx and the Peace Conference

In the year 1867 there was held at Geneva a congress of the League of Peace and Freedom. The Peace Congress attempted to secure the backing and support of the First International, and did actually secure support from the Lausanne Congress of the International. Writing to Engels under date September 4, 1867 Marx has the following to say about the League of Peace and Freedom.

"You know that in the General Council I opposed our having anything to do with these peace windbags. I spoke on the subject for about half an hour. Baccarius who was minute secretary, prepared a report for *The Beehive*, but he reproduced only one or two sentences of my speech. . . . Nevertheless what I said at the General Council meeting attracted a good deal of attention. The jackasses of the Peace Congress . . . have completely modified their original program, smuggling into the new one (which is far more democratic) the words 'the harmonizing of economic interests with liberty'—a vague phrase which may mean nothing more than free trade. They bombarded me with correspondence, and had the impudence to send me the enclosed specimen of eye-wash. You see they have the cheek to address me on the envelope as 'a member of the Geneva, etc., Congress'."

Steklot who reports the incident in his "History of the First International" continues with the following remarks. "Thus, the mere allusion of the bourgeois pacifists to Marx as a member of their contemplated congress, seriously annoyed him." We can readily understand, therefore, how profoundly disturbed he must have been by the resolution of the Lausanne Congress of the International, which not merely accepted at its face value the bourgeois mouthings of the League of Peace and Freedom, but actually promised "full support" to the League—thus giving it an endorsement in the name of the international proletariat. Unfortunately, Marx was not able to convince his colleagues on the General Council, and some time was to

elapse before they would appraise the democratic-pacifist League at its true worth."

The balance sheet can thus easily be drawn. In 1867 Marx opposed the First International's having anything to do with the Peace Congress; in 1932 Stalin becomes the prime mover in the calling together of a "Peace Congress." In 1867 Marx was seriously annoyed because the Peace Congress attempted to use his name. Today, the Stalinists seem to be falling all over themselves in order to have their names appear at the head of the list. In 1932 the Communists are made to vote with both hands for pacifist dribblings and resolutions; in 1867 Marx referred to them with contempt as "eye-wash."

But the parallel does not end here. In 1867 Marx had to oppose the entire General Council in presenting his point of view, and some time had to elapse before the other members of the Council were convinced of the correctness of Marx's position. Today, comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition stand practically alone in opposing the opportunism of the Stalin leadership. How long will it take before the correctness of the stand taken by the Left Opposition will have been proven correct? Yes, history does repeat itself.

—H. S.

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Pioneer Publishers Notes

EXTRA! EXTRA!

By much patient digging in second-hand book stores we have unearthed a very small number of comrade Trotsky's earlier works that are out of print in this country. We have them on hand all ready to ship. Out-of-town comrades need not fear that the New York comrades will gobble up our small stock. If there is to be any discrimination it

will be against the New York comrades; for two reasons. First because the New York comrades can do what we have done: dig in the dust of second-hand book stores; secondly because out-of-town comrades cannot get them locally, even by this means. But orders will be filled strictly in the order in which they are received. And they must be accompanied with the price of the book ordered.

Here is what we have: 1 copy of *Our Revolution*—\$2.50; 2 copies of the *Bolshevik and World Peace*—\$1.50; 3 copies

of *Lenin, a Biography*—\$2.00; 1 copy of *Whither Russia*—\$1.00.

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THE MILITANT

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Miners Face Big Tasks

Progressive Miners of America Must Be Class Union

From the day the Progressive Miners of America began to take an organized form it was clear that the real tests of its existence as a union, and particularly as a militant union, were still ahead. These tests, of course, could not be expected to be easy ones. It could not be merely a matter of going out to line up the membership and collecting dues. No, the job is a far more serious one. The existence of the new union will be conditioned upon its ability to give battle and its ability to fight to win. That also presupposes a much greater degree of clarity of views as to what really constitutes a militant union—one which can actually win over the combined enemy forces, the Lewis-Walker clique and the operators.

Only a few weeks have passed since the day of formation of the union, and the test is already beginning. The operators have extended their line of the battle front against the new union. In this they have obtained some measures of success, at least temporarily. That this could be possible, there need be no doubt, is due to some of the weaknesses displayed by the new union leadership at the Gillespie convention and since.

Carrying the Offensive to the Miners

In Franklin County, it will be remembered, the powerful Peabody company had, at the time of the convention, with the help of the Lewis-Walker clique, plus the terror of unheard of proportions, succeeded in preventing the strike and compelling the miners to submit to the \$5.00 scale and with it to submit to the UMW. These efforts had been extended to Taylorville, but there the miners were still fighting on the picket lines and solidly with the new union. U. S. soldiers were on guard at the Peabody mines there. U. S. soldiers also invaded Canton, in the Peoria territory, to break the strike. And now the mass picket lines appear to have been given up entirely by the new union.

This question of the picket lines is, of course, not the only point at issue. That itself is merely a part of the general strategy pursued. But for a new union, for a progressive union, which has to meet the enormous obstacles of all the enemy forces combined and merged into one, the question of strategy becomes a real problem. The rank and file will and readiness to fight can be depended upon but the strategy of the fight must be a superior one. It must be one which will outwit the combined enemy forces.

In this respect it is necessary to note the very first weakness represented by the acceptance of the \$5.00 scale at the Gillespie convention. For these leaders who advocated its acceptance are fully responsible. The weakness lies not merely in the sense of its immediate effect but more so in the fact that the operators jointly with the Lewis-Walker clique are bound to take advantage of it. They will use it in this situation to strengthen the Lewis regime. They will be on the offensive, further extend the attacks to new territories and prepare for new and additional wage cuts. Naturally we are not unmindful of the fact that the logic of these measures inevitably brings their own conclusion in new and greater contradictions, new and greater antagonisms between the miners and the operators. But in this respect also the direction and the leadership

given by the new union becomes the decisive question.

Organization of the New Union

The new union starts out with the disadvantage of the retreat to the \$5.00 scale. This part of the basis is thus equal for both unions. Which one will prevail? That question is more fundamental than the wage scale. It is now an open direct struggle between the two. But the strategy to be pursued must take into account the conditions existing in the various localities. It is not a matter of a direct head-on collision everywhere. It is clear that in Franklin Co. the process of winning the rank and file for the new union is by no means completed. Their strike was broken, they are still in the UMW. For the Progressive Miners of America the task is therefore the one of working from within to strengthen its foothold, to regain what is lost and to prepare for the complete break with the Lewis-Walker regime.

The Taylorville and Canton territories, on the other hand, present a different picture. The new union is solidly rooted there and has already replaced the U. M. W. The issues can be settled to its advantage. Its interests can be maintained, only in the direct collision with the enemy forces. Any retreating in this respect will surely react by the latter gaining ground, if not gaining the upper hand. This will surely hold true wherever the operators extend the battle front into the new union territory.

The Left wing must particularly make this clear to the mines. It is a part of the process of building a militant union. The issues, the conflicts can find their solution only through struggle against the enemy forces and not at all through collaboration with them. From the opposite direction the Peabody interests, which are the dominant interests in Illinois, have assumed this kind of an approach and are attempting to advance in head-on collision everywhere. This company is the main controlling factor in machine mining. As such it represents the crux of the problem of job control and union control. The Progressive Miners will in this respect have to meet the Peabody company face to face on its own ground.

(Continued on page 2)

OPEN FORUM

FIFTEEN YEARS OF THE
RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Speaker:

JAMES P. CANNON

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 4th

126 East 16 Street,
near Irving Place

ADMISSION: 15c

Auspices:

N. Y. Br. Communist League of America
(Opposition)

Protest Meeting

What is Happening in China

Chen Du-Hsiu, founder of the Chinese Communist Party and member of the Left Opposition, and six co-workers were arrested. Unless action is taken at once they will be executed!

What are the effects of Japanese invasion? What is the role of American imperialism? Hear about the Peasant Wars and the Soviets.

Speaker:

MAX SHACHTMAN

Sunday, October 30, 8 P. M.

126 East 16 St.

Auspices:

N. Y. Br. Communist League of America
(Opposition)

VOTE COMMUNIST!

Vote Communist!

Against the Party of Petty Bourgeois Reformism

As the elections come to a close, the cold indifference of the two big capitalist parties and their leading spokesmen with regard to the burning problems and interests of the masses of the people stands out in glaring evidence of the fact that even in the wealth-saturated United States, the ruling class is not in a position to relieve the intense sufferings brought on by the crisis. The hollow promises, the spread-eagle oratory, the mutual recriminations and self-exposures of the capitalist candidates do not hold out the least prospect for a working class which is now in the fourth year of the crisis.

The ever-present liberals, in a quandary as to which of the two parties to support, are taking refuge in great numbers under the tent of the socialist messiah, Norman Thomas. The arch-Bourbon Hoover—they cannot endorse. As for Roosevelt, he has played the artful dodger so openly—even the bourgeois newspapers cannot refrain from pointing out this trait as his chief characteristic—that the middle-class liberals for whom he winked a flirtatious eye have not been able to muster around him.

Regardless of the handful of intellectual and scientific lights who have endorsed the Communist candidates, the fact remains that the overwhelming majority of the so-called "protest voters" out of the ranks of the more conscious petty bourgeois elements, have swung into line behind the American edition of the social democracy.

And there is no barrier in their path. Particularly since the war, the American Socialist Party and its leadership have moved in a virtually unbroken line to the right, doing everything conceivable to deserve the designation of the third capitalist party, which properly belongs to them. The party which surrendered to the bourgeoisie by defecting from its constitution the disciplinary warning against those voting credits for military and naval purposes, is not calculated to

arouse the fear of a mobilized proletariat in the hearts of the ruling class. The party which erased from its banner, in deep actuality as well as formally, the recognition of the class struggle, aimed at shifting its base from the working class masses which at one time gave it their confidence, to the petty bourgeois strata bewildered by the crisis, crushed between the upper and nether millstones of capitalist society, and looking for a way out which is smooth and not lined with thorns or boulders.

The present campaign of the Socialist party, perfectly typified by its standard bearer, must look for its equal in opportunism to the days of 1917 when Morris Hillquit ran for Mayor of New York with an agitation centering chiefly around the issue of... five cent milk. "We offer," the official social handbook for 1932 hastens to assure all timid peanut-stand owners, "not only the one true hope for reorganizing our economic life, but also immediate plans for making things better. We are aware that masses of men will not vote for deeper purgatory now in the dubious hope of paradise hereafter. (Beware the Bolsheviks!) Hence we are concerned with programs to keep the peace now to relieve unemployed now; to help the farmers now. We ask you to examine our platform from this point of view. Are not our demands 'practical' as no other proposals are; practical, that is, for all those who are not trying above all things to hang on to the wealth and power which a comparatively small owning class controls?" (Page 30.)

And elsewhere (Page 64), the handbook soothes the apprehensions of the small property-holders, to whom Thomas and Thomasism make such a warm appeal, that "Socialism would not urge that all industry be run by the community. They would encourage many consumers and producers, voluntary cooperative organizations, particularly on the farm, in retail distribution and in educational, journalistic and artistic ventures.

"There would likewise remain under the socialist commonwealth a certain amount of private ownership in new industries, in handicrafts, in agriculture and in intellectual production."

Grocers, traveling salesmen, tourist home managers of the world, unite, and vote Socialist! Your future is guaranteed!

In word and deed, the socialist party is a petty bourgeois party, masquerading with yesterday's tattered garments of a working class movement. The class conscious worker, who does not want to throw his vote away in a futile attempt to register it until Norman Thomas is elected president and 51 percent of the Congressmen and Senators are members of the Socialist party—will register his protest against the capitalist regime of starvation, exploitation, misery, and war by voting for the Communist ticket all along the line. Our differences with the party's policy, which isolates it from the masses and impedes the development of the revolutionary movement in this and other countries, cannot eliminate the fact that the Communist party is the only working class party in the field, the only revolutionary party, the only party which stands for the interests of the working class today and tomorrow.

The Left Opposition therefore ranges itself alongside its party and calls upon every worker to cast his vote for his party, the Communist party!

Good Meetings in Boston

Two successful meetings were held in Boston and Lynn by the Communist League of America (Opposition), with Max Shachtman from New York speaking on the situation in Germany. In Boston, Otisfield Hall had between 60 and 70 Boston workers listening to the standpoint of the Opposition on the German question, ending in a number of questions put to the speaker from the floor revealing a keen interest in the importance of the events. Significantly enough, this is the first meeting held in Boston on Germany, for the official party has not displayed sufficient interest in this crucial problem for the world revolutionary movement to organize one single meeting on it. As a result of the Boston lecture, the branch expects to announce shortly the addition of several new members, who are not new to the movement, having been active in the Communist and labor movements for years.

The meeting in Lynn exceeded all our expectations, for it was arranged by one comrade alone, Celig Cooperstein, one of the well known militants in the shoe industry there. Some twenty-five workers gathered in the cooperative center to hear Shachtman, including several party members. A warm discussion took place. In Lynn also this is the first meeting ever held on the German events.

Indicative of the increasing influence of the Opposition is the invitation extended to our comrades to organize a meeting in Chelsea shortly for the purpose of discussing the standpoint of the Left Opposition. We are marching forward!

New Militant Forces Join the Ranks of the Left Opposition

Papcun's Statement

To the Rock Island Section Committee of the Communist Party
To all Communist Party members and Young Communist League

Dear Comrades:
Greetings. With the greatest joy do I greet the proposal of the Section Organizer for the purpose of discussing my reinstatement into the Communist party. The thought that the invitation for my re-entry was made in all sincerity is especially heartening since it refutes the obviously absurd and altogether unfounded charges made by Jack Wilson at the conclusion of the debate on Friday, September 30, 1932.

I justice it that you have realized the injustice of those slanders and the invitation extended by the Section Committee by your Organizer Jack Wilson

We print here extracts from a number of declarations which have been made by well-known militants in the Communist movement, associating themselves with the Communist League of America (Opposition). It is with great joy that we

to rejoin the party is proof of that.

Now, as at all times since my expulsion, I am eager to rejoin the party. I want to re-enter the Communist party because I believe that it is the only real party of the working class... I stand ready to participate in all party activities and abide by Communist discipline—by the Leninist first principle of organization—by the principle of democratic centralism.

The reason for my being out of the party is, I believe, well known to you. I am not out of the party by my own free will. Briefly stated, at the present time I am out of the movement because I was rudely and bureaucratically expelled by the Stalinist leadership for my refusal to condemn the position of the Left Opposition and of comrade Trotsky as counter-revolutionary. My expulsion is due to my refusal to subordinate Communist principle to the bureaucratic leadership, for not condemning the views which I hold to be Marxian and for not belly-crawling before a leadership whose course runs counter to Marxism—Leninism.

The leadership that expelled me is part of the same Stalinist leadership which is responsible for driving out the best fighters from the Communist International, for expelling comrade Trotsky, for imprisoning comrade Rakovsky, and thousands of our Russian Bolsheviks who had the courage of conviction to fight for Leninist policies....

Comrades, at this moment it is not only my readmission which is in question. It is the re-entry of all the thousands of Bolshevik-Leninists who have become the victims of the bureaucratic regime of Stalin and Stalinism. If you desire my return, you must also strive for theirs. The Communist movement stands in need of these comrades. It is only the Left Opposition which is capable of returning the party and the Communist International to a Marxian course and thereby placing it at the head of the working class.

The demand of the Left Opposition has always been that we want to return to

welcome these fighters into the ranks of the Bolshevik-Leninists, confident that they are only one small section of the numerous Communist workers who will continue to swell the ranks of our movement.

the ranks of the Communist International, carrying on activity and abiding by Communist discipline. In re-entering we do not demand that the party accepts our views but that we merely be free to exercise the rights guaranteed by democratic centralism—the right of presenting our stand before the membership at convention time, and having the membership judge the correctness of our position. After the judgment is passed by the membership we shall abide by its decisions, be they what they may....

Comrades, you have invited me to rejoin the party. My answer is that I stand ready. But if you ask me to repudiate the Marxian principles of the Left Opposition I refuse. For me as for every real Communist, Marxian principle stands supreme. In spite of my differences with the present leadership I am ready to take my place in the ranks. Davenport, Iowa.

—GEORGE J. PAPCUN.

Declaration by Pappas

To the Communist League of America
(Left Opposition)

Dear Comrades:

In connection with the menace of Fascism in Germany and the ruinous policy of the German Communist Party and the UCCI—especially on the question of the united front as the most effective weapon with which to combat and sweep away the Fascist reaction—I addressed on August 8, a lengthy statement to my party unit and to the District and Central Executive Committees of the C. P. U. S. A. In it, I pointed out that no conscientious Communist can keep silent any longer on the crimes of the Comintern leadership. I criticized the silence of our central organ, the Daily Worker, and brought out the necessity of opening up a discussion to come to the aid of our German brother party.

For doing this, I was summarily expelled from the party by the District Secretariat without any hearing or trial. In the statement of expulsion appearing

Dead Hand at I. L. D. Meet

Feature of Convention is Absence of Discussion by Members

BOSTON.—

With the national convention of the I. L. D. in Cleveland, came to a close a most important event in the life of our organization. And when we term a national convention of the I. L. D. a most important event we are not exaggerating, for the sharpening economic crisis and intensified persecution of the workers by the exploiting class, have unquestionably broadened the field of activity for the defense organization of the working class. Under these conditions, with a clear-headed leadership, correct policies and tactics, much can be gained for the International Labor Defense. A survey of our successes and failures affords us many lessons for the future.

Lack of Discussion

Yet at this stage in the existence of the I. L. D. when a balance sheet should be drawn up of the past and the basis laid for the future, the material to work with was left behind. This material was nothing less important than the conclusions, recommendations and proposals of the entire organization after a thorough pre-convention discussion by the membership. But there was no pre-convention discussion in the I. L. D. despite the constant protests and demands on the part of members! Since this is the case, it can hardly be said that ours was a convention reflecting the views of the membership. It is a small wonder therefore that the reports given us were so lifeless. It was important to know the number of delegates who attended, the number of branches "represented" and the enthusiasm displayed. From all this something can be learned.

But where are the conclusions drawn? What about our past activity and our plans for the future? That we did not hear, for there was no time at the convention to deal with the several resolutions introduced at the last moment. It is true that certain achievements have been made and important battles have been and are being fought by us. We are justified in taking pride. But to spend a whole convention priding ourselves on our achievements, however small or great, criticizing the membership to the extent that we forget to learn from the past and consider the future, is false and detrimental. We must be able to give ourselves an accounting of the masses we approached in our struggles. Have we organized these masses? How well are we able to retain the recruits we make? The complete turnover in our membership during the first seven months of this year (see October 1932 Labor Defender), is no accident but speaks for something significant.

In the face of this, it was indeed painful to hear that the point stressed most at the convention was that the membership is not sufficiently active, hence the stagnation in our organization. But what else could be expected since the voice of the membership was not heard? Could we expect our leaders to come down and tell us that they bear the greatest responsibility for the existing situation in the I. L. D. and are ready to assume it? Not as long as they can dish out criticism to the rank and file and make them swallow it.

(Continued on page 3)

15th Russian Revolution Anniversary Celebration

ENTERTAINMENT
DANCE
REFRESHMENTS

Saturday Night, November 5th.
126 East 16 Street

Keep this date open for a good time at the International Workers School Hall, with comrades and friends

ADMISSION 25 CENTS

Auspices:

N. Y. Br. Communist League of America

Bankruptcy at 12th Plenum

Theses Fail to Give a Reply to the Burning Questions of the Day

The theses of the 12th Plenum of the ECCI, published in the Daily Worker of October 20th (City Edition) once more gives us an inside picture of the bankruptcy of Stalinism. A resolution with more mistakes and with a greater number of meaningless revolutionary phrases is difficult to conceive of. A thesis of the vanguard of the revolution must present the determining factors of the world situation. The C. I. theses gives more space to secondary questions, leaves out some determining factors and does not deal correctly with the important factors which are taken up.

A Communist thesis for 1932 even though it leaves out the fact the Communist International is itself going through a profound crisis under the Stalin leadership must at least give an answer to the following problems: (1) the world crisis and the perspective. (2) the danger of Fascism in Germany. (3) the role of American imperialism in the present period. (4) the invasion of China by Japanese imperialism (5) the position of the USSR after 15 years and the relation of its contradictions to the imperialist contradictions. From this analysis, directives for the sections of the C. I. must be formulated. The C. I. thesis does not take up these points in their proper relationship.

The third year of the world crisis has long ago passed beyond the economic stage, and has reached a stage of open conflict between the imperialists, in China, in South America; and in Spain and Germany where revolutionary situations developed out of the crisis. The C. I. thesis says that the crisis is mov-

ing to new low levels. It says the end of capitalist stabilization is at hand.

In 1928 the C. I. introduced the "Third Period", as the end of stabilization and the beginning of a period of revolutionary upsurge. In 1930 the C. I. swung to the Right. That is, the theoreticians of the C. I. moved to the Right as the crisis was moving the workers to the Left. Now in 1932, the C. I. in the 12th Plenum informs us that "the end of capitalist stabilization" is at hand. Compared to the Right zig-zag of 1930 (which dropped the form of the "Third Period") but which retained the kernel of the Left zig-zag) this seems to be a return to the 1928 Left zig-zag. However, facts prove the opposite: that the Left shell of the present move is a cloak for a new Rightward shift in the Soviet Union by Stalinism presided by the recent bureaucratic decrees, the expulsions of the 12th Plenum and the growth of the reactionary element.

If, as the thesis says, we are confronted with the end of the period of capitalist stabilization, we would like to know: was capitalism in a condition of stabilization for the last three years of the world crisis? A crisis itself is a condition of the shaking of the economic equilibrium. It is the economic explosion of the accumulation of the contradictions of the capitalist mode of production. Further, if the "Third Period" of 1928 ushered in the end of stabilization and in 1932 we again have the end of stabilization, then it follows that stabilization existed in between. This is a contradiction the Stalinists do not explain.

(Continued on page 3)

Letters from Militants

Jobless United Front in Chicago

CHICAGO.—

For the first time in many years there was achieved in Chicago last night a genuine working-class united front, consisting of the three largest organized unemployed groups in Chicago; the Unemployed Councils of Cook County controlled by the official Communists, the Workers Leagues of America controlled by the United Workers Party and the Chicago Committee of Unemployed controlled by the Socialists. Despite the obvious packing of the hall by the Communist party with delegates from all sorts of paper organizations, all three groups were well represented. Among the other representations were A. F. of L. trade union organizations, and fraternal working class groups. The bulk of representatives, however, came from the branch organizations of the three unemployed bodies, signatories to the call. Among the political organizations directly represented were the Communist party and Y. C. L., Socialist Party and YPSL, Proletarian Party and Farmer-Labor Party. The Left Opposition was represented by three delegates.

The fact that the conference was held and able to organize itself for the tasks set out, namely, the organization of a joint march to the City Hall, energetic fight against the 50% cut in relief and other practical immediate measures, is a living vindication of the correct united front policy that the Left Opposition has so persistently advocated. The party can no longer say in Chicago that it refuses to sit in the same hall with the leaders of the "social-fascists" and even the Left Opposition.

It is a most complete reversal of the "united front from below", so-called; the whole conference was a very dramatic one with frequent outbursts and tense moments. From the moment that the conference elected Weber as chairman by an overwhelming majority, there was no doubt in anybody's mind that the Communist party representatives came with full intentions of "capturing" organizational control of it.

The first order of business was the report of the secretary of the joint committee, Lockner. He read the demands agreed upon by the joint committee of the three organizations. He was followed by additional reporters of the three organizations, Karl Borders, Givens and Lemson. They each stressed the point that despite political differences, unity must be preserved on the question of relief, and against the system that breeds hunger. Following these three a representative of the T. U. L. Mike Zalsko, took the floor and launched into a tirade against the A. F. of L. Delegate McVey, representing the Farmer-Labor Party immediately started to heckle the speaker throwing the conference into pandemonium. He objected to the correct characterizations that Zalsko made against the A. F. of L. After quiet was restored, the speaker was permitted to go on.

The sensation of the whole conference, however, came when John Williamson, Communist party leader, secured the floor, reading a carefully prepared speech in which he, correctly enough, criticized the Socialist party and the other reactionary organizations. However, the manner in which his expressions were formulated coupled with the usual Stalinist name-calling angered the representatives of these organizations and disorder broke out anew. For a moment it looked as if the united front was all over. It was due to the consummate cleverness of the reactionaries that the whole maneuver of the party was turned to the discredit of the party, and instead of strengthening the position of the Communists put them in the light of splitters. Most of the non-partisan workers present saw the party in this bad light and openly gave expression to their feelings.

After Williamson's speech, Borders, McVey and the others took the floor and, in substance, pointed to the attempted disruption on the part of the party, stating, however, that despite all this, no one was going to force them to leave the united front and that they would fight just as strongly as ever for the achievement of the aims of the conference. McVey's speech given in the typical trade union style won the applause of many present. At this point chairman Weber pulled a masterpiece of Stalinist imbecility. He said, "Do you know whom you just have applauded, a man who is splitting away from the conference?" McVey vehemently shouted that this was not so and that he would remain in the conference. The chairman got the horse laugh from all sections of the hall.

Comrade John Edwards, representing the Left Opposition, was the first to rise to ask for the floor in the discussion. However, the chairman simply could not see him, as he called upon delegate after delegate of all other groups. It was

after his insistent effort, together with the demands coming from all sections of the hall, that he was finally given the floor. Comrade Edwards presented the line of the Left Opposition, hailing the first genuine united front conference held in Chicago since the Stalinist regime has been in existence. He pointed to the persistent advocacy of such a correct Leninist united front on the part of the Left Opposition over the period of years. He pledged the support of his organization to the conference and warned the Stalinists, as representatives of Communism, that they must carry through the United Front on the specific issues at hand.

Attorney Goldman who was given the floor to make a collection speech made one of the finest Communist speeches heard in these parts from a Stalinist. His viewpoint on the united front was so close to that of the Left Opposition that he even used the exact words of comrade Trotsky when he stated that, in order to carry out our aims, we can make a united front "even with the devil himself." He continued, "We will criticize each other but we will have a united front because we have to have united mass action. The struggle alone will prove the correctness of the program of the different political lines. But this I know that a Socialist worker bailed before a capitalist judge for participating in the class struggle suffers exactly the same fate as a Communist worker would under the same circumstances. On the other hand, a Communist in bed is as safe as a Socialist in bed. Personally I am convinced that if the workers' struggle is to be successful, the only path is the path of the Communist struggle." Later on when the names of the organizations who gave in the collection were announced he did not shy from mentioning the name of the Communist League of America (Opposition) along with the rest.

One of the most provocative speeches made at the end of the conference was that of Herbert Newton, party Negro leader. He delivered himself of some pure pieces of Stalinist ultimatum, of practically inviting the Socialists, the Farmer-Laborites to leave the conference.

The conference was not without its humorous moments. For example, after the report of the credentials committee, comrade Satir, another delegate of the Left Opposition, arose to ask why the name of our organization was not included in the list of those read. The reporter, Miss Thompson, was evidently not well versed in the intricacies of tendencies in the Communist movement. She took the Communist League to be part of the Communist party organizations and stated so in her answer. The Left Opposition delegates profusely shouted their thanks, stating that that was where they belonged anyway.

The conference adjourned with the singing of the International started by the Left Opposition delegates.

It is the opinion of the comrades here that this united front has far-reaching possibilities. A good deal depends upon the tactics pursued by the Stalinists from now on. It was obvious at the conference that the hang-overs of Stalinism are yet too strong to permit the official party's participation along genuine Leninist lines. Undoubtedly mistakes will be made. We hope that the party will not place itself in such a position as to appear to the workers as splitters and thereby continue to drag the banner of Communism in the mud. The Chicago Left Opposition will very shortly issue a statement on the conference.

—JOSEPH GIGANTI.

Miners Face Big Tasks

(Continued from page 1)

The Lewis-Walker clique is perfectly aware that the danger to their regime remains its former position does not come from the conservative elements in the new union leadership but from the Left wing. In the Illinois Miner, the sorry sheet which functions as their official organ there is a constant barrage against the Communists. Formerly it was directed against the official party, now the main guns are trained against the Left Opposition. This sheet, while attempting to define, as it puts it, the Right Wing Communists, the official party, and the Left wing Communists, the League, warns against our "drifting with the Progressive Miners of America" and against our "doing the best to get control of it." This sheet further concentrates its attacks upon Gerry Allard attempting to reduce his position purely to the one of holding down a job. Of course, to this kind of scribbler no other motive is understandable than the one of holding down a soft job. They complain that Gerry was first with the National Miners Union, then with the UMWA and now with the Progressive Miners.

Such efforts to discredit a Left wing leader will not get very far with the miners, however. To them Allard's position as a militant and as a revolutionist gaining in the ability of pursuing a correct class policy is becoming increasingly clear. Nor will the rank and file miners be much disturbed over their warnings against the Communist League of America. We have taken our position squarely with the new union, as is the duty of all revolutionists, not at all in the sense of supporting the direction which the reactionary careerist elements attempt to impose upon it; but on the contrary, to help the rebellion against the enemy facing the miners in combined force and to help develop it into becoming truly a militant class union. That is the direction which our comrades and supporters in the field pursue.

—A. S.

Our Eight Page Double Anniversary Issue

15 Years of the Russian Revolution—4 Yrs. of the Militant

The fifteenth anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik revolution will be celebrated in the next issue of the **Militant**. At the same time our fighting paper will mark the fourth anniversary of its existence. With the two dates coinciding almost to the day, we are making the next issue a joint anniversary number with twice as many pages as usual.

The eight-page issue will contain a good deal of material on the Russian revolution which is not available to the average militant in this country. Some of it has never appeared in the English language; other documents are known to comparatively few readers. Among them, the readers of the next issue of the **Militant** will find:

The first proclamation of the Revolutionary Military Committee of Petrograd announcing the deposition of the Provisional Government.

The minutes of the Extraordinary Session of the Petrograd Soviet after the Bolshevik insurrection, including speeches by Trotsky and by Lenin who had just come out of enforced concealment.

The minutes of the famous November session of the Petrograd Committee of the Bolshevik party at which Lenin and Trotsky jointly defended their standpoint against the conciliators. These minutes suppressed by Stalin we shall print for the first time.

Lenin's last speech to the Communist International in 1922, at the Fourth Congress, on Five Years of the Russian Revolution, a brilliant summary of its achievements and problems and an advance refutation of the national socialist epizodes.

In addition to these and other historical documents, the **Militant** will contain many other timely articles, including one on the Russian revolution and the American Communist movement, another on the birthday of comrade Leon Trotsky, which falls on the same day as the anniversary of the Russian revolution, etc., etc.

While a special edition will be printed, it will nevertheless still be limited, and we urge that all special orders be sent in immediately and without fail.

New Forces Join the Left Opposition

(Continued from page 1)

raised the question in party meetings as to why the C. I. did not publish Trotsky's arguments. In this way, I pointed out, the party leaders would enlighten the membership. For this the district leadership looked upon me (and many other comrades who also raised this question) with distrust and suspicion. (At this point, I may be permitted to point out that even many of the present lieutenants of Stalinism, at that time, also objected to such expulsions—though in private conversations, under cover.)

The criticisms of the Left Opposition on the fundamental questions and their proposals put forward convinced me of its correctness. I, therefore, unconditionally declare myself in full agreement with the views of the Left Opposition. In my struggle against the district and TUUL bureaucracy through the fraction of the Food Workers Industrial Union, (which I shall deal with on another occasion) the proposals I put forward there, were, in the main guided by the policies of the Left Opposition.

Under the theory of the "third period", the party split the Left wing forces away from the A. F. of L., thus resulting in giving the yellow traitors a free hand for their betrayals and sell-outs. Even small, insignificant Left wing groups were also split away from the various A. F. of L. unions in order to build revolutionary unions. (Hundreds of these groups compose today the various leagues and unions of the TUUL). For, according to the theory that the A. F. of L. is a Fascist and company union, the Left wing could not possibly afford to "lose time" working within these unions. Guided by the theory of "social-Fascism", the party also split independent unions like the Amalgamated Food Workers that for years supported the revolutionary movement. This same notorious theory prevented the party from accepting the united front in the Illinois miners' strike, even when it was proposed by the unions influenced by the Muste group.

The united front question today is one of the most important weapons of the working class against the brutal, vicious attacks of the employers to reduce the already miserable standard of living. On this question the party, due to its ruinous theory of "Fascism" and "social-Fascism" confuses this question by proposing a united front from below which is concretized as follows:

Sympathizers, who are members of the A. F. of L. or other unions, are called to a united front conference "from below" organized by the TUUL. These members represent in reality no organization, since they were not elected by any. When the conference is ended, the members cannot report the results of the conference to their respective local union for, as mentioned above, they were not elected by it. Even if the dare make a report, the yellow leaders of the union locals, according to the law of the constitution where no member has the right to represent a local on his own initiative, could demand their expulsion. The united front conference of the FWIU held here last winter and lasting but two days, was typical of the nature of such conferences....

In spite of the slanders and calumnies of the party against the views of the Left Opposition, and the bureaucratic suppression of the party membership by forbidding them to read even the literature of the Left Opposition, and attending their lectures, the party members begin to see and realize the true Leninist role of the Left Opposition. The blind belief in the party leadership falls aside. I know of a number of party members who are in secret sympathy with the tactical and organizational program of the Left Opposition. It is only a hair's breadth that separates these members organizationally from the Left Opposition.

Long live the views of the Left Opposition and its great international leaders, Trotsky and Bakovsky, and the thou-

sands of imprisoned and exiled Left Oppositionists! Long live the World Revolution!

For the regeneration of Lenin's third International!

Comradely,
—SEBASTIAN PAPPAS.

Help the Illinois Miners

The heroic battle which the Illinois miners have been fighting for months against the greatest odds is in itself an appeal to every worker in the country to come to their aid. The long period of unemployment through which most of them have gone has left them in no position to conduct a struggle without assistance from the outside. Relief is now urgently required by the men and their families, and the miners' union is now making a great effort to supply the coal, diggers with a minimum of assistance. The **Militant** therefore urges all its readers to do their utmost in coming to the aid of the men in Illinois. In your union, your fraternal organization, in whatever movement you may have a voice, raise the question of relief for the Illinois miners, and then contribute all that you yourself can raise among your friends and comrades.

All aid should be forwarded to the Progressive Miners of America, Gillespie, Illinois.

USE THE CLUB PLAN. GET SUBS FOR THE MINERS.

HAVE YOU SENT IN YOUR GREETING TO THE ANNIVERSARY ISSUE?

MILITANT BUILDERS

Our Club Plan

COMPLETING THE CIRCUIT

Since last week's report two more cities have stepped up to the firing line and sent in club plan subs. They are Philadelphia and Toronto. Philadelphia makes an occasional appearance in these lists but the name of Toronto is almost a newcomer. Greetings! Salute us often in like manner.

PITTSBURGH

Last week we heard from comrades Vonnas and Sifakis again. This puts them away out in front. You can judge from what they say whether this is a sudden burst or the beginning of a powerful and sustained drive. We think it is the latter and we urge all comrades to read attentively and follow suit: "with a depression like this it is very hard to approach the workers and ask them to subscribe for the **Militant** or to donate the sum of fifty cents for a miner's sub. As we know, very many workers not only can't afford to pay fifty cents but are in great need of money and it is a problem to them how to make their living. So far as we could go we succeeded in collecting 8 subs given by workers, of which 4 are of the miners and 4 for the names below. 2 have been collected by comrade Sifakis and six by comrade Vonnas.

The names of the workers who donated for the miners' subs are: M. Vasiliadis 50c; D. Babarin—50c; P. G. M.—50c; Bill Theodoris—50c. The sub of George Cephalos has been donated by two workers who can't read English and who knew that George could but couldn't afford to pay 50c; so they gave 25c each. Is any comment needed on this really inspiring news from our comrades in Pittsburgh?

MINERS' SUBS

In response to our appeals for subs for miners we have received \$3.50 which, according to the club plan rate, is 11 subs. 11 miners are now entered on the **Militant** mailing list who were not there before. The comrades who sent them in are as follows: J. Sifakis—\$2; P. Vonnas—\$2; J. Hamilton—\$1; H. Nash—\$.50.

This is only a small beginning. On the preliminary lists which comrade Angelo has sent us there are sixty more names. And there are other lists coming. The procedure is to transfer these names to the **Militant** list as fast as we get subs for them.

HOW TO GET SUBS FOR MINERS

The club plan drive should be pointed in this direction. There are two pivotal points. The first is to get outright

donations for this purpose from comrades, sympathizers and workers' organizations. Remittances should be made on the club plan basis. The minimum remittance should be \$2 for which we will shoot out four half-year subs. This does not mean that the \$2 must be raised from one comrade or sympathizer. No, it can be collected from three or four or half a dozen. But the remittances should be made in units of \$2.

A second way of raising money for miners' subs is to get half-year subs from workers at the old rate of \$1 and include it in a club plan of four. In this case you need send in only two names on the club plan blank and \$2, explaining that the other two names are to be filled in by us with miners' names. But be sure to explain to the subscriber that he is asked to subscribe, in effect, for himself and a miner for a half year each at the rate of \$1 for both. Explain that we are able to do this because you will include his sub with another on a club plan sub and that thereby the minimum of \$2 will be realized enabling us to fill in two miners' names.

\$30 DOES THE TRICK

\$30 will transfer the whole of comrade Angelo's list to the **Militant** mailing list. But more than that it will mean 60 miners who will read the **Militant** regularly. So let's get going. Who will be the first to knock this \$30 down a peg or two? Have no hesitation. Step right up.

THE STAFF RECORD

It looks as if comrade Vonnas is going to win that copy of the "Proletarian Revolution in Russia" by Lenin and Trotsky we are offering to the comrade who heads the staff in the anniversary issue on November 5.

P. Vonnas	84
H. Nash	3
W. Krebn	3
B. Morgenstern	2
A. Konikow	2
O. Coover	2
H. A.	2
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Left Opposition Movement Growing in Canada

The period following the last plenum of the Communist League has marked the definite expansion of the Left Opposition in Toronto. Indices of this political and organizational progress are manifest in the several fields of education and agitation, trade union contacts, literature sales, youth work, and branch recruiting, all of which strengthens the premises for a more comprehensive program of action. In appraising this activity it must not be forgotten that the Communist movement in Ontario has been declared by the courts to be illegal, and the revolutionary organizations are subjected to the most rigorous police persecution.

Educational Work
One of the outstanding undertakings of the branch has been the organization of a class in Marxism, under the direction of comrade Maurice Spector. The importance of theoretical training of cadres of the younger generation, cannot be overestimated. Reference to this urgent need was among the most conspicuous points in L. D.'s letter of greeting to the first (Chicago) Conference of the Opposition. Continuity of revolutionary Marxian thought must be maintained—never more so than in the present period of Stalinist falsification of Bolshevik history and corruption of theory in the Comintern.

The class was launched in the hottest season of the year but drew an attendance of between thirty-five to forty, throughout, although as a matter of policy (in the interests of a selection that would be stable) no effort was made to recruit in the highways and byways. The predominant element was naturally the youth, but there was also an adult proletarian element with trade union experience and connections. The first part of the course dealt with the theoretical system of Marx, the next with the strategy of the proletariat in the struggle for power, and the concluding part is to take up the problems of socialist-Soviet construction. The lectures were supplemented by mimeographed readings from the revolutionary classics, and the organization of a lending library.

It may be stated without exaggeration that as a result, the revolutionary movement has gained a number of keen, energetic and loyal militants, who have accepted the full implication of the

dictum that Marxism is no dogma but a guide to action.

It has been decided to continue the class throughout the winter and to draw in fresh elements.

Trade Union Activity

The events in the Montreal needle trades which precipitated the revolt of the rank and file in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union against the Hillman bureaucracy, also revealed the sterility of the "third period-social-Fascist" trade union strategy of Stalinism. The leadership of the "Industrial Union" (IILU) was so thoroughly satisfied with itself and the structure and objectives of the union as the final word in revolutionary engineering, that it remained blissfully unaware of the actual ferment that was going on among the "backward" masses in the Amalgamated. As a result, despite the fact that the Industrial Union had been in existence for three years it was isolated from the discontented mass in the older union, and the workers anxious to throw off the chains of the Hillman machine, set up a new union. Instead of striving for relations of close and comradely solidarity with a movement that was genuinely of the masses, the officialdom of the Industrial Union adopted a truculent, ultimatum position of antagonism. Their attitude was one of "Caesar or nothing! Join us or we will smash you." The strength of the Industrial Union did not suffice to prevent the new union from consolidating itself in Montreal but it did suffice to retard the organization of a similar mass movement of revolt under Left wing leadership against Hillmanism in Toronto. The Hillman officialdom have for the time being got the situation in hand and are busily quoting the articles of the "Industrial Union" strategists to prove that it is hardly worth while to break away from the Amalgamated for a union that is not as unqualifiedly revolutionary as the IILU.

The "third period" trade union tactics did however meet with resistance from a sector of the Left wing which rejected the ultimatum attitude. With these comrades the Left Opposition established contact and embarked on a course of friendly collaboration. The basis of this collaboration was clearly defined from the very beginning. This group of Left

wing trade unionists most of whom have passed through all the experiences of the TUUL, reject the Stalinist slander about the Opposition. They agreed that an organized Left wing, its policies proceeding from the recognition of the class struggle, is the prerequisite to any militant program of action.

Literature—The Militant—Unser Kampf
The sales of the **Militant**, which had slumped prior to the plenum, have tripled. There is a growing demand for our pamphlet literature, with the satisfaction of which the rich censorship interferes. The Customs confiscates our material and the **Militant** is prohibited entry in the West, as being Bolshevik propaganda. Apparently the capitalist authorities are not convinced by Stalin's assurances to the contrary. The sale of **Unser Kampf** is similarly increasing and the branch has taken steps to knit the sympathizers of this paper into a stable organization.

Organization and Agitation

The branch has been increasing its membership steadily. We put into effect the principle "from each according to his abilities". No merely passive allegiance is allowed. No one is permitted to wear the badge of the Opposition by merely giving verbal adherence to its principles. Our comrades are active in defense work, trade union work, literature distribution, etc. Comrades MacDonald and Spector, to the great distress of the Stalin officials, have been called upon to speak to the various Workers Associations, forums, etc. The Stalin organ has consequently become more venomous in its falsifications. Rumors are circulated that "MacDonald opposed a demonstration in Queens Park" (in connection with a deputation from Workers and Producers Conference to place its demands before Premier Henry). Or in connection with a previous deputation for the repeal of section 98 "Spector was afraid to address the Premier". But such lies out of the whole cloth are punctured as soon as the workers read our press and see us in action.

A Canadian Organ of the Opposition
To deal more effectively with the problems of the class struggle in the Dominion, we are preparing to publish the first number of a monthly organ of the Opposition to coincide with the celebration of the October anniversary. Toronto.

—S.

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The Stalinists at the Twelfth Plenum

(Continued from page 1)

To pose the question in the fourth year of the crisis as the end of the period of stabilization is to use phrases instead of analysis unless the "analysis" means that after three years of crisis the condition is to become worse for capitalism, that the semi-open conflicts are to break out into open imperialist wars and revolutions. However, we will show that the thesis speaks differently on this point. We will take this phase up later.

If we are now at the end of stabilization what would you call the period of the crisis just before, where we have had the invasion of China by Japan, the revolutions "between" the United States and Great Britain in South America, the Spanish revolution, the Indian situation and above all the danger of Fascism in Germany? Was this the characterization of stabilization?

To draw an analogy we can say that the "Third Period" designed the second period as a period of stabilization, from 1923 or 1921 to 1928. In this period of stabilization we had the British General strike, the Vienna uprising and the Chinese revolution. Following this second period came the third period of revolutionary upsurges. The C. I.'s guess was a miserable failure. But history does not repeat itself. We are on safer ground, not due to Stalinism, but due to the Left Opposition.

Ebb and Flow in the Decay Stage

To talk constantly about the end of stabilization and revolutionary upsurge is to replace Marxian analysis with Stalinist phrases. The "beginning" of stabilization is just as dangerous for capitalism as the "end" of stabilization. Because this mechanical schema does not fit the facts of the dialectic stages and its cycle. Because the cycle of capitalism has reached the decay stage. The whole period is a period of wars and revolutions, but within this period there are ebbs and flows.

In this decay stage, favorable situations for the seizure of power will exist and have existed in the periods of ebbs as well as flows. A Marxist must present strategy for the party and the class in the decay stage, but this can only be done providing the ebbs and flows, that is, the general direction of the whole in the downward curve of decay capitalism, as well as the parts to the whole, are presented. In other words, the whole period is a period of revolutionary possibilities and in either periods of ebbs and flows within the whole period these revolutionary possibilities are transformed into realities. To take advantage of these realities means to know the direction, the ebb or flow, so that proper tactic can be formulated. This the Stalinists are failing to do and have failed to do.

What Is the Perspective?

After three years of crisis and depression what is the perspective? Are there still possibilities for ebbs and flows in the economy of capitalism, or will the whole future from now on be downward? On the contrary, ebbs and flows are

ahead, but different kinds of ebbs and flows than we had in the growth stage of capitalism.

The reorganization and readjustments are proceeding not only in the United States but in other important links at the expense of the working class, the peasantry and the weaker section of the exploiters. The failure of the Stalinist leadership to take advantage of the favorable revolutionary situations since the 1923 German revolution as well as the present German situation has not only enabled the capitalist class to obtain a worthwhile breathing spell, but has weakened our forces.

Considering all these factors together, one cannot at this stage lay down a definite perspective of a worse condition as the only variant ahead, as the C. I. does. On the contrary, one possible variant, far from excluded, is the possibility of a short upturn. Not a return to prosperity or the end of capitalist stabilization, which was not stable for the last three years. It will be one of the brief flows in the downward curve of decay capitalism. This holds the upturn within definite limitations. Every process as well as every major stage, of birth, growth and decay has within it its ebbs and flows. Growth has its dynamic flows and difficult ebbs but decay has its turbulent ebbs and prolonged spasmodic ebbs.

A short upturn solves nothing for the workers—the way towards which the social reformer is looking and hoping. For the capitalist, it prepares the way for greater explosions or greater accumulations of contradictions.

Crisis and depressions, unless transformed to deeper levels of revolutionary situations, always put the workers on the defense. Drive them to lower standards and scatter their organized forces. Upturns have the opposite effects upon our class. Upturns release a certain economic pressure but at the same time usher in the workers into the new conditions with no economic gains, which means relatively worse conditions. The released pressure and worse conditions creates a contradiction, this time for the capitalists which drives the workers into the counter-offensive. Signs of this are already at hand in isolated examples especially the miners' strike in Belgium and the miners' strike in Illinois, embryonic signs but nevertheless signs.

Did Stalinism Forget America?

In considering the role of American imperialism this thesis seems to think that such an imperialism is of little importance in world politics. The proper elevation of the role of American imperialism, in a C. I. resolution today, must place it as the leading imperialist power of world capitalism, as the dominating economic power that has in the past and continues in the present to take the determining role in the struggle against the extension of the October revolution. The role of American imperialism, in Europe, in Asia, in South America as well as its relations to the Soviet Union must be an elementary consideration for

a thesis that makes up the world problems of the vanguard.

The Main Danger in Germany

The danger of Fascism in Germany is not posed in its proper relationship. The resolution uses enough ink in speaking of Fascism and Germany but does not pull out the determining factor—THE DANGER OF FASCISM IN GERMANY. Instead, the thesis turns the problem upside down and tells us that the main enemy is the social democrats. It says, "Only by directing our main blows against social democracy, this social mainstay of the bourgeoisie."

The thesis clings to the theory of "Social-Fascism" and tells us most learned and wanted wisdom—that the bourgeoisie is the main enemy of the proletariat in Germany. This is not told to school children but to the vanguard of the proletariat. Abstract thinking is essential but there are times when abstract thinking and presentations become the worst enemy for advancing the workers' cause. Or more often it is a cheap substitute for lack of knowledge as to what to do. The latter is the case with the Stalinists. The danger of Fascism in Germany and its international historical importance is brushed over with meaningless phrases.

The Far East Conflict

The Manchurian situation is treated in an equal bankrupt fashion. The thesis says, "The chief hot-bed for breeding a new imperialist war is the Pacific." "Japanese imperialism in alliance with France and with the actual support of England, is converting Manchuria into its colony and has thus put the armed struggle for the partition of China and intervention against the USSR on the order of the day." In this sentence the United States, which the thesis correctly says, "is pursuing its imperialist aims in the Far East" is put on the basis as struggling against a line-up of Japan "in alliance with France" and "actually supported by England." This is not the line up in the Far East, even though interests run parallel for a time.

All facts point to a much more complicated imperialist as well as Soviet Union problem. To pass this problem off in such a "simple" way and at the same time fail to show its relations to the danger of Fascism in Germany is to fail to present the contradictions of world capitalism in their proper relationship.

The Position of the Soviet Union

The question of the position of the Soviet Union is the most disgraceful part. To cover up our weak points, to hide from the world proletariat our true conditions, when the whole capitalist world knows these difficulties, is to lull to sleep the only class that will defend the Soviet Union, disarm them and helping the enemy. The thesis says referring to the Soviet Union, "That country has completely established itself in the position of socialism; the second five year plan provides for the final abolition of classes and the conversion of the whole toiling population of the country into active and

conscious builders of a classless society." The internal difficulties due to objective conditions of a backward country industrializing the country, with world capitalism fighting this industrialization, and the subjective difficulties of the wrong theory of socialism in one country, combined with the effects of the world crisis upon the Soviet Union, have placed our fatherland in a most difficult position. The policy of Stalinism is accelerating the difficulties.

Directives for the United States

The resolution ends by giving such directives in the coming period. With the end of capitalist stabilization the thesis gives the following directives for the United States. Even though we grant that the tempo toward revolutionary upsurge in the United States will be slower than the other countries the directives are inadequate and wrong for this period, for any period. They say, "For social insurance, against wage cuts, for immediate assistance for the unemployed. For equal rights for the Negroes and self-determination in the Black Belts. For assistance for the ruined farmers. For the defense of the Chinese people and the Soviet Union."

The thesis, you will remember speaks of "the end of capitalist stabilization," and "the development of the revolutionary upsurge and preparation for the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat." Not that the upsurge will be even, or everywhere at once, but that in the present period the general direction for the whole, is toward revolutionary upsurge. No sooner do they tell us this, when we are ready to prepare for action to fit this, that is action to fit the end of capitalist stabilization and revolutionary upsurge, than the fifth section of the thesis presents the directives. And here they are:

"The general task of the Comintern and its sections in the present period is to wage a concrete struggle: (1) Against the capitalist offensive. (2) Against Fascism and reaction. (3) Against the impending war and intervention in the Soviet Union." The directives contradict the first part of the thesis. The directives are DEFENSIVE struggles against the capitalists. If the first part is true: "the end of capitalist stabilization and revolutionary upsurge are ahead," then the "general tasks" are not correct. And if the general tasks are correct for the coming period, defensive struggles, then the first part of the thesis is incorrect. There will be defensive struggles in the period of preparation for revolutionary upsurge, that is sure, but the general tasks, means to point to the main line of march and preparations.

The economic analysis of the Left Opposition of world capitalism, on the contrary, points to a period ahead where we must now inform the party and the class to prepare the battle-lines to transform the present and past several years of defensive struggles into offensive struggles of the proletariat against the capitalist. First for immediate demands to be developed with the tempo and to conform to the strength or weakness of the link to a higher stage of an offensive for the overthrow of the capitalist rule.

—HUGO OEHLE.

Archives of the Opposition

The Legend of Brest-Litovsk

The new generation in the Comintern knows nothing about how the Chinese revolution was slain, or how the Left wing Minority Movement in the British trade unions was strangled; but for that it is educated on secondary episodes of the past of the type of the "August bloc" (1912!), or the Brest-Litovsk differences which are presented as two irreconcilable entities: Leninism and Trotskyism.

The decision on the Brest-Litovsk differences was adopted by the Seventh Congress of the party in March 1918. The discussions at this Congress were of a heated character. But to characterize the relations of the party to the participants in the dispute, the results of the party elections are more telling than anything else. It was a question of the Central Committee. Bucharin's group, in protest, refused to participate in the elections of the Central Committee. Thirty-four delegates actually did participate. The chairman reported the results (we quote from the official published minutes of the Seventh Congress, page 177):

"A Commission including Avanesov, Soloviev and Shelavina served as tellers. Permit us to announce the results. Altogether, 39 ballots were cast. Five comrades abstained from voting. They cast blank ballots. The rest are divided as follows: Lenin—34, Trotsky—34, Sverdlov—33, Zinoviev—33, Bucharin—

32, Sokolnikov—32, Stalin—32, Krestinsky—32, Smilga—29, Stassova—28, Lashviev—27, Schmidt—26, Dzherzhinsky—26, Vladimirov—24, Sergeev—23."

The same Congress elected a commission to elaborate the party program. The significance of this commission requires no explanation. Let us present here, word for word, the brief discussion on the question of the make-up of the commission and the results of the voting:

"Uritsky—I, at least, am unaware of any programmatic articles by Stalin or Zinoviev, but Radek's are well known. I therefore propose to include Radek instead of Stalin."

"Chairman—Stalin has written on the national question, whoever read them—knows. This is not the question. Since objections have been raised, I will put the names to a vote."

"The voting takes place. For Lenin—37, Bucharin—36, Sokolnikov—25, Trotsky—37, Zinoviev—30, Stalin—21, Smilga—32, Radek—19, Obolensky—7."

"Electors: Lenin, Trotsky, Bucharin, Smirnov, Sokolnikov, Stalin, Zinoviev." (Minutes of the Congresses and Conferences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), pages 160-170.)

Later every document of the party's past bears every witness against the regime of falsifications!

Two Press Comments on Russia

AS IT IS TODAY

"As to the prospects (of world revolution.—Ed.) one might think this state of affairs offers to Soviet diplomats, who are alert and experienced in social upheaval, the Moscow press says nothing. Indeed, it is immensely significant that in the countless articles devoted to foreign affairs in the past two months, anything to indicate the Soviet attitude or bias has been scrupulously repressed."

"What is more, during the celebrations of Maxim Gorky's jubilee, which occupied the pages of the Soviet press, there was scarcely a line in the speeches and articles to show that the Soviet Union was interested in world revolution. So much so, that a suggestion of the French radical writer, Henri Barbusse, that the time was approaching for the proletariat to throw off its chains struck a jarring note."

"The Soviet press holds true to the Kremlin policy that world revolution will be a product of circumstances and not propaganda, and that it is the Russians' business to cultivate their own garden and set the example of a successful Socialist State."

—Wireless dispatch from Moscow to the New York Times (10-2-1932) by Walter Duranty.

AS IT ONCE WAS

"Before the review commenced, a group of speakers from the Communist International ascended the tribune to greet them in the name of their own proletariat. The Russian leaders, who have never for a moment forgotten the international character of the struggle they are conducting, invariably include the representatives of the fighting proletariat of other lands in every celebration of the Red Republic. The broader issues of the contest now being waged on Russian soil, are constantly held before the people: the Red Army, on its fourth anniversary, must not forget that it is serving first and foremost as the vanguard of the world proletariat in its advancing march towards freedom; while the members of the Communist International know that on hailing the triumphant forces of Russia, they can rejoice at the closer approach of the world revolution."

"... The reviewers stood on one side of the square, Trotsky in his mind ... It was a magnificent spectacle, dedicated to the cause of world revolution."

—Report from Moscow on the Red Army Anniversary to the Communist Review (June 1922) by E. Roy.

How the Stalinists Ran the I. L. D. Convention

(Continued from page 1)

If we had been given the opportunity to avail ourselves of our constitutional right of pre-convention discussion, there is no doubt that the entire picture would be changed. For the most important task is not to dismiss the whole matter of the very existence of the organization simply by laying it to the passivity of the membership, but rather for all of us to determine the cause of this passivity of the membership, passivity and to remedy it. Are our leaders certain that the past policies of the I. L. D. have been correct, beyond criticism? Is there no possibility that there is something that the members are not fully in agreement with? To assume that the rank and file who not only follow but also think, after a thorough discussion, would have nothing to say in opposition to the role played by the

profits ranging from 38 to 120%. While the Narikin, the newly rich, lived riotously, the workers and peasants felt the pangs of hunger gnawing ever more fiercely. A period of growing strikes and tenant outbursts culminated finally in the nation-wide rice riots of 1918.

The post-war period brought an even more severe crisis in Japan than in the other capitalist countries. Once more Japan's imports exceeded her exports so that the first five post-war years showed a greater deficit than the enormous surplus of the four war years. Unemployment became general and took on unprecedented proportions for the first time in Japan's history. The mushroom companies of the war period, the overexpanded industries, experienced widespread failures. In 1923 the Great Earthquake added its ghastly burden to the suffering of the masses. On the land the War accelerated the process of concentration of ownership. The number of peasants owning their own land had fallen by 38,000 during the six years before the War but in the five years following the War this class decreased by 450,000.

I. L. D. in the Morgenstern-Goodman case and in the case of the New York Marine Workers, is to underestimate the class conscious and thinking ability of the workers. A serious consideration of these points would lead us to some conclusions.

Conclusions to Draw

1. The I. L. D. must become the true mass organization for the defense, the organization and training for self-defense of the working class.

2. The I. L. D. must truly defend all workers regardless of political views and affiliations. The position taken by the I. L. D. officials in the Morgenstern-Goodman case and towards the marine workers, left a stain on the forehead of our organization which can be eradicated only by proof that such basic errors will not be repeated in the future. Only in this way will the I. L. D. prove itself the "shield of the working class."

3. The I. L. D. must go deeper into the masses. It has suffered more than it can stand through its sectarian and isolationist policy.

4. Our united front conferences in the future must be a complete turn from the past. A united front from below is meaningless since the bulk of the workers are still under the influence of and follow the reactionary and reformist leaders.

5. Educational work and discussion within the organization to raise the level of understanding of the rank and file, to avoid turning the I. L. D. into a collection agency and every member a collector. It would be absurd to say that the I. L. D. can exist without funds. No one makes such an assertion. However, the raising of funds and other questions like it will be more successful when they are bound up with and a result of a thorough understanding of the class struggle by our membership, and by pursuing a policy which will extend the influence and following of the I. L. D. Only then will the worker become a valuable element in the I. L. D. and in the revolutionary movement as a whole.

—CHARLOTTE SCHECHET.

JAPAN

Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat

By Jack Weber

(Continued from last issue)

Rise of Japan, Decline of England

The rise of English capitalism caused the ruin of the handicraft cotton industries of India, China and Japan. But not forever could England guard and keep secret the machines that gave her power. To-day enemies stalks the British Empire and the East ousts England from her greatest markets for cotton manufactures. Naturally England will use every weapon of resistance to fend off the inevitable, the British Empire will not vanish without gigantic struggles, death-throes one might well call them. The tariff, imperial preference, the capitalist onslaught on wages, particularly in the Lancashire mills—these are symbols of the decline of British capitalism, of the precarious position she occupies in world markets, of the depletion of her natural resources (coal), of the rising costs of manufacturing. The rise of Japan as a manufacturing nation is an added force tending towards accelerating the decline of English capitalism.

The Rhythm of Cotton Technology

The more advanced the technology, the finer the yarns and piece-goods it can produce. The Lancashire mills, the oldest in the world, are still pre-eminent in the making of fine goods, the kind used in the more advanced countries. But the East—India, China, Japan—with its teeming millions, uses coarse yarn and goods, the type first developed by a new technology. The mystery of cotton manufacturing has followed the same rhythm in every country, Japan being quite typical. At first Japan was a market for coarse piece-goods and the heavier, coarser yarns of English make. Gradually the yarns of coarse size were produced at home until they ceased to be imports and became exports. In this stage Japan ousted England from India and China for this type of yarn. Still later the coarse yarn was used in domestic weaving to produce coarse piece-goods which thus became the export. At this stage Japan captured the Asian market outside of India almost completely away from England. Japan encroached rapidly even on the Indian market with the results already outlined, the closing of India to Japan by England. In this process not only has Japan imported greater and greater amounts of raw cotton but latterly she has been

importing additional yarn (made in China) for her factories.

Limited Possibility for Japanese Growth

The entire development of Japanese capitalism is conditioned by the epoch in which it arose, the era of imperialism. Forced to follow in the wake of the imperialist powers, Japan's normal growth was stunted. Imperialism signifies the decay of democracy and the militarizing of the imperialist power in its desperate struggle for larger and larger markets. This fact helps to account for the omission of the bourgeois revolution with its democratic phase in Japan's development and for the ease with which the feudal lords were able to direct Japan's course. If to-day, before the achievement of any "real" democracy in Japanese government, we witness movements calling themselves Fascist, the reason is that developments are foreshortened in Japan so that the so-called Fascism, the outgrowth of the military oligarchy, tends to strangle democracy in its very birth. On the economic field imperialism gives occasion to the peculiar phenomenon of the export of finance capital by Japan to China for the setting-up of cotton mills there even before Japan has saturated her own home market. Practically 40% of all Chinese cotton spindles are owned by Japanese capitalists. In the developments of Chinese and Indian cotton manufacturing, we see however the same fate meted out to Japan that she meted out to England—the loss of markets. Already China has ousted Japan from her market for the sale of yarns and India already has more spindles than Japan. Japanese capitalism rests on cheaper labor than that of England but both India and China rely on labor still cheaper than that of Japan. A girl spinner in Japan gets 50 to 60 cents for 10 hours of work. A male spinner in India gets from 34 to 43 cents for 10 hours.

Japan's development in the last 70 years, looked at closely, has been slow rather than fast, much slower than that of England even during its experimental stage. Her home market is not a strong one; for example, in the cotton industry, on the basis of yarn consumed Japan does not produce nearly as much goods as England, the U. S. or even India, and yet Japan exports more cotton cloth than any other country except England, —because she sells less at home due to

the lower per capita consumption of her poverty-stricken population. It is a foregone conclusion that Japan will never attain the height of development reached by England in the cotton industry which, nevertheless, is Japan's greatest industry.

"The Big Five"

A striking phenomenon illustrating Japan's uneven capitalist development under the imperialist forces shaping her institutions, is the growth of tremendous empires of monopoly capitalism side-by-side with her backward industrial forms. The Japanese government has consistently encouraged combinations of capital. During periods of crisis when capitalists find themselves on the verge of bankruptcy, the government intervenes directly to bring about amalgamations and greater monopolistic concentrations of industry, banking, etc. The "Big Five" of Japan are the very heart of Japanese imperialism. They are banks in the same sense as the National City Bank in the U. S. and the Midland Bank of England; that is to say, they are the sources of finance capital. No big undertaking can be started in Japan without the aid of one or more of these banks. To enumerate the companies controlled by the Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Dai-ichi, Sumitomo and Yasuda banks would be to catalog every great Japanese enterprise. The Mitsui Co. alone controls 25% of the entire export trade of Japan and handles coal, copper, sulphur, jamber, cotton, silk, sugar, etc. It imports ships, locomotives, steel bridges, opium, machine tools, paper pulp. It is the largest owner of coal mines in the East. It handles the millions of tons of the soy bean crop of Manchuria and practically owns the forests of Hokkaido besides having the monopoly of camphor in Formosa. The Mitsubishi Bank controls the shipping industry and all the large shipping companies of Japan. It has vast interests in the engineering industries. It is vitally concerned in the South Manchuria Railroad. These banks, the "Big Five", are gigantic combines,

vertically and horizontally, with tremendous and cynically recognized power in government. Japanese papers refer to a Mitsui cabinet or a Mitsubishi ministry since the Mitsui's "own" the Seiyuaki Party and the Mitsubishi subsidize the Minseito Party.

Effects of the War on Japan

The World War gave Japanese capitalism so tremendous an impetus that it can be said to have reached maturity with this period. The war freed Japan temporarily from the strangling fetters of competition. After a year of painful readjustment, Japanese capitalism seized its opportunity to invade all the markets of the East as well as Africa, the South Sea Islands and Australia. No better measure can be given of the extent of its new trade than the relation of exports to imports. From the Sino-Japan war up to the World War, imports exceeded exports each year, leaving a total excess of imports of 928,803,000 yen at the beginning of the War. The first three years of the War cancelled this deficit so that by 1918 there was an actual surplus of exports amounting to 467,000,000 yen.

Before the War England controlled 53% of the imports of cotton piece-goods to China, Japan sending only 20%. By 1925 Japan had 51% of this business, England only 38%. The present Japanese steel industry is the product of the War. The number of factory workers increased almost half a million from the outbreak of War to Oct. 1917.

Of far greater importance however, are not these figures, but the changed social conditions, the enriching of the few and the utter pauperizing of the masses. The same process of inflation occurred in Japan as elsewhere. Prices doubled, then tripled and went skyrocketing. Wages remained stationary or lagged far behind the rising cost of living. Food became scarce. The profits made by the capitalists were simply enormous. Certain mushroom steel companies, sugar manufacturers, shipping concerns, showed

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What They Say in Prague About the United Front

From the Series of Articles in the Forthcoming Book 'The Only Road' - : by Leon Trotsky

(Continued from last issue)

The united front on the international scale, as we have said above, contains the greatest difficulties and dangers, for there the formulation of the practical tasks and the organization of mass control is harder. That is how matters stand above all in the question of the struggle against war. The prospects of joint actions are far slighter here, the possibilities of subterfuge and deception by the reformists and pacifists are far greater. By this, of course, we do not contend that the united front in this field is out of the question. On the contrary, we demanded that the Comintern should turn directly and immediately to the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals with the proposal for a joint anti-war congress. It would then have been the task of the Comintern to work out the most concrete possible obligations, applicable to the various countries and differing circumstances. Were the social democracy compelled to agree to such a congress, the problem of war, providing there were a correct policy on our side, could be driven into its ranks like a sharp wedge.

The first premise for this: utmost clarity, political as well as organizational. There is involved an agreement of proletarian, million-membered organizations, which are today still divided by deep antagonisms in principle. No ambiguous intermediaries, no diplomatic masquerades and hollow pacifist formulae!

The Comintern, however, found it proper this time also to act counter to the A B C of Marxism: while it refused to enter into open negotiations with the reformist Internationals, it opened up negotiations behind the scenes with Friedrich Adler through the medium... of the pacifist literary gentleman and first class muddlehead, Henri Barbusse. As a result of this policy, Barbusse gathered together in Amsterdam half-masked Communist or "related", "sympathizing" organizations and groups, together with the pacifist free lancers of all countries. The most honest and sincere among the latter—and they are the minority—can each say for himself: "I and my confusion." Who needed this masquerade, this bazaar of intellectualistic conceit, this Münzenbergerie, which converges into downright political charlatanism?

But let us return to Prague. Five months after the appearance of the article discussed above, the same journal printed the article of one of the party leaders, Kl. Gottwald, which bears the character of an appeal to the Czechoslovakian workers of the different tendencies to make fighting agreements. The Fascist danger menaces all of Central Europe: the onslaught of the reaction can be beaten off only by the unity of the proletariat; no time should be lost, it is already "five minutes to twelve". The appeal is very passionately written. In vain, however, does Gottwald swear, following Seydewitz and Thälmann, that he is not pursuing the interests of the party but the interests of the class: such a contrast is absolutely improper in the mouth of a Marxist. Gottwald stigmatizes the sabotage of the social democratic leaders. It is needless to say that the truth here is entirely on his side. Unfortunately, the author says nothing direct about the policy of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party: evidently he is not resolved upon defending it, but does not yet dare to criticize it. Gottwald himself, nevertheless, goes into the grievous question, not resolutely, it is true, but still fairly correctly. After he has called upon the workers of the various tendencies to come to an agreement in the factories, Gottwald writes: "Many of you may perhaps say: Unite there 'at the top', we 'below' will get together pretty easily." We believe, continues the author, "that the most important thing is for the workers to agree 'below'. And as for the leaders: we have already said that we combine even with the devil if only it is directed against the rulers and in the interests of the workers. And we say to you openly: if your leaders give up their alliance with the bourgeoisie for even a single instant, proceed in reality against the rulers even in one question—we will greet it and support them in it."

Almost everything necessary is said here, and almost the way it should be said. Gottwald did not even forget to mention the devil, whose name the editorial board of RUDE PRAVO printed five months before in pious indignation. Gottwald did indeed omit the devil's grandmother. But God be with her: for the sake of the united front we are ready to sacrifice her. Perhaps Gottwald would be prepared, for his part to console the offended old dame by turning over to her disposal the article from RUDE PRAVO of February 27, together with the inkwell—"worker correspondent".

Gottwald's political considerations, let us hope, are applicable not only to Czechoslovakia but also to Germany. And that's just how it should have been said. On the other hand, neither in Berlin nor in Prague can the party leadership confine itself to the bald declaration:

*The fact that the Brandierites (see their Stuttgart Tribune of August 27, carefully separated itself from us in this question: too, and supported the masquerade of Stalin, Manulsky, Losovsky, Muenzenberg, surprises us least of all. After supplying the model of their united front policy in Saxony in 1923, Brandier-Thälheimer thereupon supported the Stalinist policy towards the Kuo Min Tang and the Anglo-Russian Committee. How can they deprive themselves of the opportunity to enlist under Barbusse's banner? If they did, their political physiognomy would not be rounded out.

tion of its readiness for a united front with the social democracy, but must demonstrate this readiness in deeds, enterprisingly, in a Bolshevik manner, by means of quite definite practical proposals and actions. That is just what we demand.

Gottwald's article, thanks to the fact that it rings with a realistic and not an ultimatum tone, instantly found an echo among the social democratic workers: On July 31 there appeared in RUDE PRAVO a letter, among others, from an unemployed printer who had recently returned from a visit to Germany. The letter bears the imprint of a worker-democrat who is undoubtedly afflicted with the prejudices of reformism. All the more important is it to pay attention to how the policy of the German Communist Party reflects itself in his consciousness. "When in the spring of last year," thus writes the printer, "comrade Breitscheid directed to the Communist party the appeal to begin joint actions with the social democracy, he evoked in the ROTE FAHNE a veritable storm of indignation. So the social democratic workers said to themselves: 'Now we know how serious are the intentions of the Communists on the united front!'"

Here you have the genuine voice of a worker. Such a voice contributes more to the solution of the question than dozens of articles by unprincipled pen-pushers. As a matter of fact, Breitscheid didn't propose any united front. He only frightened the bourgeoisie with the possibility of joint actions with the Communists... Had the Central Committee of the Communist party promptly put the question right on the edge of the knife, the social democratic party leadership would have been pushed into a difficult position. But the Central Committee of the Communist party hastened, as always, to put itself into a difficult position.

In the brochure *What Next?*, I happened to write on Breitscheid's speech: "Isn't it self-evident that Breitscheid's diplomatic and equivocal offer should have been grabbed with both hands; and that from one's own side, one should have submitted a concrete, carefully detailed and practical program for a joint struggle against Fascism; and have demanded joint sessions of the executives of both parties, with the participation of the executives of the independent trade unions? Simultaneously, one should have carried energetically this same program down through all the layers of both parties and of the masses." (Page 56.)

By spurning the trial balloon of the reformist leaders, the Central Committee of the Communist party transformed in the minds of the workers the ambiguous assertion of Breitscheid into a direct united front proposal and prompted the social democratic workers to the conclusion: "Our people want joint actions, but the Communists are sabotaging." Can you imagine a more inappropriate and stupider policy? Could Breitscheid's maneuver be better supported? The letter from the Prague printer demonstrates with remarkable plainness that, with Thälmann's aid, Breitscheid completely attained his goal.

RUDE PRAVO endeavors to perceive contradiction and confusion in the fact that in one case we reject an agreement, but in another, we acknowledge it and deem it necessary to determine anew each time the scope, the slogans and the methods of the agreement. RUDE PRAVO does not understand that in politics, as in all other serious fields, one must know well: *what, when, where and how*. Also it cannot hurt to understand: *why*.

In our *Criticism of the Program of the Comintern* four years ago, we set down a few elementary rules for the united front policy. We consider it worth while to recall them here:

"The possibility of betrayal is always imbedded in reformism. That does not mean, of course, that reformism and betrayal are one and the same thing at every moment. Temporary agreements may be made with the reformists, if they take a step forward. But to maintain a bloc with them when they commit treason shortly before the development of a movement, signifies a criminal carelessness towards the traitors and a veiling of betrayal." (*The Strategy of the World Revolution*, page 51.)

"The most important, best established and most unalterable rule of every maneuver says: One's own party organization should never be diluted, united or combined with another; no matter how 'friendly' the latter may still be today. Such a step should never be undertaken which leads, directly or indirectly, openly or masked, to the subordination of the party to other parties or to organizations of other classes and therewith limits the freedom of one's own agitation, or a step through which one is made responsible, even if only in part, for the political line of other parties. You shall not mix up the banners, not to speak of kneeling before another banner." (Ibid, pp. 60-61.)

Today, after the experience with the Barbusse Congress, we would add still another rule:

"Agreements should be reached only openly, before the eyes of the masses, from party to party, from organization to organization. You shall not avail yourself of equivocal middlemen. You shall not palm off diplomatic affairs with bourgeois pacifists as a proletarian united front."

PRINKIPO, September 2, 1932.

L. TROTSKY.

Browder on the Chinese Revolution

Now that the Daily Worker has "corrected its mistake" in appealing to the workers to protest against the arrest and possible execution of comrade Chen Du-Hsiu in Shanghai, the leader of the party, Earl Browder, endeavors in the issue of October 21 to explain to his readers that comrade Chen betrayed the Chinese revolution and that the arrest of this "Trotskyist" is no concern of the working class. At the same time, Browder, smarting under the Opposition's criticisms of his leadership of the party and our exposure of his role in China during the 1927 events, takes occasion to defend himself in particular and Stalinism in general in the question of the great tragedy of the Chinese revolution of 1927-1928.

"During a part of the crucial period of 1927," writes Browder, "the writer of this article was in Hankow—when the decisive issues of armament or disarmament of the workers and peasants first became a sharp issue within the Communist party. In view of the fact that the Trotskyites in America have systematically spread slanders about myself in relation to that period, attempting with all their power to create the legend that the Chinese party and the Communist International, including the American Stalinist, Browder, failed to carry on a resolute struggle against Chiang Kai-Shek, it may not be out of place to take this occasion to call attention to the records."

And what are the "records" which disprove the "legend" that the Communist International (i. e., the Browders of all shapes and magnitudes) failed to carry on a resolute struggle against Chiang Kai-Shek? We read on:

BROWDER'S RECORDS

"These show that in April, in the period when Chen Du-Hsiu was actively and bitterly fighting for the disarmament of the workers and peasants, I wrote a statement for the All-China Federation of Labor energetically calling for the further armament of the workers and peasants and the development of seizure of the land. This statement was printed in English in the magazine 'Chinese Correspondence', published at that time in Hankow."

First, what Browder wrote in his statement at that time, we do not know. It would be interesting to read it, of that we have no doubt. But it is not needed for an estimation of Browder's position in China during that period, for we have at our disposal fairly adequate material on that score. More important than that, is the even more damning record of the whole official policy of the Stalin-Bucharin faction in the Chinese revolution, which Browder's latest indiscretion in even speaking of himself in this connection permits us to review once more.

Second, as to comrade Chen Du-Hsiu, the principal founder of the Chinese Communist movement and one of the leaders of the Chinese Left Opposition, there is this to be said: With a spirit of revolutionary responsibility and candor of which Browder is totally incapable, comrade Chen some three years ago, issued an open letter to the Chinese Communists in which he took his full share of the responsibility for the catastrophic course followed by the Comintern in China. What puts him forever beyond the pale of forgiveness of the Stalinists is the fact that he revealed with indisputable facts that the source of the great defeat was to be found in the policy imposed upon the Chinese Communists by Stalin and Co., that his own mistake consisted in following it out to the letter. The structures now directed at him by the apparatus scribbles are simply part of the notorious Stalinist system of manufacturing scapegoats.

And now, back to Browder and his "resolute struggle" of the Comintern. For the moment, we shall quote from a responsible source, the *Daily Worker* of the time, which merely echoed faithfully the official policy of the international leadership (all emphasis is ours).

DAILY WORKER AND CHIANG KAI-SHEK

On April 4, 1927, with the whole bourgeois press talking about Chiang's preparations for counter-revolution, the *Daily Worker* lulled its readers to sleep, put them off their guard, and assured all and sundry that there was no danger from Chiang Kai-Shek or of a crisis breaking out in the Kuo Min Tang. In its front page dispatch from Hankow, it announced: "Now that the crisis is past the Nationalist revolutionary movement is in a position to move on unhampered by the slightest suspicion of inner conflict."

And in its penetrating editorial comment in the same issue: "There is going to be no split in the Kuo Min Tang, Chiang Kai-Shek remains in command of the drive on Peking, he accepts the authority of the Political Committee of the party, and the cleavage between the Left and Right wings of the party upon which the imperialists have been building great hopes will not materialize at present. The Chinese liberation movement is a unit against imperialism."

Isn't it clear how "resolute" was Stalin's struggle against Chiang Kai-Shek? For, we repeat, the *Daily Worker* merely echoed the rest of the official press. When Chiang "pledged" himself to be "loyal", in order to gain time for his coup d'Etat, Pravda hailed him in these terms:

"Chiang Kai-Shek's declarations relative to his faithfulness toward the revolution, toward Sun-Yat-Senism and loyalty to the Kuo Min Tang, are distinguished from his former statements and testify to the pressure of the revolutionary rank and file." (March 16, 1927.)

No more than eleven days after our

The Arrest of Chen Du-Hsiu and the Apologist of Stalin

first quotation which guarantees not "the slightest suspicion of inner conflict", the *Daily Worker* announced on page two, April 15, 1927, under a Moscow date line that "grave fears are felt here that General Chiang Kai-Shek, the Chinese Nationalist Commander, may turn counter-revolutionary and join forces with Chang Tso Lin and the Northerners," while on page one, the editors who, as we see, foresaw and warned and fought resolutely, printed a belated Shanghai report that "General Chiang Kai-Shek has gone over to the side of the imperialist powers conspiring to crush the revolutionary Nationalist movement."

"WE" AND FENG YU-HSIANG

Chiang's "defection" was promptly explained away as a mere episode: "We" still had... Hankow and... Feng Yu-Hsiang. Bucharin, Browder's boss of yesterday, declared according to a Moscow dispatch in the *Daily Worker* of April 21, 1927: "We must remember that we (Ahem!) have the army of Feng Yu-Hsiang, which, as yet, has not been brought into the fight. It is necessary to avoid forms and organizations that will give the imperialists cause to yell about the 'Sovietization of China' (read: that will mobilize the workers and peas-

PROTEST!

The leading militants of the Chinese Left Opposition have been arrested in Shanghai, with comrade Chen Du-Hsiu, former secretary of the party, at their head. The sanguinary record of Chiang Kai-Shek leaves no doubt as to his intentions. The lives of our seven comrades are in real danger. The party leaders are displaying a cynical indifference to the case. The I. L. D. leaders are doing likewise. The principle of international proletarian solidarity demands that we raise our voices in unmistakable protest against the imprisonment of these comrades. Militants, party members! Demand a change of front from the party and the I. L. D. Demand a campaign for the release of the seven Bolshevik fighters of Shanghai!

ants for a real struggle against the traitors and vacillators!—M. S.). The Communists must not leave the Kuo Min Tang, but must push out the Right wing elements instead. Workers must enter the K. M. T. and bore from within, never forgetting for a moment that Hankow is a Left government and a considerable part of the national army favors it and that Hankow will become more and more the center for the workers and the masses."

Thus Browder's boss of yesterday concerning the Wuhan government and Feng, the successors to Chiang Kai-Shek in the bureaucrats' list of white hopes! And here is what was said by Browder's boss of today, Stalin, the renowned "best disciple of Lenin": "The revolutionary Kuo Min Tang in Wuhan will be transformed into an organ of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry by a decisive struggle against imperialism." (*Daily Worker*, May 13, 1927.)

Following this guidance with exemplary fidelity, the *Daily Worker* editorial of May 19, 1927 told its readers that "the Hankow government, the genuine expression of the Chinese liberation movement, is growing stronger each day".

BROWDER'S GREETINGS IN HANKOW

And Browder? Did he, on the spot, "knowing" the situation—did he perhaps express some skepticism about Hankow, about Wang Chin Wei and Co., did he give some warning to the Chinese masses? Here, if you please, is the record, taken from Browder's pamphlet of 1927, "Civil War in Nationalist China", on page 32, which quotes an authentic report of his speech in Hankow on April 2: "Earl Browder, delegate from America, spoke next... greeting the gathering as the highest organ of the Chinese revolution." What gathering? The Enlarged Political Council of the Kuo Min Tang Central Executive Committee—the, at that time, still combined treacherous cliques of Wang Chin Wei and Chiang Kai-Shek!

Let us resume the thread: On July 7, 1927, a week after Feng Yu-Hsiang's open treachery, the *Daily Worker* editorially blandly observed that "the defection of Feng Yu-Hsiang (was) an eventuality easily to have been perceived". Let us see how easily our Stalinists "perceived" it. While Feng was already negotiating the terms of the betrayal with Chiang Kai-Shek, the D. W. editors again "fought resolutely" by reassuring their readers that "it is unlikely that after having been sent to conclude a military alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek against the northern militarists, under the instructions of the K. M. T. Central Committee; that Feng has done anything else than carry out his instructions". This was in the issue of June 29, 1927. TWO DAYS LATER, the *Daily Worker*, which perceived, which warned, which fought resolutely, announced in a Moscow dispatch: "Branding Feng's alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek as a betrayal of the Chinese revolution, N. Bucharin in an article in Pravda points out... Feng Yu-Hsiang has passed into the camp of the enemies of the people's revolution" (July 1, 1927). This is the same Bucharin who smugly boasted a few weeks before that "we must remember that we have the army of Feng Yu-Hsiang!"

THE STALINIST DEFENSE OF WUHAN

But Wuhan! Oh, yes, there was still something for the slinking Stalinists to grab hold of! "Wuhan has not yet fallen", "in spite of the predictions of the imperialists... the present crisis of the liberation movement is not decisive."

The rest can really be guessed! A brief eleven days later, the *Daily Worker* of July 16, 1927 bore a headline: "Denounce Wuhan Government As Workers' Enemy, Third International Demands Action." But action is difficult to get from workers and peasants bleeding to death under the ax of every bourgeois nationalist scoundrel in whom the Comintern leaders taught the Chinese masses to put their trust.

This horrible record could be prolonged indefinitely. But enough has been printed to show what the "resolute struggle" looked like in reality, and precisely who it is that, trusting to the short memories of his readers, is creating legends about the Chinese revolution.

A final word. Browder pretends to an honest indignation which the calloused bureaucrat is really incapable of experiencing. Let us therefore reprint the glowing letter of introduction signed on June 8, 1927 in Hankow by Pang Chek-min, head of the Oversea Department of the C. E. C. of the Hankow Kuo Min Tang, and addressed to the "Dear Comrades" of the reactionary Kuo Min Tang gang in Oakland, Calif.:

"I have the honor to introduce to you Mr. Browder, the American delegation of Pan-Pacific Labor Conference. He now returns to America from China where he has given a great deal of help to the Kuo Min Tang and the Nationalist Government. I hope you and all of the branches welcome him and introduce him to the branches of Kuo Min Tang in America."

BROWDER EARNS HIS PRAISE

We do not know the exact nature of the "great deal of help" which the Chinese bourgeoisie appreciated so warmly in Hankow. But we have not the slightest doubt that Browder richly earned the hearty introduction and appreciation of Messrs. Wang Chin Wei and Co. In any case, such a letter, if it was written because of what Browder calls his "resolute struggle", was obtained from the Hankow bourgeoisie under false pretences.

Browder now loftily informs his readers that our comrade Chen Du-Hsiu's arrest is nothing for workers to worry over, that "he is much closer to the group of Wang Chin Wei, with which he has worked for many years." The man who slanders the Chinese revolutionist and winks to the Chinese counter-revolution that the Stalinists will not interfere with the execution of the prisoner, has hidden in his trunk the letter of Wang Chin Wei and Co., which forever stigmatizes the role Browder played in China in his time. If his latest intervention in the Chinese situation is less pernicious in its effects, it is no less reactionary and base. Every man to his part.

As for us, we shall fight to prevent the assassination of comrade Chen and the other Oppositionists, for it is a fight for the victory of what the Stalinists did their utmost to destroy in its infancy, the victory of Chinese Bolshevism.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

MEETINGS

Philadelphia

Comrade B. Morgenstern will speak at 4035 Girard Avenue, Philadelphia, on Saturday, October 29, 8 P. M., on the subject of "Why All Young Workers Should Vote Communist". The meeting is under the auspices of the Philly branch of the Communist League of America and is one of a series which is to be held. Admission to this meeting is ten cents and all workers, particularly the young, are cordially invited.

The next evening, on October 30, comrade Morgenstern will speak at the Liberal Forum, 911 W. Girard Avenue, on "The Significance of the Recent Expulsions in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union". This timely subject should arouse considerable interest and bring many workers to attend. Admission is free and questions will be arranged for at the end of the lecture.

On November 12, Max Shachtman, editor of the *Militant*, will speak in Philadelphia on the outcome of the German elections. Watch for future announcement.

Minneapolis

The Minneapolis branch of the Communist League is inviting all workers to take part in the regular open forum meetings to be conducted throughout the winter months at 1530 E. Franklin Ave., 3 P. M. every Sunday afternoon. The following subjects are scheduled:

- October 30: "The Community Fund Drive", with Sara Avrin speaking.
- November 6: "City Itellic, Political Parties and the Tax Amendment" with Chon Forsen as speaker.
- November 13: "The Move for New Wage Cuts in the Railroad Industry" with C. R. Hedlund speaking.

Other meetings will be announced regularly. Admission is free and all are urged to attend.

A HALF-YEAR SUB TO THE MILITANT IS \$1; WITH THREE OTHERS ON A CLUB PLAN BLANK IT IS ONLY \$50.

October Young Spartacus Now OUT

The October issue of the *Young Spartacus* has been off the press for several weeks. It contains articles on the presidential elections, the German situation, Illinois miners' convention, Youth and

the Anti-War Congress, the activities of the Spartacus Youth Clubs. The special educational features consist of an article on John Reed and a review of the History of the First International by G. Steklov.

Comrades should hasten the distribution of the issue. The November number which will be devoted primarily to the

commemoration of the anniversary of the Russian Revolution is planned for the first week of November. This issue will be an eight page—regular size of subsequent numbers of the *Young Spartacus*.

Readers of *The Militant* should subscribe to the *Young Spartacus* (fifty cents a year).

WORKERS
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THE MILITANT



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LEON TROTSKY

September Plenum of C. I.

Some Fleeting Marginal Observations on the 12th Plenum

1.—The report on revolutionary strategy was read by Kuusinen. His role in the Finnish revolution of 1918 shows he is just the right man to be the strategist of the international proletariat.

2.—The principle theses declare again, "The relative stabilization of capitalism has come to an end." In 1927 But didn't the Sixth World Congress already speak of the end of the stabilization? The Tenth Plenum of the E. C. of the C. I. proclaimed the "third period," that is to say, the period which leads directly to the proletarian insurrection. Now we are told—without any comment—that the stabilization of capitalism has again come to an end. That makes how many times?

3.—As to China, it says, "The soviet revolution has triumphed over a large part of its territory." A revolution can be bourgeois or proletarian. Which of the two are we to understand in the present instance? Why does the C. I. cover the class content of the revolution with its soviet form?

4.—"The new world imperialist war has become an immediate danger." The Sixth World Congress already had declared the danger of war to be immediate. For over four years the E. C. of the C. I. has been repeating the same formula. In any case, it is closer to a reality now than in 1928. But exactly what does the word "immediate" mean in the language of the C. I.?

5.—The Communist Parties are under the obligation of opposing real struggles against the war preparations to the abstract and hypocritically pacifist declarations of the social-democracy. That is right. But in that case how about the no less abstract and no less hypocritical declarations of the Congress of Amsterdam? It is remarkable; not a word on the Amsterdam masquerade in the resolution. Are they already ashamed of their own child?

6.—The theses give learned definitions of the different forms of fascism. They say, "The social-fascists prefer the moderate and 'legal' application of bourgeois violence...; they defend its democratic facade and try to keep as much as possible of its parliamentary forms." Now we understand. A square is a triangle whose four sides intersect at right angles.

7.—As to France, they say that while the C. P. and the revolutionary trade unions have been weakened, to make up for it a strong revolutionary movement against war has been developed. But a movement against war, when the proletarian vanguard has been weakened, necessarily becomes a petty-bourgeois movement and becomes transformed to the benefit of reformist pacifism.

8.—The German C. P. is advised to strengthen its struggle "against nationalism and chauvinism for proletarian internationalism." That is right. But how about the program of "national liberation"?

9.—The duty is placed before the Polish C. P. of destroying the influence of the Socialist Party on the masses, and of "overcoming its weaknesses in the big works, among the railroad men, in the army." No advice could be simpler: destroy the enemy and become all-powerful. Kuusinen forgets only to show how to do it.

10.—For Spain, the advice is to strive toward "the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry under the form of Soviets." How this regime is different from the dictatorship of the proletariat is not explained, as usual.

11.—For England, as incidentally for all the other countries, the advice is to realize the united front from below. In other words, the Plenum of the E. C. of the C. I. has again approved the renunciation of the policy of the united front.

12.—For Manchuria, it is proposed to create, on the basis of the guerrilla war, "an elected popular government." A democratic slogan? Why is it given so vaguely? Why only for Manchuria? Why is it not applicable to all China?

13.—The Indian C. P. is assigned the task of "liberating the masses from the influence of the National Congress." But at the same time, the E. C. of the C. I. fraternizes with Patel under the Amsterdam Congress and artificially increases the authority of the National Congress.

14.—In the organizational field, the Plenum advises "the resolute liquidation of the excessive centralism, the system of pure and simple command," etc. This advice does not sound bad from the mouth of the E. C. of the C. I., which for the fifth year now has failed to call an International Congress and commands by usurping the name of the International.

15.—"The E. C. of the C. I. insists (!) that the 'Communist Youth be transformed into a genuine mass organization.' Magnificent advice. But why do the youth organizations vegetate and decay in spite of all the advice of Kuusinen? Just because they have not been freed from his advice.

16.—In conclusion, the theses advise one and all to struggle for the purity of

the doctrine on the basis of "Stalin's letter." Poor purity! Poor doctrine! Poor C. I.!

17.—Soviets are mentioned in the theses in passing, in connection with China and Spain. As to the other countries, in spite of the revolutionary perspectives set up in the theses, soviets in general are not mentioned; in particular the slogan of soviets is not raised before the German proletariat. It is not difficult to find the explanation. In Germany, as in the majority of advanced countries, real soviets can only be created on the basis of a broad and audacious united front policy. Ultimatum and the slogan of soviets cannot be reconciled with each other. By renouncing the united front, the Stalinists renounce the soviets.

L. TROTSKY

Prinkipo, Oct. 13, 1932.

Hunger March in London

British Working Masses Make New Turn Towards the Left

For the first time since the general strike of 1926 workers of Great Britain have again begun to stir. There is an upward surge of masses struggling in earnest, their demands seriously meant, and with all indications at hand that the compelling force of economic necessity, which has increased in momentum through the shifting rule of the Conservative government to "Labor" and back again to the Conservative, is now propelling these masses definitely in a Leftward direction. Unquestionably the whole capitalist structure of the British kingdom will soon stand before its most serious tests, and just as surely it can be affirmed that the objective factors are beginning to mature rapidly for a serious Communist movement within the isles.

Dramatic have been the accounts of these recent struggles. Following shortly upon the determined fights of thousands of unemployed workers in Belfast, other thousands from Scotland, Wales and other points began converging upon London to lend emphasis to their demands for redress from the growing unemployment misery and more particularly for the abolishment of the vicious capitalist measure of the "means test." The actual rulers of "the City" and their lackeys at Downing Street knew only one method how to meet this "invasion," and that they employed. Scotland Yard was kept busy enrolling special police forces. Thousands were put "on duty" and at every attempt of the unemployed masses to present their petition to parliament they were met with savage attacks and clubbings. Scores upon scores were wounded and other scores rushed off to jail with the old and staid machinery of justice geared up to a higher speed meeting out heavy prison sentences.

But in these fierce battles, which several times turned historic Trafalgar Square into a bedlam, the unemployed workers gave a good account of themselves. The baton wielders carried off some of the cars and received later a generous extra vacation for their "heroic" effort in rescuing the silkhatting theatre crowds. Thus while the workers are learning the art of effective resistance above all it can be said that the general lessons of the London demonstrations will serve as additional experiences gained which will count in future developments.

That these unemployment demonstrations are not mere isolated affairs becomes further clear from other developments. Last summer saw a powerful weavers' strike in Lancashire. Now 200,000 spinners have struck in protest of an eight percent wage-cut. The British railroad workers have persistently refused to accept a wage cut. But there is also another aspect of recent events which deserves notice. In the municipal elections just concluded the votes cast clearly show a new swing toward the Labor party. Bearing in mind the increasing reactionary turn of the ruling class since the conservatives replaced the labor party at the government helm, this voting, of course, gives further evidence to the present working class Leftward direction.

The objective results of such a swing of voting toward the labor party is, however, an entirely different matter. The Communist party entered a number of candidates in these elections, none of whom received sufficient votes. In the sense of this comparison, which is fundamental for future development, it must be acknowledged that while the British workers are being pressed Leftward into opposition to the rule of the outright capitalist party, this direction still lacks so much in essential clarity that it can today be utilized to advantage by the traitors of 1926 and of the period of the Labor government. But this also compels us to acknowledge the fact that the British Communist Party has not yet attained to a leading role in the general working class movement.

There is sufficient evidence to judge from a distance that the Communist party was a very active and a leading force

Emergency Number

We have found it impossible to issue the present number of the "Militant" as the special Double-Anniversary issue, commemorating the 15th Anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution and the 4th Anniversary of the launching of our Militant. The extraordinary difficulties encountered by us in the process of moving and re-arranging our headquarters and printing equipment were to great to overcome in time; in addition, the extreme financial hardship of the National Office added to the burdens. However, in order not to break the continuity of the paper, we have made desperate efforts to get out the present emergency number with only two pages.

This does not mean that the special issue we announced last week is not to appear. Even though slightly delayed, we intend to make the next number of the Militant sufficiently enlarged to carry all the material we announced previously, and more. Just as this goes to press we have received a number of highly timely articles from comrade Trotsky, including a lengthy study of the present position of Soviet economy in the period of the Second Five Year Plan, an article on the significance of the expulsion of Zinoviev, Kamenev and others, as well as a shorter article on the 15th anniversary of the seizure of power in Russia by the workers and peasants. We shall make every effort to include in this issue the maximum possible amount of this material, together with various articles on the significance of four years of struggle of the Left Opposition and the Militant in this country. It goes without saying that the usual material on the development of the class struggle in this and other lands will also be included.

But to make sure of the issue, we require the speediest assistance from all our comrades and friends. This means financial aid, sent quickly, by air mail from every part of the country. We need it urgently! Do not delay!

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Speaker:

HUGO OEHLER

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N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

—A. S.

Fight in Illinois Sharpens

Armed Forces of Operators Mobilized Against the Miners

SPRINGFIELD.—

The class struggle in the Illinois coal field is as sharp as the crack of the rifles in the hands of the imported gunmen, the state militia or the state police which in the last few weeks sent their deadly missiles into the bodies of unarmed miners and their women folks.

Who are the heroes hailed by the capitalist press?

Are they the men and women of the mining camps, led by the Progressive Miners Union, who face with their bare hands the forces of Peabody state government armed with every device of modern warfare, who gave their lives that Lewis is smashed and that the labor movement be stronger?

No, the heroes of the capitalist press are the well-armed gunmen hired by the coal-operators, the state militia and the state police who club and murder at the orders of the capitalists of Illinois.

Brave men these. The capitalist press is able to report that one was hit by a stone and one had a finger shattered.

Out of Society's Gutter

But ask the striking miners on the picket lines and they will tell you that these "heroes" have been recruited from the underworld, that part of the population composed of gangsters, thieves, murderers, etc. who are now very active in trying to crush the Progressive Miners Union and wipe out by open struggle all unionism among the miners of Illinois, and the state police and the state militia fits into this like a head into a body.

The yellow uniformed state police are big, portly fellows with muggy faces, some of them former union officials, shady characters, sluggers. They know the underworld, the gangsters that work for Al Capone, etc. The state police was created during the post-war open-shop drive to fight the unions and now that the miners of Illinois are putting up a militant fight for their new union, the state police are ably fitted for the Lewis Peabody dirty work. They are the ones that led the miners during the West Frankfort march into the nest of Lewis gangsters. There the marching miners were pounced upon by the Lewis' gangsters, black-jacked right and left, kicked and stabbed, while the yellow uniformed state police stood by, ready to use their clubs and guns in case the striking miners should get the upper hand.

And this gang is supported by the state militia, made up largely of young unemployed workers who do not realize to what use they are actually being put. Many of them had not yet time to learn that they really belong on the side of the miners, and so under the mask of protecting "law and order" and the "sacredness of private property" they are carrying out the filthy work of the coal-operators.

The state police and the state militia have a free hand against the striking pickets. They see that the pickets carry no weapons, while Lewis' strikebreakers (Continued on page 2)

Class Against Class in the Presidential Elections

Communist Vote Will Test the Policy of the Stalinists

On November 8, millions of American workers will go to the polls to vote for the next president of the United States. Millions of these workers will cast their votes for the parties of reaction. Millions of other workers, the most exploited and subjected will not go to the polls. These millions who stay away from the polls are the disfranchised American Workers in normal periods, the bulk of the Negro masses of the south are denied this bourgeois "liberty" by legal and "illegal" means of brutal suppression. Millions of foreign-born workers, who have not yet obtained their papers, because of the special discrimination are prevented from voting, yet these millions are numbered among those who do the most useful and basic work under the capitalist system.

Workers' Vote Cut Down

The laws dealing with election right are so complicated and exclusive, with poll tax in some states and other qualifications that the unskilled and semi-skilled millions of workers are automatically eliminated.

In addition to this, the crisis and mass unemployment have broken up the homes of additional millions, who will not be qualified to vote. The Communist Party will also be unable to get on the ballot in many important states, including some important industrial states. All this summed up, plus the stealing and counting out of Communist votes will not enable us to have an accurate picture of the motion and direction of the working class unless these factors are taken into consideration.

On the other hand, a more accurate trend of the other classes can be registered by the November 8 election. The bankers are putting their eggs in more than one basket. Hoover and Roosevelt have the backing of the imperialist who want to play safe, knowing a shift to the left will be registered in the coming election.

The big capitalists of America have their sectional interests in their class but this interest is in no way menaced by the election of Roosevelt instead of Hoover, in case the working class and the middle class protest vote is sufficient to dislodge the latter.

Position of Middle Class

The middle class has shown the greatest confusion in the pre-election days. Most of the middle class have shifted their support from Hoover to the "left." Many of the middle class are of the opinion that Roosevelt is to the Left of Hoover and will vote according. This also applies to a big layer of the working class. The Jingo, Hearst, with his middle class outfit, are in the Roosevelt bandwagon.

Other layers of the middle class are rallying behind the Socialist candidate, Norman Thomas, and a layer, led by the intellectuals has endorsed Foster and Ford, the Communist Candidates. The majority of the middle class will divide their vote between Roosevelt and Norman Thomas.

The agrarian division of the middle class—the reformers par excellence of the past—is up in arms with pitchforks against Hoover and the monopolists, with their "holiday" movement and farmers' strike. The farmer has shifted to the Left in the present crisis and the Roosevelt forces are counting heavily on polling a goodly share of this discontent. Roosevelt has been busy with the stunt of straddling as many classes as possible, promising everything in words that will be so many after-dinner jokes of the bankers the day after the election if they replace Hoover with Roosevelt as their new office boy.

As for the workers, everyone knows that layers of the class will vote for the parties of reform and reaction, and mainly the parties of reaction. The important question to consider is just to what degree these layers have shifted to the Left? What has caused them to stop on the way side? What has repelled them from a further Leftward shift and how can we dislodge this "resting place" between reaction and revolution-Reform.

The important question for us to solve is what the new relationship of classes as reflected by the vote? Just how far has the shift to the Left developed? How successful have the parties of reform and reaction been? How successfully have our policies accelerated this process? Or, how negatively have the wrong Stalinist policies and program repelled this Leftward shift? All these questions are fundamental ones. Not a Stalinist "victory" of counting the "gains" mechanically compared to the last election without taking into consideration the shift in class forces and new relationship and ideological changes.

Socialist Advances

The inability of the Stalinists to understand the tactic of the united front not only in their present activity but in all fields of activity has cut from under us a broad base of workers who will vote the socialist ticket this year instead of

the Communist ticket. An outstanding example of this is the Illinois coal field where the party was a power in the past. Now the socialist party is running wild through here. This is the reaction to the Stalinist policies.

We at least know one thing, that the election will not solve the accumulating contradictions piling up upon the ruling class and their henchmen. The workers must be told to vote Communist. The workers must be told that our class solution is through the proletarian revolution. —H. O.

The New March on Washington

The National Committee of the Unemployed Councils of the United States has adopted a plan for a National Hunger March on Washington to reach the capital on December 4, when Congress convenes. The plan call for 3,000 elected delegates composed of workers from every state in the union. All working class organizations are invited to elect delegates.

On the march, demonstrations are planned for every city along the route. In Washington the Council will hold a Workers Congress, draw up demands which they will present to Congress. After this another Congress will be held to determine the next step.

The plan is to "win winter relief from local and federal government."

The first march on Washington was organized around the campaign for the "Unemployed Insurance Bill." The second march on Washington does not feature Unemployment Insurance. Immediate Relief is to replace Unemployment Insurance as the main central slogan.

This is a change in emphasis which in itself can be explained by the pressing importance of the need of immediate relief. What cannot be justified is a shift in emphasis that means the exclusion of the other immediate demands. However, this is what has happened.

No Automatic Connection

The resolutions sent out by the Council to be endorsed, coordinate the demand for immediate relief with the demand for unemployment insurance, but the campaign itself is void of this relationship.

The fight for immediate demands in the form of immediate relief does not lead automatically to the fight for social and unemployment insurance as some of the party functionaries think.

If the class is put in motion on the basis of the struggle for immediate relief and when this fight is well under way we move to the next "stage" of directing the energy of the class toward social and unemployment insurance, and so on, until we move for power, we will never arrive. Instead we will be somewhere along the wayside in the swamp." This is the concept of the social reformer.

If the Marxist, the Communist revolutionist does not connect these different immediate demands properly and at the same time connect them with the ultimate goal the other parties of reaction and reform will beat us to our "next step" and we will find ourselves "two steps back."

The party has its eye on Washington, even more than it has its activity rooted in the factories. First we had the march on Washington with the Unemployment Insurance Bill, then we had the party side-tracking everything for the Bonus Army in Washington, and now we return to Washington for "Winter Relief." If such activity is a subordinated auxiliary Communist work in the industrial field, the trade unions, etc., it could be understood, but when this parliamentary activity overshadows the more basic work, the outcome will be known in advance—no matter how excellent the demonstrations turn out to be.

The party must connect the Hunger March on Washington for immediate relief with the campaign for social and unemployment insurance, for long term credits to the Soviet Union, for the six-hour day and the five-day week with no reduction in pay. The activity as a whole must rest upon solid class foundations in the mines, mills and factories, in the unions, the other workers organizations and on the basis of the Leninist United Front.

The Communist Duty

We must make the hunger march on Washington a success, not a demonstration without a base, which will mean a shell without content. We must fight for the Marxian program in the unemployment activity as presented in the unemployment resolution of the Communist League of America. We must see that the march becomes the culmination, not of demonstrations from city to city (a necessary part) but of UNITED FRONT UNEMPLOYED COUNCILS activity of employed and unemployed workers, based upon a Marxian program for unemployment. —HUGO OEHLER

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Letters from Militants

The Militant Club in Chicago

CHICAGO.—

In one of the recent issues of the *Militant* a short notice appeared that a new organization was founded under the name "Friends of the Militant Club". The unique position of the Left Opposition in the revolutionary movement and its righteous cause so eloquently espoused in the columns of its weekly organ the *Militant*, are attracting to it more and more sympathizers and friends but the host of followers is still very small to be an adequate support to such an important paper.

While the official press of the C. P. is always in dire need of financial assistance, and we have always gladly and generously contributed to its existence, still it is able to continue to function because of the help rendered to it by its numerous subsidiary organizations. The *Militant*, on the other hand, is not only always in very precarious financial straits but without any aid whatsoever except the valiant struggle and sacrifices of its collaborators and by the aid of its restricted number of readers. In fact the financial circumstances are so bad that we are in continuous fear that the next issues will have to be suspended or the paper discontinued altogether.

Considering this sad state of affairs, a group of sympathizers and friends have been inspired with an idea to found an independent organization which would take into its fold men and women radically inclined and get them acquainted gradually with the principle issues involved, thus creating a new medium of support for the *Militant*. The purpose of this organization is therefore twofold:

(1) Cultural or educational for its members and visitors by arranging bi-monthly lectures on various topics such as of a political, economic, social, literary, scientific and philosophic nature. Also to stimulate collateral reading. The lectures and discussions to be conducted on a free democratic basis, allowing everybody to participate and express his or her idea whatever it may be;

(2) to render financial and moral support to the *Militant* in following manner:

(a) by obtaining subscriptions for the paper;

(b) by selling the paper at all meetings of the organization and at all other occasions;

(c) by promoting the sale of various radical and other kind of literature;

(d) by arranging public affairs such as lectures, concerts and other forms of social and entertainments.

Any person regardless of sex, color, nationality or race is admissible as a member into the organization, provided he or she is in accord with the following prerequisites set forth in the preamble:

(1) he or she must believe in and recognize the class struggle of the workers of the world;

(2) he or she must be in sympathy with the U. S. S. R., the first fatherland of the working class.

In its brief existence we were able so far to enroll about 25 members, but the increasing number of visitors at each meeting gives great hopes that more and more sympathizers will join us and thus succeed to build up a substantial aid to the *Militant*.

Would not this attempt to come to aid the *Militant* be an inspiration to the many readers and sympathizers in other communities throughout the country to imitate us and start building up similar Clubs under the same name and naturally with the same purpose so that this beginning may develop into a widely spread national organization? Let us try.

—R.

The Murder of Andrew Ganis

SPRINGFIELD.—

Andrew Ganis is the latest victim of the Illinois coal mine class war. Shot to death by a National Guardsman after being pointed out by a strikebreaker, as a militant member of the Progressive Miners of America.

A double tragedy in the same family was but slightly averted. Mrs. Ganis was on the picket line at Taylorville and narrowly escaped death with a score of the other picketers, as the truck in which the National Guard were conveying them to the county line capsized, injuring a number of them.

The funeral oration was delivered by Gerry Allard, editor of the *Progressive Miner* at Pawnee, in Sangamon County, as the authorities would not allow services to be held in Christian County where the murdered miner worked and lived. Comrade Allard told the assembled 15,000 miners that Andrew Ganis fell a victim of the class war; that the miners must stand united and retain the same militancy they have held since the fight began, and that shortly we will avenge our martyred dead.

In the funeral procession there were 5,000 automobiles with four people in every car. The body was carried to Taylorville and laid to rest with George Franklin Bilyne, martyr of the Virden riots of 1898.

Peabody and Lewis are attempting to exterminate the militants in the P. M. of A. Gunmen ambushed and wounded Pat Ansbury as he was returning from the funeral of Andrew Ganis, puncturing the front tires and shattering the windshield with gun fire. Ansbury managed to crawl from the car and escape through fields with bullet wounds in the neck.

The coal barons, heartened by the unnecessary retreat of the new miners' un-

ion at its first national convention, in accepting the identical scale of Walker-Lewis, are using every method to get the Taylorville mines operating under the Lewis machine. They fear and know that the P. M. of A. is going to be a rank and file union—a union based on the principles of the class struggle.

The P. M. of A. has met this new attempt of the bosses to open the mines in Christian County with mass picketing on an unheard-of scale, in Illinois. Thousands of miners with their wives and children are to be found on the picket line every morning at 5 o'clock, hundreds are arrested every day and conveyed by military guard to the County line.

The women in this strike are displaying marvelous courage and militancy. For the first time in the history of the coal miners' union their women folk are organized in auxiliaries of the P. M. of A. In many strike centers they have established community kitchens and are learning how to run them on the cooperative principle which will be a feature of our future society.

They face tear gas, bayonets and bullets with an unconquerable spirit, as too well do they know the misery and privations they also had to endure under the corrupt, degenerate U. M. W. of A. which they have decided to rid themselves of.

It would be incorrect to say that the P. M. of A. sold out, as the official party has said. They have made an unnecessary retreat, due to pressure from conservative elements in the union and principally due to the lack of an organized Left wing. The P. M. of A. is still a healthy organization with rank and file control of leadership—and in all probability will carry out the traditions which gave it birth.

A continuation of mass picketing, better organized than formerly, and demonstrations at the capital in Springfield against the use of the militia, is the next step necessary.

—CARMODY.

Compensation Racket in New York

Under the State Compensation Law, every factory worker is entitled to free medical treatment if injured during the course of work. For this purpose "Workmen's Compensation Clinics" are located in every industrial district of New York. It ostensibly seems that this law is of the greatest benefit to the workers. But a careful scrutiny of the other end gives us an altogether different view of the affair.

Since clinics are supervised by private doctors, and there are many, it is necessary to establish a clientele. Men are employed to canvass every factory within a considerable radius, and to install first aid kits, authorization slips and posters, conspicuously bearing the doctor's name and address.

A number of years back, the doctors deemed it unnecessary to dispense with first aid paraphernalia, on the assumption that injured workers would apply self-treatment and so offer a serious factor in curtailing their much desired profits. The crisis, however, convinced the doctors that it was either a case of adapting themselves to new conditions or destruction was inevitable. It no longer was a question of workers treating themselves, but to secure their trade—at any cost.

Now all factories are forced to maintain first-aid kits stocked to comply with the requirements of the Labor Department. In this case no alacrity was shown by the employers in purchasing kits and required supplies. No blow affects them so much as a blow at their pocket-book. It then was a matter of buying a kit or paying a fine. Money being involved in either case, the bosses found themselves between the devil and the deep sea. At this point the doctors graciously stepped in. The conditions for a completely supplied kit were not to use the contents but merely keep them to avoid fines—and "no matter how slight the workers' injuries may be, send them to the clinic for treatment."

Unfortunately for the doctors, the crisis equally affected them as in other fields. Closed factories and few workers in the ones that remained open, promised the doctors no paunches from early retirement and easy living. Coupled with this, new doctors who in private practice found their patience exhausted for lack of patients, turned to this seemingly quick and easy method of reaping a harvest. Another factor, tending to aggravate this competitive malady, is medical graduates with an ever ready eye for immediate and lucrative incomes.

Unduly large expenditures, in the form of paying men to visit factories, distribution of kits, supplies, cards and posters accorded them no promise in prospect to win the race for bread and butter. Consequently doctors instructed their men, upon visiting factories, that an appreciable decrease in expenses could be obtained by "eliminating" the other doctors. This "elimination" measure began quite innocently. It at first reduced itself to the tearing up of cards and posters advertising other doctors. Medical competitors responded to the same degree. Later on instructions and ethics were eliminated in the process of "elimination". At present competition has reached the point, where doctors organize crews to enter factories and pull their competitors' kits off the walls. Several men of the crew engage the boss in conversation in such a way that his back is to the kit, while the other half go about their business of either demolishing or stealing it. All stolen kits and first aid supplies are always relabelled with the victorious doctor's name and address.

Inasmuch as the doctors find it impos-

sible to rely wholly upon such methods, for a start, contracts are made with first aid supply firms of doubtful reputation. The latter concoct first aid supplies of the most inferior and often poisonous ingredients. An excellent illustration has been furnished in the recent past. One Sunshine, who sold mercurochrome and iodine to these clinics was arrested for selling poisoned antiseptics. Government chemists reported that guinea pigs died instantly upon injection. The purpose of these "antiseptics" is twofold. They are cheaper than the standard product, and chances are greatly in favor of having workers who treat themselves come for treatment, whether they like it or not, since infection usually follows the use of such "antiseptics".

Another aspect of this racket is highly illuminating and equally interesting. The internecine struggle among doctors is waged with the factory as the arena. A constant source of trouble and worry to the bosses, and loss to the doctors, impels the latter to resort to more strategic tactics.

Arrangements are made between doctors and insurance companies, "Supervisors of Compensation Claims", to lop off a sum of money due the doctor for services rendered the workers. For such substantial considerations, the supervisor sends letters to employers insured by his company, requesting them to "consider" the doctors mentioned. Angling for business from all sides, especially restaurants, is a much cherished practice. Owners of restaurants are given food-handlers' cards denied by the Board of Health, for sending "business" to certain doctors. At times the sanitary conditions in some of these restaurants place in obscurity the Augean stables.

It is a matter of common knowledge that treatment of cuts and bruises is prolonged to an almost unbelievable time. Since the doctors are paid a certain sum for every treatment, it is to their profit to prolong the treatment. If, for example, a worker cuts his finger, the doctors, very often ordinary laymen with white aprons, make it their business to stuff as much cotton in the wound as possible, so that the fibres constantly irritate the cut and healing takes three to five times longer. On top of this, plenty of adhesive plaster is used to prevent the air from drying or clotting the blood, thus preventing the early formation of a scab and a quick cure. The longer the treatment, the more money in the doctor's pockets and the more inconvenience for the workers. Sometimes the doctor is admonished for "jacking" up the bills. In this case the worker who is often entitled to compensation money is denied it through the efforts of the doctor to save the insurance company "unnecessary expenses."

Aside from the foregoing, the doctors also maintain their private practice. To supplement their already large earnings, these "healers" of mankind do a little work "on the side." Gangsters who have the poor taste to get in the way of police bullets patronize these doctors who possess a faculty to keep silent. Of course there are temporary slump periods. In such periods abortions are very profitable.

Such are the reforms granted the worker by a benevolent bourgeoisie. Racketeers of the lowest type are only possible under capitalism: to seize every reform fought for by the workers and prey upon them in a varied form of exploitation.

—J. R.

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Stalinists Expel Philly Militant

Phila., Oct. 11, 1932
 To the Central Executive Committee;
 To the District Executive Committee;
 To the Party Members of Philadelphia.
 Comrades:

I am of the opinion that it is necessary to speak out against the tacit sabotage of the Leninist policy of the united front. The rejection of this tactic holds the greatest danger for the international revolutionary movement, particularly in Germany. For maintaining this point of view the executive committee of Section 3 has at its latest meeting recommended my expulsion from the Communist party.

Is this to be the answer to Bolshevik criticism? Will this be our party's contribution to our brother German party? I take this occasion to explain my position on—(1) THE GERMAN SITUATION and (2) MY "FRATERNIZATION WITH TROTSKYITES." I appeal to all workers-Communists and to the D. E. C. to condemn the recommendation of the section committee.

How can we win the millions of workers who still support Social-Democracy? Leninist united front. We must unite with all Socialist workers and organizations in the fight against Fascism and thus make possible a successful proletarian revolution.

To speak of united front from below without approaching the organization which the workers still support means no united front but merely a routine recruiting campaign for the party. We must definitely speak out to the social-democracy and its leadership for a united front action against Fascism. Lenin said that we have nothing to fear in a united front with the Hendersons and Snowden (Wels, Scheidemann, etc.—L. R.). He said if the Hendersons do not accept the united front on these conditions we have at once gained the sympathy of the masses and discredited the social reformists. If they do accept under these conditions (the right, to crit-

icize, separate entity of organization, NOT subservient amalgamation, etc.—L. R.) then we are the gainers.

We must say to these leaders, "If you want to fight Hitler, let us unite in a common struggle." To say, as does the party, that we do not unite with Socialists leaders, because they are "Social-Fascists," does not convince the Socialist workers. We must say in the words of Lenin—"To unite with the Kerenskys, not because we believe in them, but because millions of workers still follow the Kerenskys (Russian Welses, Noskes, etc.)."

2. On Fraternalization

To top all this the party prohibits comrades from discussing and studying this situation. I was recommended for expulsion for fraternizing with members of the Trotsky group (Left Opposition) and for discussing problems vital to the Communist movement.

For us Communists, international questions are as important as national. We must realize that Germany, the key to the international situation at the present moment, is the most important order on the international agenda. Since very little on this question is found in the party press I read the views of Leon Trotsky. After analyzing them and discussing them I came to the conclusion that Trotsky is correct on the question of the united front as expressed in his books, "Germany—The Key to the International Situation" and "What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat."

I place myself in complete solidarity in this respect with comrade Pappas' statement on the German question.

The life of the Soviet Union is in danger. The life of the Communist International is threatened with destruction. Why does the Communist International remain silent on the German question?

DEMAND AN OPEN DISCUSSION ON THE GERMAN SITUATION.

DEMAND THE CALLING OF THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE C. I.

Long live our international party!

Comradely,

(Signed) Lou Roberts (Bob).

Archives of the Opposition

Trotsky's Letter to Olmsky

Two letters of Trotsky, one to Cheidze written in April 1913, very sharply attacking Lenin and seized at the time by the police department, were discovered in 1921. The old emigrants were well acquainted with the history of the factional fights and the little episodes that grew out of them. To them it was all a matter of the far distant past. Lenin must have merely smiled when Stalin (in all probability) slipped him the letter. But this does not cast the slightest shadow, nor could it, upon the relations between Lenin and Trotsky. Between the episodic letter written at a moment of acute factional struggle and the year 1921, when the letter, forgotten by the author, rose to the surface, stood the year 1917, with the October revolution, the following three years of civil war against a world of enemies, and the first year of common economic construction. Olmsky, who worked in the Institute of Party History, addressed to Trotsky a request for the publication of his letter to Cheidze. Behind this request must have been concealed an attempt at intrigue in which Olmsky was more the tool than the instigator. In view of the fact that later on Stalin made very extensive use of Trotsky's letter, circulating it without a date, as if it had been written in 1923, there is sufficient ground to assume that behind Olmsky's request stood Stalin: he always occupied himself with these matters with a particular relish. We consider it worth while to reprint here Trotsky's reply to Olmsky:

"Pardon my delay in replying. This week was a very busy one for me. You ask about the publication of my letter to Cheidze. I do not think that it would be in place. The time for history has not yet arrived. The letters were written under the impression of the moment and its needs, and the tone of the letters corresponded to them. The present-day reader will not understand this tone, will not establish the necessary historical corrections, and will only be confused. From abroad we are to receive the archives of the party and the foreign Marxian publications. In them is a large number of letters of all those who participated in the 'scrap'. Are you planning to publish them at the present time? This would create altogether unnecessary political complications for there are hardly two old emigrants in the party who did not sharply abuse each other in correspondence under the influence of the ideological struggle, momentary excitement, etc. Write explanations for my letters? But this would mean to relate wherein I differed at that time with the Bolsheviks. In the introduction to my brochure, 'Results and Perspectives', I speak briefly about it. I see no need of returning to the subject because of the accidental discovery of the letters in the archives. To this should be added that a retrospective

review of the factional fight might give rise to polemics even today, because—I avow it frankly—I do not at all consider that in my disagreements with the Bolsheviks I was wrong on every point. I was wrong—and fundamentally—in my appraisal of the Menshevik faction, overestimating its revolutionary possibilities and hoping that we would succeed in isolating and nullifying its Right wing. This fundamental error, however, flowed from the fact that I approached both factions—the Bolshevik and the Menshevik—from the point of view of the ideas of the permanent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat whereas the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks in that period supported the standpoint of the bourgeois revolution and the democratic republic. I considered that the differences between both factions were not very deep in principle and I hoped (this hope I expressed more than once in letters and speeches) that the very course of the revolution and the conquest of power by the working class would bring together the contending factions, which did occur up to a certain point in 1905. (The preface of comrade Lenin to Kautsky's articles on the motive forces of the Russian revolution and the whole line of the paper, Natchalo).

"I think that my evaluation of the motive forces of the revolution was indubitably correct, but the conclusions which I drew from it with regard to the two actions were undoubtedly wrong. Bolshevism alone assembled in its ranks, thanks to its irreconcilable line, the really revolutionary elements of the old intelligentsia as well as the advanced stratum of the working class. Only thanks to the fact that Bolshevism succeeded in creating this compact revolutionary organization, was it possible to make such a speedy turn from the revolutionary democratic to the revolutionary socialist position. Even now I could without difficulty divide my polemical articles against the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks into two categories: one, those devoted to an analysis of the internal forces of the revolution, its perspectives (the Polish theoretical organ of Rosa Luxemburg, the Neue Zeit), and the other, those devoted to an appraisal of the factions of the Russian Social Democrats, their struggles, etc. The articles of the first category I could present even now without corrections, because they fully and entirely coincide with the position of our party beginning with 1917. The articles of the second category are patently erroneous and it would not be worth while republishing them. The two letters sent me belong to the articles of the second category; their publication is not opportune. Let it be done by somebody about ten years from now, if there should be any interest in it.

"With Communist greetings,
 December 6, 1921
 "L. TROTSKY."

Fight in Illinois Sharpens

(Continued from page 1)

and imported gunmen are free to carry guns, knives and black-jacks.

The law permits picketing, permits organizing, but law or no law the coal operators find a way to do it brutally and thoroughly and even dispensing with formalities. In the Taylorville section during the last few weeks several scores of pickets and their wives have been wounded and one murdered, hundreds arrested under all kinds of excuses and restrictions imposed, others clubbed and tear-bomb gassed. Such is "democracy", such is "law and order" under the capitalist system.

Bosses Preparing for Winter

That the bosses of Illinois are preparing to take care of the workers in other cities this winter if they should decide to fight instead of starve, is made clear by the announcement of the commander in charge of the state militia in the Taylorville strike area when he said that "The change every week in companies is being made in order that the various units of the militia may gain experience in active duty."

Not only are the armed forces of the state government openly supporting Lewis, but the courts as well. Three militant miners, Joseph Colbert, Dominic Lauranti and Andrew Ganis have been cold-bloodedly murdered by a rain of bullets from the guns of the Lewis' gangsters and none of the gangsters that did the killings has been brought before the "bar of justice."

Just the other day, Circuit Judge Roy Dove of Shelbyville, sitting in the circuit court, upheld the right of the state militia to make arrests without warrants and hold the men and women so arrested any length of time they may see fit.

This "representative of justice" has shown by his own deed that there is no neutrality, no justice between capital and labor and places the judiciary of his state four square on the side of the coal operators and Lewis.

Lewis, of course, is able to use the

courts, the state militia, the state police and the underworld not to maintain unionism but to destroy it, just as he did in Penn., Ky., West Va., Ohio, and other places. It is the Peabodys and the other coal-operators who will be masters if Lewis wins. But that is a long, long way to go.

State police, gangsters, courts and the state militia will not be able to impose again the Lewis leadership on the Illinois miners, and before this fight is finished there will not only be a complete defeat for Lewis, but the miners will be much nearer to a powerful Communist movement that will make it possible to uproot all these practices with which the labor fakers, in cooperation with gunmen, attempt to crush labor's organizations.

JOSEPH ANGELO

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THE MILITANT

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Hail the Anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution! Fifteen Years

4 YEARS OF THE MILITANT

At this moment there is a new and perceptibly growing wave of sympathy and support to the Left Opposition in America. It is taking on a form distinct from the past slow process of winning a worker here and there who became convinced by individual propaganda. Those who have followed *The Militant* attentively will also have noticed that, in entering the fourth year of its existence, its contents begin more directly to reflect the struggle toward revolutionary developments in the country. That itself is a material expression of the growing support coming in the direction of the Left Opposition.

The reasons, of course, lie in the very conditions of the working class movement. The economic crisis is producing a new orientation. It is generally speaking a Leftward one. A working class force is beginning to emerge in the United States. It is emerging slowly, painfully, with much stumbling and with many bitter experiences in its course. But for the actual proof of its existence one needs only to cast a glance at the election campaign just concluded. Willy-nilly, of the main contenders, the capitalist parties, the working class issues forced themselves to the fore. The conditions created are also beginning to put the various working class and revolutionary currents more definitely to their test. This, however, will be far more marked in the coming period of more intense struggles. But already now there is evidence that the Left Opposition is commencing to find its place on the solid grounds of the class struggle. And we can say today that an estimate of the significance of this new wave of support quite decisively indicates our future much greater role.

Some Examples of Growth

We have at this moment a series of new contacts established, which are becoming included within our active ranks. A new branch of the League is organized in Davenport, Iowa. Branches are in formation in Des Moines, Iowa, in Pittsburgh, Pa., and in New Castle, Pa. Our existing branches with but few exceptions, are in the process of growth.

The enormous advantage of a correct theoretical foundation—a Marxian foundation—belongs to the Left Opposition. But we are compelled to carry on by the most primitive means, made so by the isolated position from which we began and by our sadly limited physical resources. Every step toward our objectives therefore of necessity had to be modest ones.

In both respects, both in regard to a correct theoretical foundation as well as in regard to our limited means the four years history of *The Militant*, furnishes eloquent proof of our contention. But while the latter is apparent, it is the former, which in terms more convincing than we could possibly utter, has attested to its enormous advantage. Just look at the healthy contrast between four years ago and today.

Then we had a handful of comrades coming forward with an unshakable conviction, having from the past received a certain preparation for their position, but also carrying over remnants from the past which still caused some uncertainty and lack of experience in applying the International Left Opposition platform to America. We made some mistakes; we must, of course, record shortcomings. Yet we are justified in giving emphasis to the healthy transformation which has taken place. We are justified in taking

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The October revolution is finishing its fifteenth year. This simple figure gives evidence to the entire world of the gigantic force which exists in the proletarian state. No one, not even the most optimistic among us, foresaw such vitality. And that is not surprising; the optimism of such a prediction would have had to fear within it pessimism with regard to the international revolution.

The leaders and the masses saw in the October upheaval only the first stage of the world revolution. The thought of an independent building-up of Socialism in isolated Russia was, in the year 1917, neither defended nor sustained nor clearly formulated by anybody. In the following years, too, the economic construction was conceived by the entire party without exception as the substructure of a material basis under the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the preservation of the economic bond (smychka) between city and country, and finally as the creation of points of support for the coming Socialist society which could only be built up on an international basis.

The ways of the world revolution have shown themselves to be immeasurably longer and more tortuous than we hoped and expected fifteen years ago. To the external difficulties, of which the historic rôle of reformism showed itself to be the most important, came the internal ones, above all, the policies of the epigones of Bolshevism, false in their foundation and fatal in their consequences. The bureaucracy of the first Workers' State does everything decisive—unconsciously, but that is no excuse—to prevent the birth of a second Workers' State. The knots tied by the bureaucracy must be untied or broken to give a free road to the revolution.

If the delay in the development has gone beyond the framework which we had sketched, still we have accurately

estimated the fundamental moving forces and their laws. This also applies completely to the problem of the economic development of the Soviet Union. Modern productive forces will not let themselves be confined within national limits by any resolution or any exorcism. Autarchy is the ideal of Hitler, not of Marx nor of Lenin. Socialism and national separatism are mutually exclusive. Today as well as fifteen years ago, the program of a Socialist society in a single country is utopian and reactionary.

The economic successes of the Soviet Union are very traditions and its difficulties have taken on a threatening sharpness. Delays, interruptions and disproportions bear witness in the first instance to a wrong leadership. But that is not all. They recall that building up of a harmonious society is possible only through an uninterrupted experience extending over decades and not otherwise than on an international basis. The technical and cultural obstacles—the break between city and country, the difficulties of import and export trade—all prove that the October demands an international continuation. Internationalism is not a ritual convention but a question of life or death.

There will be no lack of jubilee speeches and articles. The majority of them will come from those who were, in October, the intransigent adversaries of the proletarian insurrection. We Bolshevik-Leninists will be called "counter-revolutionists" by these gentlemen. It is not the first time that history permits itself such jokes and we have nothing against it on that account. Even if it is with confusion and slowly, history does its work.

And we too, we will do ours!

Prinkipo, October 13, 1932

—L. TROTSKY.

Roosevelt's Victory

Protest Vote of Middle Class and Labor Hits Republicans

The returns from the elections throw considerable light upon the class reaction to the crisis. The capitalist press is hailing Roosevelt as the victor of a "tidal wave", of a "landslide" that has wiped the Republicans out of office. The victory of Roosevelt and Garner has carried with it complete control of the House and Senate. Throughout the country their "landslide" has carried with it many state and local tickets. Not since the last world war has the Democratic wing of the capitalist reactionary parties gained such a favorable position.

The Democrats have full control and will have no "excuse" for not carrying out their program and election promises. Roosevelt made lots of promises, just as Hoover did in 1928. Roosevelt was forced to give these promises because he had to straddle different layers of classes and rally the mass discontent from the effects of the crisis in order to gain office.

Teddy Roosevelt started out by "trust busting" and ended with the greatest service rendered to the monopolists. F. D. Roosevelt with his "forgotten man" and his "new deal" will end in the same way. With a clear majority in Democratic hands the blind protest vote will expect immediate action and since the Democrats will carry out the imperialists will the "victory vote" will turn to its opposite, providing the Communists are able to take advantage of the favorable developments.

Roosevelt rode to power on the sup-

port of a big section of financiers, like Young and Taylor, jingoist and big navy advocates like Hearst and Baker, progressive republicans, confused middle class elements, "liberals", the solid reactionary Jim Crow south and discontented and confused workers.

The protest vote of the middle class and misled workers will be a good cover under which Roosevelt will be able to speed up and carry out the imperialist program. Under cover of the "fight" to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment the Democrats will hide their real activity for Wall Street and use this at a critical moment as crumbs for the hungry, discontented masses.

The crisis with its effects of bankruptcy and ruin for large sections of the middle class, with drastic wage cuts, lower living standards and mass unemployment for the workers, has piled up a tremendous blind protest vote of discontent. Roosevelt's material base rests in Wall Street but his votes rest in the discontented middle class and the large layers of the working class who are not yet class conscious. Such was Roosevelt's victory.

To the Left of this Roosevelt vote is the real and decisive significance of the election for our class—the demand of the reformist party, the socialist party, for a place in the sun and against the Communist Party of Revolution. The complete returns of the socialist and Communist vote are not in but we have sufficient information for the main outlines of this problem.

The socialist party has piled up a large vote. The skeleton party of American social reformism has taken on form. Contrary to the Stalinist analysis of the past—that the base of reformism has been narrowed and therefore we will not have a period of reform in America—that we are heading toward a period of revolutionary upsurges and the struggle of class against class—we find reformism growing. The editorial of the *Daily Worker* of Nov. 10 (City Edition) dismisses the socialist vote as unimportant and, as stated in the last issue of the *Militant*, mechanically compares the Communist vote of today with the previous elections. The Stalinists leave unanswered the question of the new relationship of class forces; the relationship of the party of reform and revolution; and the question of what the future holds in store for the reformers.

Our position on the question of a "period" of reformism for America has been dealt with at different times in the *Militant*. For the moment we want to take up just one phase of the problem and we will later return to it for further consideration on the basis of developments.

In New York, Hillquit, socialist candidate for mayor, polled 250,000 votes, the largest ever polled in New York by the socialists. Thomas obtained 120,000 votes. Thomas' votes were basically socialist votes of small shopkeepers and misled workers while Hillquit's vote had the additional protest vote of the middle class, the "good government" and "cheap government" vote against Tammany Hall.

The national vote of Thomas will be far above his 1928 figure of 275,000 votes. In fact indications are, from partial returns, that it will be close to or larger than the Debs vote of 1920 of nearly a million votes. Many of the basic central and western states as well as eastern industrial states are giving Thomas a fair vote.

The *New York American* of Nov. 10, in listing the elected members of the House presented the names of seven socialist candidates where the results of the election were still in doubt. The *New York Times* of the same date had already eliminated the socialist names. No doubt socialists and Communists were elected to local office here and there, only to be counted out, mainly the Communists, by capitalist democracy.

A Shift to the Left

One thing can be said upon the incomplete returns. The socialist vote, in relation to reaction, shows a shift of a layer of workers to the Left. In relation to the class struggle it shows the party of reform has checked Leftward shift of the workers. The socialist party vote shows that they have done their job well as a stone wall between the parties of reaction and the Communist party of revolution in slowing down and holding up the process of workers joining the Communists ranks.

The only returns of our vote we have are New York City. Foster and Ford obtained 24,013 votes compared to 15,500 in 1930 when he ran for Mayor. This is an indication of an increase of even greater proportions because so many of the workers are disfranchised. In spite of the favorable gains made by the Communists the gains in relation to the socialist party gives the reformers an advantage in the present stage of the struggle of the reformists and the revolutionists for ideological

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9 Scottsboro Boys Win Victory

Illusions Now Greatest Danger

The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, reversing the lower courts in setting aside the trial and appeal verdicts in the Scottsboro case, is a triumph for the nine prisoners and the entire working class. It is a victory militantly won by the party in the face of great terror and repression. It is a vindication of the fighting methods of the Communists who placed the struggle on a class basis and fought it that way.

But no illusions! The fight is not yet won. The end we are fighting for is not yet. The boys are still in prison. They are to be tried again in March, thus far, by the same judge, in the same court in which they were railroaded a little more than a year and a half ago. The statement has been made that at this forthcoming trial there will be greater need than before for the militia. All this means that the Supreme Court has left the door wide open for a repetition of the death sentences. In fact it has indicated how this is to be done. All that its strictures mean is that if its august solemnity is to be invoked to sanction this kind of butchery all the fine technicalities of the law must be complied with.

The need for a fighting movement of the working class for the unconditional freedom of these victims of capitalist class justice is greater than it was before. What we have already accomplished must be the stimulus to yet greater efforts. We cannot stop until we have forced the bourgeois tiger of the south to open its jaws and let our

class brothers go. This we can do.

Now is the time to organize the fight. Objectively the situation stands essentially as it did before. Only a militant class fight can free the boys. The working class must be united around this one issue. To do this we need organizational forms broad and democratic enough to allow all conflicting and contradictory tendencies in the labor movement to meet in a common struggle on this concrete issue. We need a united front of the entire working class.

The N. A. A. C. P. which stood in the way of a militant class defense, the Socialist party which spewed slander at the I. L. D. at the height of the fight, the trade union bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. which is still hamstringing the Mooney defense, the middle-headed liberals of the New Republic stripe will not issue the call for this united front movement. They have no interest in such a unity of the workers. Only the revolutionary party of the proletariat can unite the ranks and organize the movement.

That is why we say to the party: Call the united front conferences! We are with you with all our resources. We will help.

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The Meaning of the German Elections

Speaker:

MAX SHACHTMAN

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Leftward Shift in German Vote

Parliamentary Gains Turn Heads of the Stalinist Leadership

While exact details as to the composition of the vote cast in last Sunday's German elections are not yet at hand, the total figures afford us the opportunity to compile the results and draw conclusions adequate for the moment.

As compared with the elections of last July 31, the social democracy lost approximately three-quarters of a million votes; an almost identical number of votes was gained by the Communist party. The Hitlerites, for the first time, lost the substantial number of more than two million votes, although they remain by far the largest party in the country; the Nationalist party, in turn, picked up close to a million additional vote. The other bourgeois parties revealed no decisive change in strength; the Centerists and their Bavarian co-religionists lost a few hundred thousand votes; the old People's party gained a few hundred thousand; the rest of the vote, slightly less in total than three months ago, was scattered.

From these bare figures, the following situation may be deduced:

The Nazi Setback

For the first time in their recent years of uninterrupted and sensational growth, the Nazis have suffered a distinct setback. As we have pointed out previously in these columns, the Hitlerites cannot hope to arrive in power by the smooth parliamentary train. The preceding election already indicated, so far as elections are concerned, the Nazi social reservoir of voting strength was well-nigh exhausted. Not a parliamentary movement in the ordinary bourgeois sense, the Fascists must strive to fulfill

their aims by the violent seizure of power and the more violent extirpation of all proletarian movements and institutions. Or, if the necessity for such a step is obviated by the collapse of the proletarian movement—as happened in October 1923—the bourgeois saves itself the expense of the inevitably ensuing sanguinary conflict, a period of "stabilization" sets in, and the Fascist movement begins to decompose. And with it, the revolutionary proletarian party.

From this it does not follow that the Fascist danger to the German proletariat is now eliminated, or even definitely on the decline. Such a conclusion can be drawn only by those for whom the class struggle begins at the ballot box and ends with a parliamentary mandate.

The heavy decline in the social democratic vote is another repayment made by the socialist workers for the base treachery of their leaders which could not be committed with impunity. That some 700,000 socialist workers deserted their traditional party, surmounted the barriers artificially erected against them by the Stalinists, and voted the Communist slate—is at one and the same time an arraignment of the reactionary role of the social democratic leadership and of that obdurate stupidity of the Stalinists whose course, in the first place, prevented masses of others from rallying to the banner of revolution, and in the second place, still deters the vast numbers of discontented socialist workers from moving any closer to the organized Communist movement than is necessary for the casting of a red ballot.

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STALINISTS TAKE MEASURES

The Expulsion of Zinoviev

The Lessons of the Second Expulsion of the Capitulators

Wireless and telegraph have flashed news to the entire world of the expulsion of Zinoviev and Kamenev from the party, and along with them of more than a score of Bolsheviks. According to the official communication, those who are expelled were, presumably, striving to reestablish capitalism in the Soviet Union. The political import of this new repression is imposing in itself. Its symptomatic significance is tremendous.

In the course of many years, Zinoviev and Kamenev were the closest pupils and collaborators of Lenin. Better than any one else, Lenin knew their weak traits; but he was also able to utilize their strong sides. In his "Testament", so cautious in tone, wherein both praise and censure are equally modulated in order not to strengthen some too much and weaken others, Lenin deemed it urgent to remind the party that the behavior of Zinoviev and Kamenev in October was "not accidental". Subsequent events confirmed these words all too clearly. But no more accidental was also that role which Zinoviev and Kamenev played in the Leninist party. And their present

expulsion brings to mind their old and unaccidental role.

Zinoviev and Kamenev were members of the Politbureau, which in Lenin's time was directly in charge of the fate of the party and of the revolution. Zinoviev was the chairman of the Communist International. Together with Rykov and Tsirupa, Kamenev was Lenin's alternate, during the final period of Lenin's life, for the office of chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars. After Lenin's death Kamenev presided over the Politbureau and the Soviet of Labor and Defense, the highest economic organ of the land.

In 1923, Zinoviev and Kamenev launched a campaign against Trotsky. At the beginning of the struggle, they took very poor account of its consequences, which, of course does not testify to their political far-sightedness. Zinoviev was primarily an agitator, exceptionally talented, but almost exclusively an agitator. Kamenev—"a wise politician" in Lenin's estimation, but lacking great will power and too easily inclined to ad-

(Continued on page 2)

LEON TROTSKY

Soviet Economy in Danger

The Situation on the Eve of the Second Five Year Plan

The successes of the first two years of the Five Year Plan demonstrated to the bourgeoisie of the entire world that the proletarian revolution was a much more serious business than was apparent in the beginning. The interest in the Soviet "experiment" grew apace. Conspicuous groups of eminent bourgeois publications in divers countries began printing comparatively objective economic information.

At the same time the international Communist press played up the most optimistic estimates of the Soviet press, exaggerating them crudely, presumably in the interests of propaganda, and transforming them into an economic legend.

Petty bourgeois democrats, who were not at all in a hurry to form an opinion about so complex a fact as the October revolution, welcomed with glee the possibility to discover support for their belated sympathies in the statistics of the Five Year Plan. Magnanimously, at last, they "recognized" the Soviet Republic in reward for its economic and cultural attainments. This act of moralism provided many of them with an

opportunity to take an interesting trip at reduced rates.

It is infinitely more deserving, forthright, to defend the socialist construction of the first workers' state than to sustain the pretensions of Wall Street or of the City. But one can take as little stock in the lukewarm sympathies of this gentry toward the Soviet government as in the antipathies of the Amsterdam Congress toward militarism.

People, after the type of the Webbs (and they are not the worst of this lot) are, naturally, not at all inclined to break their heads over the contradictions of Soviet economy. Without in any manner committing themselves, they strive chiefly to utilize the conquests of Soviets in order thus to shame or urge ahead the ruling circles of their land. A foreign revolution serves them as a subordinate weapon for their reformism. For this purpose, as well as for their personal peace of mind, "the Friends of the U. S. S. R.", together with the international Communist bureaucracy, require a picture of the successes in U. S.

(Continued on page 6)

The Expulsion of Zinoviev

(Continued from page 1)

apt himself to the intellectual, cultural, middle class and bureaucratic milieu. Stalin's role in this struggle bore a much more organic character. The spirit of petty-bourgeois provincialism, the absence of theoretical preparation, narrowness of vision—that is what characterizes Stalin, notwithstanding his Bolshevism. His enmity toward "Trotskyism" had roots much deeper than that of Zinoviev and Kamenev, and for a long time previously it had sought for its political expression. Incapable himself of theoretical generalizations, Stalin urged on in turn Zinoviev, Kamenev and Bukharin and picked out from their speeches and articles whatever seemed to him most appropriate for his own aims.

The struggle of the majority of the Politbureau against Trotsky, which began, to a considerable degree, as a personal conspiracy disclosed all too quickly its political content. It was neither simple nor homogeneous. The Left Opposition included within itself, around its authoritative Bolshevik kernel, many of the organizers of the October overturn, militant participants of the Civil War, and a considerable stratum of Marxists from out of the student youth. But in the wake of this vanguard, during the first stages, there dragged along the tail-end of all sorts of dissatisfied, ill-equipped and even chagrined careerists. Only the arduous development of the subsequent struggles liberated the Opposition from its accidental and uninvited fellow-wayfarers.

Under the banner of the "troika"—Zinoviev-Kamenev-Stalin—were united many "old Bolsheviks" particularly those who, as Lenin advised as early as April 1917, should have been relegated to the archives; but there also were many serious underground members, strong party organizers who sincerely believed that there was impending the danger of Leninism being displaced by Trotskyism. However, the further matters progressed the more solidly and cohesively, the growing and intrenching bureaucracy rose up against "the permanent revolution." And it was this that subsequently guaranteed Stalin's preponderance over Zinoviev and Kamenev.

The fight within the "troika", beginning in a considerable measure also as a personal fight—politics are made by people and through people, and nothing that is human is foreign to politics—soon, in its own turn, disclosed its content of principle. Zinoviev, the chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, and Kamenev, chairman of the Moscow Soviet, sought the support of the workers of the two capitals. Stalin's chief support was in the provinces and in the apparatus; in the backward provinces the apparatus became all-powerful sooner than in the capitals. Zinoviev, chairman of the Comintern, cherished his international position. Stalin looked down with contempt upon the Communist parties of the West. He found the formula for his nationalistic limitations in 1924; socialism in one country. Zinoviev and Kamenev counterposed against him their doubts and refutations. But as it turned out, it was sufficient for Stalin to depend upon those forces which were mobilized by the "troika" against Trotskyism in order automatically to overwhelm Zinoviev and Kamenev.

Zinoviev's and Kamenev's past, the years of their joint work with Lenin, the international school of emigration—all this must needs have counterpoised them inimically to that wave of self-dependency that threatened, in the last analysis, to sweep away the October revolution. The result of the new fight on top came to many as absolutely astounding; two of the most violent instigators of the hue and cry against "Trotskyism", ended up in the camp of the "Trotskyists".

In order to facilitate the bloc, the Left Opposition—against the objections and warnings of the author of these lines—modulated isolated formulations of their platform, and temporarily refrained from making official replies to the most acute theoretical questions. This was hardly correct. But the Left Opposition of 1923 still did not take

to the path of making concessions in essence. We remained true to ourselves. Zinoviev and Kamenev came to us. There is no need to recapitulate the degree to which the coming over to the side of the Opposition of 1923, of the sworn enemies of yesterday strengthened the assurance of our ranks and our conviction in our historical correctness.

However, Zinoviev and Kamenev, on this occasion as well, did not foresee all the political consequences of their step. In 1923 they had hoped, by means of a few agitational campaigns and organizational maneuvers, to free the party from the "hegemony of Trotsky", pushing all other things aside, and now it seemed to them that, allied with the Opposition of 1923, they would quickly cope with the apparatus and reestablish both their own personal positions, and the Leninist course of the party.

Once again they were mistaken. Personal antagonisms and groupings within the party had already become completely the tools of anonymous social forces, strata and classes. There was its own inner lawfulness in the reaction against the October overturn, and it was impossible to skip over its ponderous rhythm by means of combinations and maneuvers.

Sharpening from day to day, the struggle between the Opposition bloc and the bureaucracy reached its final limits.

Mill as a Stalinist Agent

The Left Opposition is placed, from an organizational point of view, in unusually difficult circumstances; not a single revolutionary party has ever before had to work under such persecution. Apart from the reprisals of the capitalist police of all countries, the Left Opposition is exposed to the blows to the Stalinist bureaucracy, which shrinks from nothing. We repeat, from nothing.

Naturally, the Russian section has the greatest difficulties. Everybody remembers that Blumkin, who tried to establish a connection between Trotsky and his adherents in Soviet Russia, was shot to death. To find a Russian Bolshevik-Leninist abroad, even to fulfill only technical functions, is extremely difficult.

Thus and only thus is the fact to be explained that Mill was for a time in the Administrative Secretariat of the Left Opposition: a man was needed who knew the Russian language and was capable of carrying out the duties of a secretary. Mill had been at one time a member of the official party and in this sense could claim a degree of confidence.

His work in the Secretariat, however, soon revealed his utter practical incompetence, not to speak of the lack of any political schooling. In the latter respect Mill incidentally was a typical represen-

tative of the great and small bureaucracy formed by Stalin.

With these qualities were associated certain negative traits of a personal, or more correctly, of a moral character. After having reached, in the absence of a wide choice, a responsible even if technical post, Mill felt himself to occupy the role of a "leader". With respect to a number of French comrades who are ten heads greater in stature than himself, he began to assert ridiculous claims. Under the mask of the offended Stalinist who had passed himself off as an "Oppositionist" appeared the personality of a little petty bourgeois from a distant small town of old Czarist Russia. Mill quickly went into opposition with the Parisian comrades, who in his opinion did not manifest sufficient respect to him and—this must be added—allegedly did not "attend" sufficiently to his welfare. These offenses were enough for the little Philistine to try to enter into a bloc with Rosmer and others, against whom he had—literally—only the day before carried on a bitter "principled" struggle. This unworthy, personally-motivated political turn, led to Mill's removal from the Administrative Secretariat. The sections, above all the Russian, corrected the mistake which had been committed.

The matter now, no longer concerned discussion, even if under the whip, but a break with the official Soviet apparatus, i.e., the perspective of an arduous struggle for a number of years—a struggle surrounded by great dangers and the issue of which could not be foretold.

Zinoviev and Kamenev recoiled. As in 1917, on the eve of October, they had become frightened at a break with the petty bourgeois democracy, so ten years later they became frightened of a break with the Soviet bureaucracy. And this was all the more "not accidental" since the Soviet bureaucracy was three-quarters composed of those same elements which in 1917 scared the Bolsheviks with the inevitable flop of the October "adventure".

The capitulation of Zinoviev and Kamenev, before the XVII congress, at the moment of the organized extirpation of Bolshevik-Leninists, was accepted by the Left Opposition as an act of monstrous perfidy. Such it was in its essence. Still, even in this capitulation there was its measure of lawfulness, not only psychological, but political. On a series of fundamental questions of Marxism—the proletarian and the peasantry, "democratic dictatorship", permanent revolution—Zinoviev and Kamenev stood between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Left Opposition. Theoretical amorphousness avenged itself inexorably, as it always does, in practice.

(To be Continued)

Prinkipo, October 1932.

—L. TROTSKY.

which they had had forced on them to a great extent, as said before, by difficult objective conditions. In the course of the last nine months Mill stood entirely outside of the ranks of the Left Opposition.

But this was by no means the end of his career. As the irritation over inadequate support had driven him to Rosmer, so his removal from the Secretariat led to his negotiations with the Stalinists: he handed in an official application for employment in Charkov, where his relatives live.

In the course of these tempting negotiations, Mill proposed his services to the Left Opposition, evidently already in the course of his new political functions. Now Mill is preparing to "unmask" the Left Opposition: that will in fact actually constitute his employment in Charkov or Moscow.

There is no reason to fear that the little Philistine, who was expelled from the midst of the Bolshevik-Leninists with a discourteous shove, will play any role in the fight against the Left Opposition. The truth is not dangerous for us. And in the field of lying, the Stalinists have broken all and sundry records before Mill.

In one respect we can say the situation is becoming normal again: the Stalinist, somehow irritated by the other Stalinists, who temporarily fastened himself to the Left Opposition and was expelled from its ranks, comes back to the Stalinists. There he will be quite in his place.

Marx-Lenin School Opens in Chicago

Following the establishment in New York of the International Workers School, the Chicago branch of the Communist League has opened up the Marx-Lenin School, with headquarters at 2011 W. North Avenue, and a series of three courses which have already begun their enrollments.

The first course, which opened on October 26, and continues every Wednesday night, is instructed by comrade John Edwards on "Fundamentals of Marxism". There will be eight sessions, beginning with "The Capitalist System of Society" and ending with "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat".

A more advanced class began on October 27, and runs for ten sessions every Thursday night. It is a course on "Imperialism and the Proletarian Revolution". Instructor comrade Albert Glotzer.

Glotzer will also conduct a course every Monday night, beginning November 20, on "The History of the International Youth Movement", of special importance and interest to the young militants.

The fee for any of the three courses is only \$1.50 and all workers interested are urged to get in touch with the director of the School at the address given above.

DAVENPORT MILITANT JOINS OPPOSITION

I, Betty Rowland, wish to make application to join the Communist League (Left Opposition). I have made a study of the Communist movement and its various groups and I have come to the conclusion that the Left Opposition course is the only course that will lead to the development of a real Communist party which will be able to assume the burden of the class struggle in this country.

Up until a few months ago I was a sympathizer of the Proletarian party, but now I realize that it is impossible to build up a separate national movement or a party that is disconnected from the international working class. And to my opinion there is no room for two Communist parties in the United States, as all the energy must be put into one party.

Then I do not agree with the theory of socialism in one country and all its harmful effects, which the leadership of the Proletarian party accepts and endorses.

—BETTY ROWLAND.

MILITANT BUILDERS

Our Club Plan

THE WINNER

As our comrades will remember, we offered a copy of the "Proletarian Revolution in Russia" by Lenin and Trotsky to the Militant Builder who stood highest in the staff in our anniversary issue. We are very happy to announce that the comrade is a newcomer in these lists. He hails from the Smoky City. Together with other local comrades and comrade Gordon who has gone there from New York he has been scouring the city for Militant subs. The comrade is P. Vomas.

Not far behind him are comrades Morgenstern from the down-town city, Philadelphia; and Dunne from Minneapolis. And right on their heels, stepping fast are two comrades from across the line, H. Nash from Montreal and W. Krehm from Toronto. The other comrades and the records of all are listed below. It's a very good performance.

KEEP UP THE RACE

Now suppose we keep right on with this race. We've got a flying start and it shouldn't be difficult to step it up considerably. Suppose we set the first of the year as the next lap of the race. We'll keep right on with these records. And to the leader at the first of the year we'll give a copy of "My Life" by comrade Trotsky.

MINNEAPOLIS IN FIRST PLACE

If Pittsburgh gave us Vomas, Minneapolis still stands at the head of the list of cities. And Chicago and Pittsburgh are in a tie for second place. Boston and Toronto are tied for fourth place with Philadelphia in sixth place. We are sure that before we reach the first of the year all of our branches will have entered their names in this list and New York which got away to a slow start will move up toward the head of the list.

MINERS' SUBS

We hope you haven't forgotten about our campaign for subs for the miners. We're still pushing it with results. This past week comrade Ross of Minneapolis sent in two dollars with a club plan blank with just one name on it. He asked us to fill in the names of three miners. We did with the result that a miner in Springfield, one in Taylorville and one in Hillsboro will receive the Militant regularly now for twenty-six weeks.

Comrade Carmody who has just returned from the Illinois coal fields tells us that the Militant is very well received there. He says that as soon as the miners get some work many of them will subscribe. But, he adds, they need help now; political guidance and a friendly word. This is our opportunity to sink roots among the miners. Here, if anywhere, redeem the prestige of Communism so far as we are able. One way to do it, and not the least, is to get subs for the miners. Use the club plan. Collect two dollars for four half-year subs. Or do what comrade Ross did. Get only one, or get two names, or even three. Send them in with two dollars and we will bring the names up to four from our list of miners who are awaiting for the paper. Step lively.

THE STAFF

V. Vomas	12
B. Morgenstern	8
V. R. Dunne	8
H. Nash	7
W. Krehm	6
H. A.	4
J. Hamilton	4
W. Konikow	4
O. Coover	4
S. Lessin	4
J. Sifakis	4
A. Joel	4
E. McMillen	4
A. Miller	4
J. Weber	4
J. Ross	4

Chicago Friends of the Militant Club 4
C. Shechet 2
Notice the frequency of names from Minneapolis. They don't depend on one man up there for their subs. Everybody

goes after them. That's the way to do it. And notice the name of McMillen of St. Louis. If the past means anything here is a hustler come to life. Look out for Mac. Those who know say that when he gets started you can't see him for dust. We're waiting to see.

THE RECORD BY CITIES

Minneapolis	20
Pittsburgh	16
Chicago	16
Toronto	10
Boston	10
Philadelphia	8
Montreal	7
St. Louis	4
New York	4

New York is in the cellar but it won't be for long. On your toes everybody. We're coming up.

Next week the second phase of the club plan.

Pioneer Publishers Notes

REVOLUTIONARY LESSONS

We are just now in receipt of another shipment from England of that invaluable pamphlet by Lenin, "Revolutionary Lessons." Our comrades in England inform us that it is very difficult to get and they may not be able to get your copy if you don't get it now. The price stands at which it was \$2.50. There is no discount.

LENIN'S SPEECHES

In the same shipment we got eight copies of a cloth bound volume of speeches made by Lenin in 1917, 1918 and 1921. They include: We Must Have Peace. The Land to the Tillers of the Soil. The Nationalization of the Banks. The Dispersion of the Constituent Assembly. The Causes of the World War. From Noy to Socialist Russia, and—but we have whetted your appetite.

Remember that there are only eight and it will be first come, first served. The price is \$5.50 plus postage.

TWO NEW PAMPHLETS

In a week or so we are going to start work on two new pamphlets. One deals with the unemployment question and is written by comrade Arne Swaback; and the other deals with the question of the nature and role of the Left Opposition. Both are much needed pamphlets. They will sell for very little, five or ten cents at the most. We will print them in large quantities. In the next issue we will be able to give more and accurate details. Watch for it.

LEON TROTSKY

Problems of the Development of the U.S.S.R.

Just as timely now as when first written. This is the thesis of the International Left Opposition on the Russian question drafted by our comrades and adopted by the League as its position at its second national conference a little more than a year ago.

The pamphlet deals with the Economic Contradictions of the Transition Period. The Party in the System of the Dictatorship, Dangers and Possibilities of a Counter Revolutionary Upheaval. The Left Opposition and the U. S. S. R.

48 pages \$15 plus postage
\$10 in bundles of ten or more

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

54 East 10th Street
New York, N. Y.

Bound Vols.

In connection with the celebration of the fourth anniversary of the Militant we got together 13 files of all the issues of the old format. This means that there are seventy-one issues of the Militant in every one of these files. They run from Volume One, Number One, November 15, 1929 to Volume 4, Number 12, June 15, 1931, the last issue of the old format.

These files constitute a priceless historic record. Anyone familiar with the early days of the League, with its uphill battle for the ideas of revolutionary internationalism against slander, calumny, and physical repression need not be told that it is all set down, in all significance in the columns of the Militant.

As times pass these files become even more priceless if we can put it that way. More than that; it becomes well nigh impossible to get them together. Comrades who want a file—and who does not?—should order at once. Money must accompany the order. There is no credit on these files. Orders will be filled strictly as they are received. Remember, comrades, this is probably your last opportunity to get a file.

PRICE: \$10.00

Nine Years of Struggle of the Left Opposition

The Burning Question of Thermidor and Bonapartism

(Continued from previous issue)

The systematic crushing of the leading party of the proletariat, without which the dictatorship cannot be exercised in a revolutionary sense, not only accentuates the danger of Thermidor in the Soviet Union but, at a given point, also the threat of Bonapartism. On the road of degeneration which leads to the counter-revolutionary triumph, Thermidor and Bonapartism do not present stages differing in their class foundation. In the Great French revolution, Bonapartism swiftly succeeded the 9th of Thermidor and the Directory. But this succession is as little ordained and inevitable as is the certainty of counter-revolution altogether; a fusion of the two stages, a modification of one or the other under the conditions of a new social epoch—these and many other possibilities are quite conceivable. Throughout the early years, Lenin kept reminding the party of the lessons of the French revolution and strove to overcome the forces which threatened the Russian revolution with a similar fate. Even more so today it is necessary to arouse the vigilance of the revolutionary movement so that it may perceive in time, distinguish the dangers at every stage and adopt the measures necessary to cope with them.

It has been pointed out that the Right wing in the Russian party had its strength essentially in the classes and not in the ranks, more specifically, not in the apparatus, of the party. The Right

wing was so easily crushed on a party scale because it was not prepared to make an open appeal for support to the class interests it represented: the kulak, and the Nepman dependent upon him. The victory by the Stalinist center over the Right wing triumvirate halted, for the time being, the advance of the Thermidorian forces, of those dark and backward agrarian interests which had been whipped up and nurtured in the reactionary years of struggle against the Left Opposition. Only, this victory did not result in eliminating other, and more acute, phases of the counter-revolutionary danger.

While both the Right and the Left wings of the party in the Soviet Union represent well-defined class forces and interests, the same cannot be said of the Centrist apparatus. Classic petty bourgeois force, the graph of its policy reveals a broken line of leaps to the Left and to the Right which become shorter and more frequent with the aggravation of the crisis. It leans now upon the proletarian core of the country, as during the campaign against the Right wing, now upon the reactionary forces, as during the fight against the Left. It cannot find for itself a firm class foundation from which to operate; the closest it came to such a base was during the period of the idealization by the Stalin faction of the "middle peasant", a shifty social stratum which, far from serving as a solid class foundation, requires one

itself.

The Stalin faction, however, has its strength in the party bureaucracy: it is the party bureaucracy. In the process of watering down the party until it is a bloated, shapeless mass, the apparatus has at the same time raised itself above the party to an unapproachable level and constituted itself as a bureaucratic caste. The diffused party mass is unable to reach this caste in order to change it, or to have it reflect the interests of the mass itself. The apparatus, on the other hand, after having strangled the party, must stifle all life within itself. We say "must" because it cannot refer any disputes in its ranks to the party mass below for fear of unleashing a force that is inherently inimical to it. The whole bureaucratic system, consequently, moves inexorably to a condition where a decreasing number of individuals decide and speak for all; the number of these individuals today, to all practical purposes, is one, and his name is Stalin. What are still formally party organisms, in the words of Marx, "appear as reversed Schlemihls, as shadows the bodies of which have been lost." In its turn, the apparatus becomes a shadowy projection of the omnipotent Secretariat, or more accurately, of the General Secretary.

Devoid of a class basis, the apparatus is permeated principally with the desire for self-preservation and self-perpetuation. Its policies, in all their increasing, essentially to this aim. The sickening, Byzantine flattery of Stalin which is compulsory for every official, the conversion of the army and particularly of the G. P. U. into an instrument with which the Secretariat operates even more exclusively—combined with the suppression of workers' democracy in general and

party democracy in particular, that is, of the principal guarantees against a degeneration of the proletarian dictatorship—these are the signs of the present period in the Soviet Union. They reveal "the pre-conditions of the Bonapartist regime in the country."

Tacking desperately between the various classes and social strata, the apparatus satisfies none of them. In this fact lies the danger that the mounting discontentment of all sections of the population, and above all of the peasantry, will explode the very foundations of the Soviet power, that is, of the proletarian dictatorship. If the crisis breaks out into the open and reveals the proletariat and its party have been so weakened that they cannot act decisively and victoriously then the counter-revolution will not likely assume the form of Bonapartism, of the Iron man or men "standing above the classes" and apparently mediating between the contending forces, resting for the time being upon the strength of the military forces; and the experienced cohesion of the bureaucratic apparatus. It is this prospect which reveals the Stalinist faction as the potential reservoir of the Bonapartist danger.

Superficial examination alone permits one to exclude this possibility, as well as the possibility of a Thermidorian overturn, on the ground of the so-called "liquidation of the kulak". If this were actually the case, the danger would undoubtedly be considerably diminished, although even then, not eliminated. But a more careful scrutiny will reveal that the "liquidated kulak" is still a substantial force, more threatening in this respect, that his present activities and progress are not only concealed behind the administratively established collective

farms but are facilitated by the rupture of the relations between town and country, worker and peasant, rendered inevitable by the whole course of the Stalin bureaucracy.

The French farmers, wrote Marx in his classic study of Bonapartism, "are unable to assert their class interests in their own name, be it by a parliament or by convention. They cannot represent one another, they must themselves be represented. Their representative must at the same time appear as their master, as an authority over them, as an unlimited governmental power, that protects them from above, bestows rain and sunshine upon them. Accordingly, the political influence of the allotment farmer finds its ultimate expression in an executive power that subjugates the commonwealth to its own autocratic will."

Such an executive power is present in embryonic form in the bureaucratic apparatus of the party and the Soviets. For it to be fully fledged as a Bonapartist ruling machine, it must first receive baptism in the blood shed by a civil war, that inevitable concomitant to the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship which the reaction cannot hope to avert. The overthrow itself, however can be averted, but only by restoring the party of the proletariat, the crushing of which has made possible the accumulation of all the internal contradictions and the maturing of the counter-revolutionary factors. It is to achieve this restoration, to bring closer the day of its attainment, that the strength and activities of the Left Opposition are dedicated.

—SHACHTMAN.

THE MILITANT IS \$2 A YEAR, SUBSCRIBE NOW.

The Fight in the Party for a Bolshevik Government... For the Policy of Lenin and Trotsky!

The question is posed of the expulsion from the party of A. V. Lunacharsky. J. G. Fenigstein-Daletsky** is opposed. The proposition is put to the vote. The expulsion is rejected.

The present situation: Reporter, J. G. Fenigstein.

J. G. FENIGSTEIN

By chance, it is I who am the reporter. Perhaps someone else will make the report? (Rejected).

Objective: How to coordinate the work in the immediate future. It is a question of the agreement with the other socialist parties (Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists). The considerations on the "splitted blood" and the lassitude of the workers should not predominate. For a political party that wants to make history, these facts should not constitute an obstacle. Task: what to do to satisfy the just demands of the workers and the peasants? What was the second revolution? It was inevitable. The class contradictions have grown. We have pointed this out. The revolution was not exclusively political. It brought with it a series of alterations in the economic and social domain. A great process has been accomplished. Illusions have disappeared. The state of mind of the Soviets and the popular masses has changed: they have lost their (collaborationist) illusions. Everybody has reached the conclusion of the necessity of the existence of the Soviet power. In the presence of this slogan we have developed ourselves and have grown. We have elaborated a series of slogans on the economic struggle, etc. Our party has grown. We have had the support of the masses.

LENIN.

I cannot make a report but I will make known to you a question which interests everybody a great deal. It is the question of the crisis in the party which broke out openly at the moment when it was already in power.

For all those who follow the life of the party, the polemic which was unfolded in the Rabotchi Put and my interventions against Kameney and Zinoviy constitute nothing new. It was said in Dielo Naroda that the Bolsheviks would be afraid to seize the power. This compelled me to take up the pen to show all the inconsistency and unfathomable stupidity of the Socialist Revolutionists. I wrote "Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power"? The question of armed intervention was posed at the Central Committee session of October 1. I was afraid of seeing opportunism on the part of the Internationalist-Unionists; but this fear disappeared. Whereas, in our party, certain (former) members of the Central Committee were not in agreement with us. This grieved me. Thus the question of power has been posed for a long time. Just the same we could not give it up now because of the disagreement of Zinoviy and Kameney. The insurrection is "objectively" necessary; comrades Zinoviy and Kameney began to make an agitation against the insurrection; we began to consider them as strikebreakers. I even addressed myself in writing to the Central Committee to propose to expel them from the party.

I came out violently in the press when Kameney came forward in the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets*. I would not want (now, after the victory) to be severe with them. I regarded with friendliness Kameney's parleys in the Central Executive Committee on the subject of the agreement, for we are not opposed to it from the point of view of principles***.

However, when the Socialist Revolutionists abandoned the power, I understood that they did it after Kerensky had begun the (armed) resistance. In Moscow (that is, on the subject of the conquest of power in Moscow), matters dragged out for a long time. Our Right wingers sank into pessimism. Moscow allegedly cannot take the power, etc. And it is then that the question of the agreement arose among them.

* Lunacharsky had come forward in favor of the coalition with the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists; he resigned from the government because of the (imagined) destruction of the Cathedral of Basil the Benevolent in Moscow. The proposal to expel Lunacharsky was presented on the initiative of Lenin.

** At the present time the manager of the Telegraphic Agency of the Soviet Union (TASS).

*** On August 4-17, 1917 Kameney came forward during a session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets on the occasion of his arrest, as well as on August 6-10, on the subject of the International Socialist Conference of Stockholm which the social-collaborationists aimed to convene during the summer of 1917, in order to conclude as quickly as possible a peace by exercising a pressure of the socialist parties upon the governments of their countries. Kameney spoke on August 6-19 in favor of participation in this Conference, in spite of the fact that the Central Committee of the party had decided not to participate.

*** Neither Lenin nor Trotsky, in the beginning, had raised objection to parleys with the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists concerning the coalition, on condition of having a solid majority for the Bolsheviks, and that the parties recognize the Soviet power, the decrees on peace and the land, etc. It was certain that these parleys would yield nothing, but a lesson by example was necessary.

Introduction to the Minutes of the Petrograd Committee, November 7, 1917

We publish here the minutes of the historic session of the Petrograd Committee of the Bolshevik party which took place November 1-14, 1917. The power was already conquered, at least in the most important centers of the country. But the struggle inside the party concerning the question of power was far from having ceased. It had simply passed into a new phase. Up to October 25, the representatives of the Right wing (Zinoviy, Kameney, Rykov, Kalinin, Lunacharsky, etc.), demonstrated that the insurrection was premature and that it would end in a defeat. After the triumph of the insurrection they took up the job of proving that the Bolshevik party was incapable of maintaining itself in power without coalescing with the other socialist parties, that is, with the Social Revolutionists and the Mensheviks. In this new stage, the struggle of the Right wingers became exceptionally harsh and terminated with the resignation of the representatives of this wing from the Council of People's Commissars and from the Central Committee of the party. It should be recalled that this crisis took place a few days after the conquest of power.

What was the conduct, in this question, of those who are at present the Centrists, particularly Stalin? At bottom he was already then a Centrist, in so far as he was obliged to take a position by himself or to express his own opinion, but he was a Centrist who was afraid of Lenin. That is why at the most critical moments of the ideological struggle (beginning with April 4, 1917 and up to the illness of Lenin) Stalin scarcely existed from the political point of view. He existed less than ever during 1917. After his arrival in Petrograd, coming from Atchinsk with Kameney, when he had taken possession of the editorial board of Pravda with Kameney and the former deputy Muranov, Stalin followed a vulgarly democratic, semi-national-defensist line of conduct, a line which Kameney formulated, all things considered, in more sensible and complete terms. After Lenin's arrival, Kameney continued to defend his attitude and applied it in his manner all through October and November 1917. As for Stalin, he hushed up immediately and retired behind himself. His activity in Pravda during the month of March, when he removed the revolutionary elements from the editorial board, was still present in the memory of all. From the psychological and political point of view,

The work of the insurrection is a new work; other forces, other qualities are needed. In Moscow, for example, in many cases the Junkers (cadets) gave proof of cruelty, shot prisoners, etc. The Junkers, sons of the bourgeoisie, understood that with the advent of the power of the people comes to an end that of the bourgeoisie, for already, even at the conference, we had taken a series of measures like the confiscation of the banks, etc. To the contrary, the Bolsheviks were frequently too soft. Now if the bourgeoisie had triumphed, it would have acted as in 1848 and in 1871. Who believed therefore that we would not run foul of the sabotage of the bourgeoisie? It was clear even for a nursing. And we must apply force: arrest the bank directors, etc. The detention, even brief, of these people has already yielded very good results. That hardly surprises me; I know how little capable they are of doing any of their fighting themselves; the essential thing for them is to hold on their warm little spot. In Paris, they gullied, while we will do nothing but deprive of their food cards those who do not receive them from their trade union. In this manner we will fulfill our duty. And at such a moment, while we are in power, the split appears! Zinoviy and Kameney say that we will not get possession of the power "in the whole country". I am in no mood to listen to this calmly. I regard this as treason. What do they want? The launching of a spontaneous battle, with dagger blows? The proletariat alone can bring the country out of this... as for the agreement...

I cannot even speak seriously of this. Trotsky has said long ago that the union is impossible. Trotsky has understood this and since then there has not been a better Bolshevik.

Zinoviy says that we are not the power of the Soviets, that, allegedly, we are the Bolsheviks all alone, that the Socialist Revolutionists and the Mensheviks have quit, etc. But it is not our fault. We are elected by the congress of the Soviets. It is a new organization. Those who want to fight, enter it. It is not the people, it is a vanguard which draws in the mass. We are marching with the active masses and not with those who are tired. To refrain now from unfolding the insurrection (as to capitulate) before the fatigued masses, as for us we are with the vanguard. The Soviets are determined (in the struggle). The Soviets are the vanguard of the proletarian masses. Now we are invited to espouse the Municipal Duma: it's nonsense.

We are told that we want to "introduce" socialism: that's nonsense. We do not want to make a peasant socialism. We are told that we must "stop". But it is impossible. It is even said that we are not the power of the Soviets. Then what are we? However, we are not going to fuse with the Duma! Perhaps it will still be proposed that we conclude an agreement with the Room-

a complete turn-about face in 24 hours and adopt an active attitude in Lenin's camp against the opportunist wing, of which he, Stalin, had been one of the leaders before Lenin's arrival. That's why you can find hardly a single question in which, during this period, Stalin adopted a clear position which he defended openly.

As these minutes prove, the revolutionary line of the party was defended in common by Lenin and Trotsky. But that is just why the document we publish was not included in the collection of minutes of the Petrograd Committee edited under the title: "The First Legal Petrograd Committee of the Bolshevik Party in 1917" (State Publishing House, 1927). Yet, in saying this, we do not express ourselves with sufficient preciseness. The minutes of the November 1 session were part of the first project of the book; they were set up and the proofs were carefully looked over. As proof of this, we have the photograph of a part of the proofs. But the report of this historic session was in no way a part of the project, far too unbearable, to the falsification of the history of October, executed under the not very qualified but zealous direction of Yaroslavsky. What was to be done? Lenin, interrogated Moscow, the Central Historical Section of the party questioned the Secretariat of the Central Committee. The latter gave the following directions: Eliminate the minutes from the book in such a manner that not a trace is left of them. They had to set up in haste a new table of contents and to change the arrangement of the pages. But nevertheless, the book itself retains clues. The session of October 29 concludes by setting the next session for Wednesday (November 1). However, according to the book, the next session "took place on November 2". But a much more important trace was preserved outside of the book, in the form of the proofs already mentioned, bearing corrections and annotations by the hand of the book's editor, P. F. Kudelli.

As the official motive for the dissimulation of the most important minutes of the Petrograd Committee for 1917, Kudelli marked the following note on the proofs: "The speech of V. I. Lenin was recorded by the secretary of the session of the Petrograd Committee with great lacunae and with abbreviations of certain words and phrases. In some places it was impossible to decipher the notes;

chered, the Vikzhel, etc.* That's horse-trading. Perhaps also with general Kaledin? To come to an understanding with the collaborationists who later on will throw a wrench in the spokes! It would be miserable horse-trading and not the power of the Soviets. At the conference that's just the way we must pose the question. Ninety-nine percent of the workers are for us.

If there must be a split, let it come! If they're the ones who have the majority, let them take the power in the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets and let them act; as for us, we will go to the sailors.

We are in power. Who is capable at present of passing over to Novaya Zhizn** Hesitators, unprincipled people: one day with us, the next with the Mensheviks. They say that by ourselves we will not maintain power, etc. But we are not alone. We have all Europe before us. We must begin: at present, only the socialist revolution is possible. All these hesitations, these doubts (agreements), they are nonsense. When I said (at a popular meeting), we will fight (the saboteurs) with the bread cards, the faces of the soldiers lit up. (The Right wingers) asserted that the soldiers are incapable of fighting. But the speakers who spoke before, the masses tell us that they have never seen such enthusiasm. Only we shall be able to create a plan of revolutionary work. Only we are fit for the struggle, etc. And the Mensheviks? They will not follow us. There you are, at the coming conference we must put the question of the future socialist revolution. We have Kaledin before us; we have not yet triumphed (completely). When we are told (Vikzhel the saboteurs, etc.) that there is "no power", then it is necessary to imprison, and we will do it. And let them task us on this subject of the horrors of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Why, to arrest the Vikzhel people, that I understand. Let them scream about the arrests! The delegate from Tver said to the Congress of the Soviets: "Arrest them all!" That I understand; he has a certain comprehension of what the dictatorship of the proletariat is. Our present slogan is: no agreements, for a homogeneous Bolshevik government!

* Roomtherod: Joint Executive Committee of the Soldiers' Soviets on the Rumanian front, the banks of the Black Sea and the Odessa Garrison. Vikzhel: All-Russian Executive Committee of Railroad Workers. These two organizations were in the hands of the social-collaborationists.

** Novia Zhizn (New Life), Gorky's paper, where the Right wingers, (Lunacharsky, Zinoviy, Kameney, Rykov, etc.) came out against the Central Committee.

***The Tver delegate, a peasant, demanded during the Soviet Congress on October 25 (November 7), the arrest of Aleksandrov and the other collaborationist chiefs of the Peasants' League of that period.

accordingly, so as not to distort this speech, it is not published."

It is quite true that the recording of the minutes is not perfect, that they contain not a few lacunae and obscure passages. But that applies entirely and completely to all the minutes of the Petrograd Committee of 1917. The session of November 1 was perhaps better recorded than certain others. As is known, Lenin's speeches were in general difficult to take down, even stenographically, because of the peculiarities of his methods of oratorical exposition: the extreme rapidity of speech, the complicated construction of the phrases, abrupt and brutal parentheses, etc. Nevertheless, the essential sense of Lenin's speech of November 1-14 is perfectly clear. Lunacharsky's speech and the two speeches of Trotsky are reported in an entirely satisfactory manner. The motive for the elimination from the minutes is quite a different one. It is not hard to find. It is underlined in the margin of the proofs with a thick stroke and a huge question mark, right opposite the following words of the text:

"I cannot even speak seriously of this (of the agreement with the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists). Trotsky has said long ago that the union is impossible. Trotsky has understood this and since then there has not been a better Bolshevik."

It is this phrase which finally upset the equilibrium of the Secretariat of the Central Committee and called forth the re-making of the whole book, which is vexing enough as it is, for, even in its present censored form, it constitutes a murderous document against the falsifiers. It will suffice to say, for instance, that the point of view of the Central Committee, when it was presented in the meetings, was called the "point of view of Lenin and Trotsky" (see page 345). But Yaroslavsky himself, in spite of his assiduity, cannot attend to everything...

In this connection, it would be very interesting to reconstruct the contribution in the realm of ideas made in 1917 by this incompetent compiler and odious falsifier. We hope to devote a few pages to it in our archives. Here, let us simply recall a little known or forgotten fact. After the February revolution, Yaroslavsky, together with the Mensheviks, published at Yakutsk a review, the Social Democrat, which was a model of the acme of political triviality and converged upon the bourne separating Menshevism from rotten-borough liberalism. Yaroslavsky was then at the head of the

LUNACHARSKY.

I would like to have you know my impressions about the masses who have fought. I have heard with astonishment the speech of Vladimir Ilitch about Kameney allegedly not recognizing the socialist revolution. Yet, who is now in power? The Bolsheviks: that already speaks for itself. Kameney, as far as I know, has not a Menshevik point of view. Our influence is growing. The masses are coming over to our side. The city worker also understands that the question of the land is not a matter of indifference to him. We adopt as the basis for the decree on the land the resolution of the Social Revolutionists. We introduce it into the program of our activity; we can also introduce it into the nomination of the government*. We, the Right wing Opposition, have dwelled on the necessity of a homogeneous socialist government. We say: not a single place to the Cadets!

We have, furthermore, pointed out the necessity of workers' control, of the regulation of production by the shop and factory committees; the other parties consent to that. We will oblige everybody to admit it. That is what our program consists of, plus the power of the Soviets. Does this mean that we abandon the Municipal Dumas? It is our people who are seated in them. If the Dumas want to take the power, we will demolish them. Does that mean that we give the Dumas a part of the power? No. Simply representation (in the Soviet government). And should we really continue the civil war because of that? No, we shouldn't. To have new elections to the Dumas, that is another matter. Here it is eight days that we are in power. But we do not know if the decree on peace has been brought to the attention of the people? What is the reason for it? The technical apparatus, which is bourgeois or petty bourgeois. It sabotages us. If the Municipal Duma demanded that the principal line of conduct be changed, that would be another matter; but if it only wants representation in the power, there is nothing to talk about. Only, we will settle nothing. The famine will begin. If those who sabotage, that is, the technical apparatus, are not with us, nobody will know about our agitation beyond the frontier, and we will settle nothing. We can, of course, act by means of the terror, but why, towards what end?

We will endeavor to obtain an agreement, but if they grab us by the hands, we are resolute people, capable of resisting... At present we must, first of all, take possession of the whole apparatus. This means to act by following the line of least resistance and not by

* Lunacharsky's idea is the following: If the Bolsheviks have introduced into their decree on the land the demands of the peasants, permitted with a Social Revolutionist spirit, the Bolsheviks must also share the power with the Social Revolutionists.

Conciliation Chamber of Yakutsk in

order to protect the splendors of the democratic revolution from the conflicts between workers and capitalists. All the articles of the review edited by Yaroslavsky were penetrated with the same spirit. The other collaborators, who did not jar with the spirit of this publication, were Ordjonikidze and Petrovsky, the present president of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Soviets. In a leading article, which might seem incredible were it not printed black on white, Petrovsky shed tears of emotion over 50 rubles contributed by some official or other for charitable works and expressed the conviction that the revolution would really bloom from the moment when the possessing classes would follow the example of the noble honorary—and perhaps even Court—Councillor. It is these rigorously consistent "Marxists", these inflexible "revolutionists" who now edit Lenin and seek to remodel all history. They write with assurance on the proofs of the minutes of the session of November 1: "Throw away the composition." That's it precisely: the history of the October revolution, "Throw away the composition!" Lenin, "Throw away the composition!" Set up all over again the history of Russia for a third of a century. Yaroslavsky, author, corrector and compositor of the new Stalinist history.

But, alas for Yaroslavsky, there have been some "leaks" this time too. He has not succeeded in "throwing away the composition". It cannot be done without making use of living people. The proofs, with all the annotations, immediately made their way into the hands of the Opposition. It is not the only document of this type!

As for the correction of the text we publish, we have applied in general and on the whole the rules which were used also by the editors of the collection of the Petrograd minutes mentioned above. In cases where the sense of the phrase left no doubt, we have corrected the grammar or the syntax, taking into account the interest of the reader. In spite of all the defects of recording, the general procedure of the whole session and of the tendencies and groups which were represented there, appears without leaving room for any dispute and carries a conviction which penetrates to the very depths of the mind. In publishing the present document, we are saving for history a living portion, not without its importance, of the October revolution.

—Archives of the Opposition.

taking every station by assault. Otherwise we will not be able to do anything. That is the first stage. We must take possession of the first point in order to be able to go forward. Such leaps cannot be made. We must pass gradually through all the steps*. We must consolidate our position in the most rapid manner. We must put a stop to the whole State apparatus and then go forward. Whoever pulls the cord too tightly will break it. It will be broken. At present the (party) representative in the Sailors' Committee says: The majority of the sailors are now in such a state of mind that they are ready to come to Smolny to declare that they are not disposed to conduct a civil war in order that the Bolsheviks should have more power or less. This exceptional situation cannot last long. To drag it out is to lose blood, lacking support from the technical apparatus.

I am surprised at the words pronounced by Vladimir Ilitch on the subject of the parleys with General Kaledin**, because he would be a genuine force, whereas the Mensheviks are not. But this unreal force can shift troops from the front, provoke a battle under Vinitsa and not permit the Lettish light infantry to arrive here. Technically, we can do nothing on the positions we have occupied. We have begun to love war too much, as if we were not workers but soldiers, a military party. It is necessary to create and we are doing nothing. We polemize in the party, and we will continue to do it, and there will remain a single dictator***.

We will not succeed in triumphing by arrests, the technical apparatus cannot be attacked, it is too big. The people reason like this: our program must be realized while retaining the arms in the

* We have here, from the lips of Lunacharsky, the formula which constitutes the leit-motif of all Stalin's activity. In defending for Germany (1923), China, England, the same policy of collaborationism which Lunacharsky defended at the end of 1917, Stalin invariably repeated: we must not leap over stages; we must gradually follow each step.

** Lenin had undoubtedly said: "If it were really a question of conducting negotiations in order to liquidate the civil war, it would be necessary to undertake them with Kaledin and not with the Mensheviks." The official editorial board of the Bureau of Party History, as its annotation shows, did not at all understand this purely Leninist argumentation.

*** After these words, applause was heard (see further on an indication on this point in the speech of Trotsky). It appears that during the negotiations on the coalition government of the Soviet parties, the collaborationists put at the top the demand to "cease" the civil war and, to attain that aim, to eliminate from the government Lenin and Trotsky. At times, they spoke only of Lenin. The Right wingers agreed to this.

hands of the workers. We can count upon that up to a certain point. Nevertheless, we cannot work at present for we have no apparatus. It will not last a long time like this. We must show that we can build up as realists, and not simply say: "Fight, fight!", and clear a road for ourselves with bayonets; that will lead to nothing. It is easier to compel people working badly to do it better than to coerce the idle to work by force. In the face of all these difficulties, I consider that it would be desirable to reach an agreement. None of your proofs about the Mensheviks can convince the masses. I know well that it is not possible to work as it is being done now. It is not possible from the principled point of view and also because we cannot risk a number of lives. Do not give forth to divergences of views (they exist already); the masses regard that nervously.

TROTSKY.

We are told that we are incapable of building up. But in that case we should quite simply give up the power to those who were right in the fight against us. But we have already done a great work. It is said that we cannot support ourselves upon bayonets. But neither can we exist without bayonets. We need the bayonets there in order to be able to sit here. All the experience we have gone through should already teach us something. There have been battles in Moscow; yes, there were serious combats there against the Junkers. But in the end, they did not submit either to the Mensheviks or to the Vikzhel; the agreement with the latter will not make the struggle against the Junkers' detachments of the bourgeoisie disappear. No, in the future a cruel class struggle will continue to be conducted against us. All this petty bourgeois rattle which, for the moment, is in no position to take a stand on one side or the other—when it will know that our power is strong, it will be with us, and with it, the Vikzhel... Because we crushed Krasnov's Cossacks under Petersburg, we received a mass of telegrams of sympathy the next day. The petty bourgeois mass seeks the force to which it should submit itself. Whoever does not understand that understands nothing in the world, much less the apparatus of the State. Back in 1871, Karl Marx said that the new class cannot simply utilize the old apparatus. It has its interests and its customs which cause resistance. We must break it and renew it; it is only then that we can work.

If that were not so, if the former Czarist apparatus suited our new aims, the whole revolution would not be worth a blown egg. We must create an apparatus which can, in reality, proclaim that the general interests of the popular masses are higher than the particular interests of the apparatus itself.

The question of the classes and of their struggle has remained purely book stuff for many of our circles. When they felt the revolutionary reality, they spoke differently (of agreement and not of struggle).

What we are living through at present is one of the deepest social crises. At present the proletariat is demolishing the apparatus of the power and replacing it. Its resistance is a reflection of the process of our growth. No word will be able to moderate their hatred against us. It is said that we have the same program as they. Give them a few seats and Kaledin will be all. Then why do they help Kaledin if they have the same program as we? No, the bourgeoisie is against us out of all its class interests. What will we accomplish against that by an agreement with the Vikzhel people? Against us is rising armed violence; how shall we beat it? Also by violence. Lunacharsky says that blood is flowing. Then what should be done? Perhaps we should not have begun? Then recognize that the greatest mistake was committed, not so much in October but at the end of February when the arena of the future civil war was opened.

It is said that an agreement with the Vikzhel would help us against Kaledin. But why, then, don't they support us if they are closer to us? They understand that bad as the counter-revolution is for them, it will give more to the upper strata of the Vikzhel than the dictatorship of the proletariat. For the moment they are preserving a neutrality which is not friendly to us. They are letting the shock troops and the partisans of Krasnov approach. I was personally forbidden at the Vikzhel from communicating by direct wire with Moscow in order to say that our affairs are going well in the struggle against Krasnov, because that might, so they said, "improve the morale there"; but the Vikzhel people, you see, are neutral. To come to an understanding is to continue the policy of Gotz, of Dan and the others.

We are told: we have neither cotton nor oil, that is why the agreement is necessary. But I ask for the thousand and first time: how can the agreement with Gotz and Dan give us oil?

Why are the Tchernovs against us? They protest out of their entirely bourgeois psychology. They are not capable of applying serious measures against the bourgeoisie. They are hostile to us just because we are applying brutal measures against it. Nobody yet knows what rigorous measures we shall still be compelled to have executed. All that the Tchernovs are capable of introducing into our work are hesitations. But in the struggle against the enemy, hesitations will kill our authority in the eyes of the masses.

What does the agreement with Tch-

(Continued on page 4)

Lenin's Report on the Russian Revolution to the 4th Congress of the C.I.

We present here the most important extracts from Lenin's speech.

Lenin: Comrades, I was put down as principal speaker on the list, but you will understand that after my prolonged illness I am not in a position to make a lengthy report. I can only give the introduction to some of the more important questions. My remarks will have to be quite brief. The theme of "Five Years of the Russian Revolution, and the Perspectives of World Revolution" is altogether too comprehensive and too big for one speaker to exhaust in one speech. I therefore will pick out only a small part of the subject, namely, the question of the New Economic Policy. I choose solely this small part, in order to introduce this matter, which is—at least to me—the most important of all, because I am engaged on it just now. I will therefore speak on the subject of how we started the New Economic Policy and what results we have achieved by it, by confining myself to this question I hope to be in a position to give you a general survey and a general conception of the subject.

To begin the story of how we started the New Economic Policy, I must recall to you an article written by me in 1918. In that year, in discussing the subject, I touched upon the question of how we would have to tackle the problem of State Capitalism. I wrote then:

"Compared with the present economic policy of the Soviet Republic—i. e. the economic situation of that time, State Capitalism represents a step forward. If we could, for instance, introduce State Capitalism here in the course of half a year, it would be a tremendous success and the best guarantee that within a year socialism will be strong and invincible in this country."

This was said at a time, of course, when we were much more foolish than now, but not so foolish as to be unable to tackle such problems.

In a word, in 1918 I was of the opinion that State Capitalism represented a step forward in comparison with the economic situation of the Soviet Republic at the time. This sounds rather strange, and perhaps contradictory, for at that time our Republic was a Socialist Republic, at that time we carried out day by day, in rapid succession—perhaps in far too rapid succession—all kinds of new economic measures which we could not term otherwise than socialist. And yet I declared at that time that State Capitalism would be a step forward compared with the then prevailing situation of the Soviet Republic. I therefore found it necessary to illustrate my point by enumerating the elements of the economic structure of Russia. These elements I represented then as follows: (1) A patriarchal that is an exceedingly primitive system of land tenure (2) Petty production of commodities. To this group belonged the majority of the peasants who deal in grain. (3) Private capitalism. (4) State Capitalism. (5) Socialism. All these economic elements were represented in Russia at that time. I took the trouble of explaining the correlation between these elements, suggesting that we might perhaps put a higher value on the non-socialist element, namely on State Capitalism, than on socialism. I repeat that it sounds rather strange to declare a non-socialist element of greater value than socialism in a Republic which had declared itself socialist. But it becomes quite conceivable, if we bear in mind, that the economic situation in Russia at that time could only by no means be considered as uniform and of high standing. On the contrary we were quite aware of the fact that in Russia we had a patriarchal system of agriculture, i. e., the most primitive form and parallel with it a socialist form of agriculture. What part was State capitalism to play under those circumstances? I asked myself again, which of these elements predominates. It is clear that in a petty bourgeois environment the petty bourgeois element would be on top. The question as I put it then—it was in connection with special discussion that has nothing to do with the present question—was this: What is our attitude towards State capitalism? And I promptly replied: State capitalism, although not a socialist form, would be more favorable for us and for Russia than the present form. What does it mean? It means that we do not overestimate the basis and structure of socialist economy, although we have already accomplished the social revolution. Already at that time we had, to a certain degree, come to the conclusion that it would be better for us to establish first State capitalism and through it to march on to socialism.

At all events there was already a general and vague idea of the retreat. And I believe that also we, as a Communist International, and not only as a country that was and has remained backward by its economic structure, must take that into consideration, particularly the comrades in the advanced countries of Western Europe. Just now, for instance, we are busy with the construction of a program. I for one believe that it would be the wisest action on our part if we discuss all these programs in a general way, if we take something like a first reading of them and have them all printed, but not in order to have the programme finally established this year. Why? First of all, because I think that we have hardly examined them all. Secondly, because we have as yet given almost no consideration to the idea of the retreat and making the retreat secure. Yet this is a question which merits our utmost attention in dealing with so great a change of the world as the overthrow of capitalism and the building up of the socialist system. It is not enough for us to be merely conscious of how we are to assume the offensive in order to be victorious. In revolutionary times this is not at all

difficult. In the course of the revolution there will always be moments when the enemy loses his head. If we attack him at such moments, we may score an easy victory. But such a victory would not be decisive, because the enemy after calm consideration, after due concentration of his forces, etc., may very easily provoke us into a premature attack in order to throw us back for many years to come. I therefore think the idea of the necessity of preparing for the emergency of a retreat to be of supreme importance, and that not only from the theoretical standpoint. From a practical standpoint also all the parties that are contemplating an offensive against capitalism in the near future, should right now think of how to make the retreat secure. I believe that this lesson, in conjunction with all the other lessons of our revolution, will surely do us no harm and most probably a vast amount of good in many instances.

Having thus emphasized that already in 1918 we considered State Capitalism as a possible way of retreat, I will pass to a review of the results of our New Economic Policy. I repeat at that time it was still a very vague idea. Yet in 1921, after having emerged victoriously from the most important stages of the civil war, Soviet Russia came face to face with a great—I believe the greatest—internal political crisis which caused disaffection not only of the huge masses of the peasantry, but also of large numbers of workers. It was the first, and I hope the last, time in the history of Soviet Russia that we had the great masses of the peasantry arrayed against us, not consciously, but instinctively, as a sort of political mood. What was the cause of this unique, and for us, naturally disagreeable situation? It was caused by the fact that we had gone too far with our economic measures, that we had not made our base secure, that the masses were already sensing what we had not yet properly formulated although we had to acknowledge it a few weeks afterwards: namely that the direct transition to pure socialist economy, to pure socialist distribution of wealth, was far beyond our resources; and that if we could not make a successful and timely retreat, if we could not confine ourselves to easier tasks, we would go under. I believe that the crisis set in February, 1921. Already in the spring of that year we unanimously resolved—we had no considerable differences on that score,—to pass to the New Economic Policy. Today, after a lapse of a year and a half, at the end of 1922, we are in a position to draw comparisons. What are the results. Has the retreat benefited and really saved us, or has it failed, and the results infinitesimal. This is the principal question I put to myself, and I believe that this question is also of supreme importance to all the Communist parties, because if the answer should be in the negative, then we shall all go under. I believe that we can in good conscience give the answer to the question in the affirmative, namely in the sense that in the course of eighteen months that have elapsed we have

positively and absolutely demonstrated that we have successfully passed the examination....

Now as to the heavy industries. Here I must say that the situation is still difficult. Nevertheless some small improvement has taken place between 1921 and 1922. This entitles us to the hope of improvement in the near future. The means to that end we partly possess already. In a capitalist country the improvement of the situation of the heavy industries would absolutely necessitate the borrowing of hundreds of millions without which no improvement could be thought of. The economic history of capitalist countries tells us that the rebuilding of heavy industries in a backward country can be accomplished only by means of long-term loans of hundreds of millions of dollars or gold roubles. So far we have received no loans of this kind. All that has been written so far about concessions and such like remains almost entirely on paper. Much has been written about these things lately, particularly about the Cripps concession. Nevertheless it seems to me that our concession policy is an excellent one. At the same time it ought to be taken into consideration that we have not yet arranged for any real big concession. Hence the situation of the heavy industries is for our backward country a really very difficult question, since we cannot count on any loans from the wealthy states. In spite of all this, we see perceptible improvement. We also find that our trading activity has already brought us some capital. This also is of rather modest dimensions amounting to no more than twenty million gold roubles, but a start has been made. Our trading yields as the means which we can apply to the rebuilding of the heavy industries.

At the present moment, however, our heavy industries are still in a very difficult position. But I believe that we can already afford to spare something for this purpose, and this we will continue to do even if we have to do it frequently at the expense of the population. We must be thrifty now. We are endeavouring to cut down State expenditure by curtailing the machinery of the State. As to that I will say a few words later on. At all events we must diminish State expenditure, and affect economy as far as possible. Thus we are saving on every thing, even on schools. This has to be done, because we know that without the saving and reconstruction of the heavy industries we cannot hope to rebuild any industry, and without them we cannot hope to exist as a self-sustaining country. This we know quite well. The salvation of Russia lies not only in a good harvest for her peasantry, nor in the good condition of light industries which cater for the requirements of the peasantry, but we need also the heavy industries. But the reconstruction of the heavy industries will require the work of many years.

Heavy industry requires subsidies from the State. Unless we have them, then, merely as a civilized country (to say nothing of a socialist country) we are

foredoomed to perish. In this matter we have now taken the decisive step. We have obtained the means requisite for putting heavy industry upon its own feet. The sum that we have hitherto obtained is, indeed, less than 20 million gold roubles—but we have it; it will be definitely applied to raising the level of our heavy industry....

Herein consisted the most important question for us, the economic preparation of the socialist economy. We could not prepare this in direct fashion, but we had to do it indirectly. The State capitalism we have established is a peculiar form of State Capitalism. It does not correspond to the ordinary conception of State Capitalism. We have all authority in our hands; we have the land, which belongs to the state. This is of immense importance, although our opponents are apt to declare, falsely, that it is of no importance at all. From the economic outlook, the ownership of the land by the State is of great importance; it has immense practical significance from the economic point of view. We have achieved this, and I must emphasize that our further activities must lie within this framework. We have already ensured that the peasants are satisfied with us, and that industry and commerce are on the upgrade.

I have already pointed out that our State capitalism is distinguished from State capitalism in the literal sense of the term, inasmuch as we not only have all the land in the hands of the Proletarian State, but also the important departments of industry. Above all: while we have farmed out a certain amount of small-scale and medium-scale industry, the rest of the industry remains in our hands. Regarding commerce, I should like to insist upon the point that we are endeavoring to establish, and indeed have already established, mixed companies, that is to say, companies in which part of the capital belongs to private (foreign) capitalists, while the rest belongs to us. In the first place we learn in this way how to carry on commerce and retain the possibility of dissolving the company whenever we think it necessary, so that we may be said to incur practically no risk. But from the private capitalists we are learning, and we are seeing how we are to work our way upward and what mistakes we are making. I think I have said enough about these matters....

I have said that we have committed a large number of follies. But I must in this connection say something concerning our opponents. When these read a lecture, saying: Lenin himself recognizes that the Bolsheviks have committed an enormous number of follies! I should like to answer them thus: "But you ought to know that our follies are of an essentially different kind from yours. We have just begun to learn, and we are learning systematically that we are satisfied with our progress. When our opponents, I mean the capitalists and the heroes of the 2nd International, insist that we have committed follies, I should like to make a comparison, mod-

ifying slightly the words of a celebrated Russian writer so as to give them the following aspect: When the Bolsheviks commit follies, this amounts to saying that the Bolsheviks say 2 and 2 equals 5; but when our opponents i. e. the capitalists and the heroes of the Second International, commit follies, this amounts to saying that they declare 2 and 2 equals a wax candle. That is not difficult to prove....

Here is another example, an even more telling one, that of the Versailles Treaty. What have the victorious powers done? How can they find any issue for the present confusion? I do not think that I exaggerate when I repeat that our follies are as nothing in comparison with the follies committed by the capitalist States, the capitalist world, and the Second International in conjunction. That is why I think that the prospects of the world revolution (this is a theme upon which I propose to touch briefly) are good, and in certain conditions are likely to become even better. It is upon these conditions that I propose to say a few words.

At the Third Congress of 1921, we adopted a resolution concerning the organizational upbuilding of the Communist parties, and concerning the method and the substance of their work. It was a good resolution. But the resolution is almost exclusively Russian: it was wholly derived from a study of Russian developments. That is the good side of the resolution, but it is also the bad side. It is the bad side of the resolution because hardly any foreigner (I have read the resolution over again before expressing my conviction), is able to read it. In the first place, it is too long, for it contains 50 or more paragraphs. Foreigners are apt to find it impossible to read anything of this sort. In the next place, even if a foreigner should manage to read it through, it is too Russian. I do not mean because it was written in the Russian language, for there are excellent translations into the various tongues, but because it is permeated with the Russian spirit. Thirdly, if by a rare chance a foreigner could understand it, he could not possibly carry it out. That is the third defect.

I have talked matters over with some of the delegates, and I hope that in the later course of the Congress I shall find it possible (not at the Congress itself, for in that I am unfortunately not able to participate) to talk matters over in full detail with a larger number of delegates from various lands. My impression is that we made a great mistake in the matter of this resolution, thereby blocking our own advance.

Let me repeat, it is an excellent resolution. I myself endorse every one of its 50 or more paragraphs. But we did not really know what we were about when we turned to foreigners with our Russian experience. Everything in the resolution has remained a dead letter. If we fail to understand why, we shall make no progress.

I think the most important for us all, Russians and foreigners alike is that

after 5 years of the Russian revolution, we should set ourselves to school. Now for the first time we have the possibility of learning. I do not know how long the capitalist powers will give us the opportunity of learning in peace and quietude. But we must utilize every moment in which we are free from war, that we may learn, and learn from the bottom up.

The whole Party, and Russians at large, show by their hunger for culture, that they are aware of this. The aspiration for culture proves that our most important task consists in this to learn and to go on learning. But foreigners too, must learn, though not in the sense in which we have to learn namely, to read, to write, and to understand what is read. This is our lack. There is much dispute as to whether such things belong to proletarian culture or to bourgeois culture. I leave the question open. This much is certain that our first task must be to learn reading and writing and understanding what is read. In foreign lands this is no longer necessary.

Foreigners need something different. They need something higher. First of all they have to learn how to understand all that we have written about the organizational upbuilding of the Communist parties, which they have subscribed without reading it, or without understanding it. Our foreign comrades must make this your first duty. This resolution must be carried into effect: these things cannot be done between one day and the next, it is absolutely impossible. The resolution is too Russian; it is a reflection of Russian experience; that is why it cannot be understood by foreigners, and why foreigners are not content to treat this resolution as a miraculous picture which they are to hang on the wall and to pray to. That sort of attitude will not help us forward. You will have to make a portion of Russian experience your own. How can it be done. I do not know. Perhaps the Fascists in Italy will do us a good turn by showing the Italians how, after all, they are not so highly cultured that the development of Black Hundreds in Italy has become impossible. This may have a good effect. We Russians must also look for means of explaining to foreigners the elements of this reason. Otherwise it will be absolutely impossible for them to carry it out.

I am confident that in this sense (we have to say, not only for the Russians, but for foreigners as well), that the most important thing for us all in the period now opening, is to learn. We Russians have to learn in the general sense. You have to learn in the special sense that you may gain a genuine understanding of the organization, structure, method, and substance of revolutionary work. If you do this, I am confident that the prospects for the world revolution are not merely favourable, but splendid.

(Loud and long-continued applause. A general acclamation, "Long Live Comrade Lenin!")

The Fight in the Party for a Bolshevik Government and the Lenin-Trotsky Line

(Continued from page 3)

ernov mean? It does not mean: to speak frankly with him once and stop there. No, it means: to line up according to Tchernov. This would be treason for which we would all deserve to be shot immediately.

I have heard here with bitterness the applause (Lunatcharsky) a proposal of the phrase on the dictatorship of a single person. Why, for what reason, do they want to decapitate the party by removing Lenin, this party which has taken possession of the power in the battle where blood was spilled? Milukov was driven from the government, for example, but when? When the proletariat put its foot on the belly of the Cadets. And now? Who is walking on our belly? Nobody. It is only eight days that we are in power. We establish our tactics by basing them on the revolutionary vanguard of the masses. We were told in defense of collaborationism that without it the Baltic fleet will not give the smallest of its vessels. This has not been verified. We were frightened with the assertion that no worker would march. Nevertheless the Red Guard is dying valiantly. No, there is no longer any return to the intermediate policy, to collaborationism. We will introduce the dictatorship of the proletariat in reality. We will compel people to work. How does it happen that society existed, that the masses worked under the former terror of the minority? Here, it is no longer such a terror, it is the organization of the class violence of the workers against the bourgeoisie.

How do they want to scare us now? In the same way that the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists sought to scare us yesterday. They said that as we approach the socialist revolution, we shall see the Junkers fire, the blood flow, the bourgeoisie conspire, the functionaries sabotage, the army committees resist. Naturally! But all this is what happens at the top. If the bourgeoisie was with us, there would not be a civil war, it is even superfluous to say it.

The army committees are hated by the mass of the soldiers, but frequently they cannot yet do anything against them. Still, in a whole series of units, Revolutionary Military Committees have been elected; the officers, the old committees, all the inferior officers have been arrested. That has been effected in about one-fourth of the army. To fraternize with the army committees would be to raise against us the masses of soldiers. Lunatcharsky's prejudices are a herit-

age of the petty bourgeois psychology. Naturally, that is also, in part, inherent in the masses, it is a residue of their slavery of yesterday. But if the counter-revolution threatens us, the mass, even the backward mass, will take up arms. At the base, they are in such a position that they will come forward with arms in hand. It is otherwise with the Vkhzbel, the army committees, the Social Revolutionists, the Mensheviks and other summits.

Lunatcharsky says: We must stop.... No, we must clear away in order to go forward. When you come out against us at the moment of the bitter struggle, you are weakening us. An agreement with Tchernov would not give us a thing. We need organization. That is what we should drive for. Tchernov is afraid that the people are pressing the bourgeoisie too much, that they are carrying off money plundered from it. Tchernov is the transmission lever of the bourgeoisie. He will merely weaken us by his petty bourgeois hesitations.

We must say clearly and plainly to the workers that it is not a coalition with the Mensheviks and others that we want to establish, that it is not a question of that, but rather of a program of action. We already have a coalition: with the peasants, with the soldiers who are now fighting for the power of the Bolsheviks, for the All-Russian Soviet Congress has handed the power to a well-defined party. You forget that.

Should we share the power with the elements who, already before this, sabotaged the Soviets and who now fight the power of the proletariat from without? All those who consent to it forget to ask themselves if those with whom they want to share the power are capable of realizing our program. They do not speak of this. Are the collaborationists capable of conducting a policy of economic terror? No. If we are incapable of realizing our program after having taken the power, we should go to the soldiers and the workers and acknowledge that we have failed. But it will not do any good to leave in the coalition government only a few Bolsheviks. We have taken the power, we must also take the responsibilities.

It is proposed to limit the speaking time to 15 minutes.

NOGIN*.

The question of knowing what revolu-

* Nugin, old Bolshevik, former textile worker, who played a great role in the party. Died in 1925.

tion we have is settled, and we have no need to talk about it now that our party has arrived in power. But can it be like this, can we shed blood together and govern separately? Can we refuse the power to the soldiers? The civil war will last for years. One can hardly get very far with the peasants by supporting himself upon bayonets. Towards capitalist industry, that's one thing; but another tactic is needed with regard to the peasants.

The word "collaboration" has become too repugnant to the comrades. It is not a question of collaboration, but of resolving the question: how shall we act if we repulse all the other parties? The Social Revolutionists have quit the Soviets after the revolution, the Mensheviks too. But this means that the Soviets are going to break down. Such a situation, given the complete disorganization of the country, will terminate in a short time with the failure of our party. We should not waste our powder and shot. The famine conditions will create a favorable terrain for Kaledin who is now marching against us. In launching the dispatch to the employees of the railroads that we intend to deprive them of bread cards, we would create the basis for a powerful protest.

GLEBOV*.

The situation is serious, not because the shock troops are approaching. The power is in our hands, we can triumph. But there is sabotage which is beginning inside the party, as well as an almost official split. That must not be.

The force of sabotage exists in the measure that, by our line of conduct, we are marching towards an agreement with it. As long as I looked for an agreement, the functionaries ridiculed me; but as soon as I took a resolute road, a lot of things were straightened out. From the point of view of Posts and Telegraphs, it is already important that they have pronounced themselves in our favor in their resolution. They must take us into account. At Ivanovo-Voznesensk, the proletariat has adopted a resolute decision. It arrested the saboteurs and put them in prison; they came out like lambs. We should say to the hesitant comrades: "Get out, don't thwart our activity; if not, by hesitating, we shall lose everything."

We are told: "The power will be responsible to the parliament." But what will this parliament be? Will it not be made on the model of the Pre-Parliament?

* Glebov-Avilov, former worker, belonged for a long time to the Vpered (Forward) group; after the October revolution, People's Commissar of Posts and Telegraphs. Took part in the Zinoviev Opposition and capitulated with it.

ment? No, we are for the Soviets. It is impossible for it to be otherwise. It is not a question of the seats we should reserve for the other parties, but that they would not apply our policy. There is no other way out than to say: "Get out."

SLUTSKY.

The question has been sufficiently illuminated by Trotsky and Lenin. During the days of June 3-5, when it seemed that the counter-revolution had beaten us, in reality it was we who had won. The days of the insurrection showed that we were fused with the masses. The peasants and the workers have cohesion.

But the hammer of the revolution, which gave this cohesion to the masses, separated from it the Mensheviks, the defenders of the fatherland, the Social Revolutionists; we have seen that it was the collaborationists who created the lack of cohesion. Now that we have vanquished, they want to lead us into this path of collaborationism. The agreement with them is the masked road to the abandonment of the power. Previously, at the helm of the power were the parties of the agreement with the bourgeoisie; now it is we who are there without this agreement. The words of comrade Lunatcharsky, asking what harm there would be in granting the Municipal Dumas fifty seats in the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets appear to me superfluous. What does this mean, to grant fifty seats? It is not to use the furniture that we take them. We are for the power of the Soviets. Then I want to ask: how will the oil flow to us through such taps as Kamkov? How will the doors to fertile places open up before us, thanks to the Social Revolutionists? There is in all this a complete lack of principle: why not sixty seats, why not twenty-five or thirty-five? The revolutionary mass will not follow this appeal.

BOKY*.

Conference has been spoken of here many times. This name is too high-sounding. It is hard to convoke a general assembly for tomorrow. Let us convoke for tomorrow at seven o'clock, here, a meeting of the committee, enlarged to the representatives of the wards.

TROTSKY.

Before the insurrection, there were in our party, in the Central Committee and in the broad circles of the party, divergences of views reaching a considerable depth. The same thing was said, in the same terms as today, against the insur-

* One of the leaders of the Left Social Revolutionists.

* Old Bolsheviks worked later on in the Cheka.

rection, because it was supposed not to hold out any hope. The old arguments are now reproduced, after the triumph of the uprising, but in favor of the coalition. It is said that there will be no technical apparatus. The darkest colors were used to terrify, to prevent the proletariat from exploiting its success. It is true that the apparatus does not belong to us. It is for this reason that we dabbled so long with Kerensky's pitiable detachments, because we had no technical apparatus. Nevertheless, we created one, superb under the given conditions, and at present we have triumphed here and in Moscow. Petrograd is now guaranteed against any surprises of a military nature.

I repeat, we cannot draw in the petty bourgeois except by showing that we have in our hands a material fighting force. We cannot vanquish the bourgeoisie except by beating it. It is a law of the class struggle. There lies the guarantee of our victory. It is only then that the Vkhzbel people will follow us. As much can be said about the other technical domains. The apparatus will be at our disposal only when it will see that we are a force.

The revolution of the October days does not consist in putting the old apparatus into running condition again. Our task is to reconstruct it completely, from top to bottom. In order to carry into life our proletarian tasks, we need an apparatus which is flesh of the flesh of our class. We have created one of this type against Kerensky and Krasnov under Petrograd. You cannot base yourself upon bayonets, we are told once more; but so that we might discuss here with you it was necessary to have bayonets at Tsarskoye Selo.

All power is violence and not agreement. Our power is the violence of the majority of the people against the minority. It is inevitable. It is the alphabet of Marxism. They did not let me communicate to Moscow the news of our success by the telegraphic line belonging to the railroads, and then, they let the shock troops pass. They betray us at the acutest moment of the struggle; when we have triumphed they propose to us to introduce them into the fortress of the power.

Proposal: to limit the speaking time to 10 minutes.

NOGIN.

We Bolsheviks have already recognized that the revolution is ours and not the bourgeoisie's. However, we did not triumph alone, but together with the peasants. There is why what we succeed in getting thanks to the blood of the workers and the soldiers, the power, should be their common wealth. Our party should be the most disciplined.

The session is adjourned.

The Bolsheviks Take Over Power!

The session opens at 2:35 P. M. Trotsky is alone at the presiding table.

DECLARATION OF TROTSKY

In the name of the Revolutionary Military Committee, I declare: The Provisional Government is no longer. (Applause). Ministers have been arrested. (Hurrahs!). The others will be arrested in a few days or a few hours. (Applause). The revolutionary garrison, which is at the disposal of the R. M. C., has dissolved the meeting of the Preliminary Parliament. (Loud applause, cries of: "Long live the R. M. C.!")

We were told that the uprising of the garrison at this time would provoke a massacre and drown the revolution in torrents of blood. Up to the present moment no blood has been spilled. We do not know of a single victim. In all history I do not know of a single example of a revolutionary movement where such vast masses have taken part and which was accomplished without the spilling of blood.

The power of the Provisional Government presided over by Kerensky was a corpse and awaited only the sweep of broom of history to throw it out of existence.

We must underline the heroism and abnegation of the soldiers and workers of Petrograd. We stayed awake all through the night here at the telephone observing how the detachments of the revolutionary soldiers and workers accomplished their task noiselessly. The inhabitants slept peacefully and did not know that at this moment a new power was being substituted for the old.

The railroad stations, the post-office, the telegraph, the Petrograd Telegraphic Agency, the State Bank, are occupied. (Loud Applause).

The Winter Palace has not yet been taken, but its fate will be decided in a few minutes.

The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies of Petrograd may well be proud of the soldiers and workers who support it, whom it has led to the battle and to the glorious victory.

The characteristic of bourgeois and semi-bourgeois governments is to deceive the people. We are going—we, the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies—to undertake a unique experience in history, to found a government which has no other aim than to satisfy the needs of the soldiers, the workers and the peasants.

The state must become the instrument of the masses in the struggle for their liberation from all servitude.

The work cannot be done without the influence of the Soviets. The best representatives of bourgeois science will understand that the conditions created by the Soviets of W. S. and P. Deputies are the best conditions for their labors.

It is necessary to establish a control over production. The peasants, the workers and the soldiers must feel that the national domain is their domain.

This is the essential principle for the establishment of the power.

The institution of an obligatory labor service is one of the first tasks of the revolutionary government.

Trotsky announces that on the order of the day are still the report of the R. M. C. and the report on the duties of the Soviet government. On the second question, comrade Lenin will be the reporter. (Thunderous applause.)

Comrade Trotsky communicates that the political offenders are liberated, and that many of them are already fulfilling the functions of revolutionary commissars.

Comrade Zinoviev, declares comrade Trotsky, will again be the host of the Petrograd Soviet at this session.

In the name of the Petrograd Soviet

Meeting of Petrograd Soviet The Day After the Insurrection

A circular telegram has been sent to inform Russia of the real state of affairs. To the active army forces have been sent radiograms announcing the fall of the old power and the imminent formation of a new power. The first acts of the new power should be: the immediate armistice on every front; the handing over of the land to the peasants; the speediest possible convocation of a genuinely democratic Constituent.

The residence of the presiding minister, Kerensky, is unknown, but we believe that it will soon be known to all. To the question: what is the attitude of the front in face of the events, Trotsky replies:

We have sent our telegrams. There has not yet been a reply. But we have frequently heard here the representatives of the front who reproached us for not yet having undertaken decisive action.

At this point, Lenin enters the hall. The assembly acclaims him noisily. Trotsky continues:

In our midst is Vladimir Ilitch Lenin who, as a result of circumstances, was unable to appear among us until now. Trotsky characterizes the role of Lenin in the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia and shouts:

"Long live comrade Lenin who has returned to us!"

The assembly gives a new and lengthy ovation to Lenin.

LENIN'S SPEECH

Comrades, the revolution of the workers and peasants, the need for which the Bolsheviks proclaimed incessantly, has been accomplished!

What does it signify, this revolution of the workers and peasants? Above all, this revolution gives us a Soviet government, our own organ of power without the slightest participation of the bourgeoisie. The oppressed masses themselves will constitute the power. The old apparatus will be shattered to its foundations, and a new administrative apparatus will be founded under the form of Soviet organizations.

A new era is opening up in the history of Russia, and this third Russian revolution must lead in its development to the triumph of socialism.

One of our first tasks is the need of putting an immediate end to the war. But in order to end this war, intimately bound up with the whole capitalist regime, it is necessary—that is clear to all of us—to vanquish capital itself.

By that we will aid the world labor movement which is already beginning to develop in Italy, in England and in Germany.

The equitable and immediate peace which we shall offer to the international democracy, will everywhere find a hearty echo in the masses of the international proletariat. In order to con-

solidate this confidence of the proletariat, it is necessary immediately to publish all the secret treaties.

In Russia, a large section of the peasants said to themselves: enough playing with the capitalists, we will march with the workers. We will gain the confidence of the peasants by a decree which will abolish landed property of the gentry. The peasants will understand that their only salvation lies in the alliance with the workers.

We are going to institute an effective workers' control of production. Now you have learned how to work together; the revolution which has taken place is a witness of that. We have this force of the organization of the masses which will vanquish everything, and which will lead the proletariat to the world revolution.

In Russia we must set about immediately with the construction of a socialist proletarian state.

Long live the world socialist revolution. (Loud applause.)

♦ ♦ ♦

The assembly decides not to open up

Left Shift in German Vote

(Continued from page 1)

The dissatisfaction of the socialist ranks is deep and widespread. It is fighting against that organized inertia and conservatism induced by decades of steady growth of the party and its institutions, and their integration with the apparatus of the ruling class—a dead-weight force which has proved to be stronger than many of us ever conceived it could be. The Stalinist theory of "social-fascism," the adornment of the party's platform and policies with nationalism, have served to strengthen the hand of the social democratic leadership—

from the Left. The hundreds of thousands of socialist leaders who are deeply discontented with their own leaders, are still dubious, to put it mildly, about the Stalinist leadership of the Communist party.

This explains, essentially, why they protest against their leaders and express their sympathy for the revolution by casting such a large vote for the Communists; while, at the same time, they express their doubts or distrust concerning the Communist party's policy by refraining from joining the party or even from following its calls for extra-parliamentary action under the C. P. banner alone, that is, from following it on the only decisive field.

The Communist Vote

The increase in the Communist vote is a source of great jubilation for every class conscious militant, and above all for the Left Opposition position, whose cause is advanced by every advance of the movement. But between jubilation

and the mandarin intoxication of the self-satisfied official, revealing in a trough of ballots, lies a gap that cannot be bridged. The parliamentary victory of the party in Germany is being trumpeted about by the Stalinists as a vindication of the "line" which nothing can vindicate. This "line" which failed to bring to the streets of struggle a single important group of workers in response to the general strike call issued three months ago by the party to protest against the coup d'état of von Papen, the "line" which has resulted in the virtually complete isolation of the Communists in the trade union movement in Germany; the "line" which has failed to produce a national, organized mass movement of resistance to fascism or to the von Papen regime, a movement of workers' councils or shop committees or labor cartels or any similar movement that might constitute the nucleus for a workers' power; the "line" which has left the social democratic hierarchy with millions of workers still in its ranks and following—however sullenly—its leadership, despite the presence (for how many years now, according to the Stalinist analyses?) of the "stormy revolutionary upsurge"—this "line" is now supposed to have received its incontestable confirmation by a gain of 700,000 votes in an election! If this is not parliamentary cretinism, what significance has the term?

The two-for-a-cent scribes of the *Daily Worker* and the *Freiheit* roar with vicarious pride over the party's gains in Germany as if the loss of two million Fascist votes and almost a million socialist votes, has settled the whole problem. And what about the Bonapartist regime of the von Papen-von Hindenburg camarilla? This little "trifle" emerges from the whole ineffectual baiting force—still master of the situation! More definitely than three months ago, this election has eliminated the possibility of a Reichstag government. Only a Hitler-Centrist-Nationalist combination could produce a working majority—and that combination is too fantastic for any practical political possibility. The autocratic regime of presidential decree is to continue in power, with a Reichstag suspended helplessly in mid-air, and a proletariat still too crippled by disunity to offer any effective resistance.

The sun never sets upon the British Empire, nor, apparently, upon the suppression or prohibition of the works of comrade Trotsky. Following the example set by their Canadian partners in the great bandits' enterprise known as the British Empire, the customs authorities of the Union of South Africa have just prohibited the entry of "The Problems of the Chinese Revolution" by Leon Trotsky, recently published here by the Pioneer Publishers. The bundle of copies sent to a dealer in Cape Town were confiscated. The official letter of notification reads as follows:

Z. 14.
In antwoord gelieve te refereeren na
In reply please quote
No. 372
Unie Van Suid-Afrika—Union of
South Africa
Kantoor van die—Office of the
Collector of Customs and Excise,
P. O. Box 5. Cape Town.
24th August 1932.

Mr. Manuel Lopes,
152 Longmarket Street
Cape Town.

One Packet Containing Books

I am advised by the Commissioner of Customs and Excise that three books entitled "Problems of the Chinese Revolution" contained in a packet addressed to you is regarded an objectionable within the meaning of Section 23 (c) of Act 9 of 1913 and are seized as forfeited under Section 25 of that Act.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant.
(Signature)
Collector of Customs and Excise.

♦ ♦ ♦

The dissemination of the ideas of the Left Opposition in South Africa will undoubtedly be rendered more difficult by the arbitrary act of the white ruling class there in prohibiting entry to comrade Trotsky's work. But these futile police measures will not halt our progress. In spite of the difficulties, even the remote parts of the world are echoing the march of our movement. The recent adherence to the banner of the Left Opposition of a large group of native Negro revolutionists is testimony which the governmental martlets of British imperialism may well ponder.

Japan has over one and one quarter billion dollars invested in Chinese railroads, warehouses, banks, spinning and weaving plants, mining companies. This investment is used for imperialist purposes, but it is at the same time the effort of Japanese capitalists to utilize the cheaper Chinese labor, the nearness to raw materials, the closeness to the market, and the avoidance of Chinese tariffs.

Japan and China
Japan's aggressions in China followed a plan based on recognition that China cannot be subdued and forced into colonial status simply by military conquest. The plan had the twofold aim of securing control of China's trade outlets and of gradually seizing the strategic cities and the railroads for final military conquest. Japan everywhere placed herself between the ports seized by the Europeans and the ocean, so as to "starve" these ports. In 1915 Japan presented the infamous 21 demands to China, great emphasis being placed in these demands

on control of railroads. Among the secret clauses of the 21 demands, meant to place China in the early position of Korea, were that the Chinese government should employ "influential Jap advisers" in political, financial and military affairs; that Japanese hospitals, temples and schools in China should be granted the right to own land (no foreigner is allowed to own land in Japan except through a Japanese corporation); that the police departments of various cities be "jointly" administered with Japs; that China must purchase 50 p. c. of her munitions from a Japanese arsenal to be established in China; that Japan be given first right to make all loans. In 1918 Premier Terauchi proposed that China issue gold notes on the strength of gold held in Japan. The Japanese aim in all her relations with China is clear: to make China her colony, to hinder Chinese development until she does fall into the hands of Japanese militarism.

Meantime Japan encroaches on the material resources she requires in China, particularly the coal and iron mines. By a loan made in 1899 to the Hanyang Iron Works, Japan obtained payment in ore from Tsyeh on the Yangtze and coal from Pinghsiang. This arrangement, involving practically the entire output of these mines, has been a constant source of conflict due to Japan's use of it to hinder the growth of the Hanyeh Ping Co. In January 1928 the Japs prevented the Nationalists from seizing this company. Again in 1929 Hupeh Province was forced to relinquish this company, one of the largest iron and steel companies in China.

Japan has over one and one quarter billion dollars invested in Chinese railroads, warehouses, banks, spinning and weaving plants, mining companies. This investment is used for imperialist purposes, but it is at the same time the effort of Japanese capitalists to utilize the cheaper Chinese labor, the nearness to raw materials, the closeness to the market, and the avoidance of Chinese tariffs.

and Korea became "neutral" due to Russian opposition to Japan. In 1903 Baron Komura, Minister for Foreign Affairs, warned (Zarist Russia in a secret note: "The unconditional and permanent occupation of Manchuria by Russia would create a state of things prejudicial to the security and interests of Japan... if Russia were established on the flank of Korea, it would be a constant menace to the separate existence of that empire, or at least would make Russia the dominant power in Korea. Korea is an important outpost in Japan's line of defense." In the Russo-Japanese War that followed this warning, Japan established complete hegemony over the Sea of Japan, making it an inland sea, impregnable from attack by sea.

The military oligarchy has learned at home how to control government through a puppet emperor and this same method has become the formula of Japanese imperialism. In Korea the Crown Prince of Korea became the puppet with actual powers in the hands of an "adviser", or governor-general. Complete control of finance, foreign affairs, concessions and foreign commerce was taken over by the Japs. Diplomatic matters were transferred completely to Tokyo, pressure being successfully applied to cause the withdrawal from Seoul of the various ministers, the first to go being that of the U. S. In 1910 Korea was finally annexed formally to Japan. Precisely the same formula is now being applied to Manchuria.

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Greetings to the Militant

Spartacus Youth Club of New York
We greet the Fifteenth Anniversary of the victorious Russian Revolution and the Fourth Anniversary of the Militant.

FROM BRANCHES, ETC.

Kansas City Branch

Boston Branch

St. Louis Branch

Newark Branch

Minneapolis Branch

New Haven Branch

The members of the New Haven Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) greet the Militant on its fourth anniversary, hoping that it will continue the fight for the Marxist-Leninist principles in the Comintern.

S. Gendelman, Secy.
G. Duell, Treasurer.

Chicago Branch
Hail the 4 Year of the life of the Militant, the only Bolshevik paper in the English language. We promise to help build it into a mighty organ of revolution in America. J. Giganti, Org.-Secy.

The Newly Organized
Greek Workers Club
"PROTOMAGIA"
Greet the Fourth Anniversary of the Vanguard of the Working Class
THE MILITANT

FROM INDIVIDUALS

YOUNGSTOWN

J. D.

M. Koehler

C. Udell

J. Green

S. Feldman

P. Altman

F. Cheloff

S. Frank

D. Ostash

CHICAGO

F. Buckley

J. Harris

F. Martin

A. Borenstein

S. Solomon

Mr. & Mrs. Rice

J. Ritz

M. Ritz

R. Lazaroff

A. Stein

G. Herman

J. Ruby

H. Mashow

J. Mashow

J. Gorfinkel

A. Solomon

A. Friend

S. Baker

H. Dreebin

A. Friend

S. Howard

NEW YORK

H. Norman

H. Pollock

J. Berman

T. Christie

N. Christie

R. Haviland

V. Tpanos

C. Christie

A. Friend

A. Friend

M. Sterling

W. Herman

M. Neuman

A. Weaver

N. Berman

I. Plotkin

I. Dvorkin

H. Gross

Soviet Economy in Danger

(Continued from page 1)
S. R., as plain, as homogeneous and as comforting as possible. Whoever disturbs this picture is none other than an enemy and a counter-revolutionist.

A crude and detrimental idealization of the transitional regime has particularly entrenched itself in the international Communist press during the last two years, i. e., during that period in which the contradictions and disproportions of Soviet economy have already found their way into the pages of the official Soviet press.

There is nothing so precarious as sympathies that are based on legends and fiction. There is no depending on people who require fabrications for their sympathies. The impending crisis of Soviet economy will inevitably, and within a rather near future, crumple the sugary legend, and, we have no reason to doubt will scatter many dead, beat friends into the bypaths of indifference, if not of enmity.

What is much worse and much more serious is that the Soviet crisis will catch the European workers, and chiefly the Communists, utterly unprepared, and render them receptive to social democratic criticism, which is absolutely inimical to the Soviets and to socialism.

In this question, as in all others, the proletarian revolution requires the truth, and only the truth. Within the scope of this brief pamphlet, I have deemed it necessary to present in all their acuteness the contradictions of Soviet economy, the incompleteness and the precariousness of many of its conquests, the coarse errors of the leadership and the dangers that stand in the path of socialism. Let our petty bourgeois friends lavishly apply their pink and baby-blue colorations. We deem it more correct to mark with a heavy black line the weak and indefensible points whence the enemy threatens to break through. The clamor about our enmity to the Soviet Union is so absurd as to bear within itself its own antidote. The nearest future will bring with it a new confirmation of our correctness. The Left Opposition teaches the workers to foresee dangers and not to lose themselves when they impend.

He who accepts the proletarian revolution not otherwise than with all the conveniences and life-long guarantees cannot continue on the road with us. We accept the workers' state as it is and we assert, "This is our state." Despite its heritage of backwardness, despite starvation and sluggishness, despite the bureaucratic mistakes and even abomi-

tions, the workers of the entire world must defend tooth and nail their future socialist fatherland which is within this state.

First and foremost we serve the Soviet republic in that we tell the workers the truth about it and thereby teach them to lay the road for a better future. Prinkipo, October 22, 1932.

The Art of Planning

The prerequisites for socialist planning were first laid by the October overturn and by the fundamental laws of the Soviet state. In the course of a number of years state organs of centralized management of economy were created and put in operation. Great creative work was performed. What was destroyed by the imperialist and the civil war has been re-established. New grandiose enterprises were created, new industries, entire branches of industry. The capacity of the proletariat organized into a state to direct economy by new methods and to create material values in tempos unheard of hitherto has been demonstrated in actuality. All this was achieved against the background of decaying world capitalism. Socialism, as a system, for the first time demonstrated its title to historic victory not on the pages of "Das Kapital" but by the praxis of hydroelectric plants and blast-furnaces. Marx, it goes without saying, would have preferred this method of demonstration.

However, light-minded assertions to the effect that the U. S. S. R. has already entered into socialism are criminal. The achievements are great. But there still remains a very long and arduous road to the factual victory over economic anarchy, to the surmounting of disproportions, to the guarantee of the harmonious character of economic life.

Even though the first Five Year Plan took into consideration all possible angles, by the very nature of things it could not be anything but a first and a rough hypothesis, doomed beforehand to fundamental reconstruction in the process of the work. It is impossible to create a priori a complete system of economic harmony. The planning hypothesis could not but include old disproportions and the inevitability of the development of new ones. Centralized management implies not only great advantages but also the danger of centralizing the mistakes, i. e., of elevating them to an excessively high degree. Only continuous regulation of the plan in the process of its fulfillment, its reconstruction in part and as a whole, can guarantee its economic effectiveness.

The art of socialist planning does not drop from heaven nor is it presented full-blown into one's hands with the conquest of power. This art may be attained only by struggle, step by step, not by units but by millions as an integral part of the new economy and culture. There is nothing either astonishing or disheartening in the fact that at the 15th anniversary of the October revolution the art of economic management still remains on a very low plane. The newspaper, "For the Industrialization" deems it possible to announce, "Our operative planning has neither hands nor feet" (September 12, 1932). And in the meantime, the crux of the matter is precisely in operative planning.

We have stressed more than once that, "under incorrect planning or, what is more important, under incorrect regulation of the plan in the process of its fulfillment, a crisis may develop toward the very end of the Five Year Plan and may create insurmountable difficulties for the utilization and development of its indubitable successes" (Bulletin of the Opposition, No. 23, July 15, 1931). It is precisely for this reason that we considered the hasty and purely fortuitous "translation of the Five Year Plan into four years was an act of light-minded adventurism" (idem). Both our fears and our warnings have been unfortunately fully confirmed.

The Preliminary Totals of the Five Year Plan

At the present moment there cannot even be a discussion about the actual completion of the Five Year Plan in four years (or more exactly, four years and three months). The most frantic lashing and spurring ahead in the course of the final two months will have no effect any longer on the general totals. It is as yet impossible to determine the actual percentage, i. e., measured in terms of economy—the fulfillment of the preliminary program. The data published in the press take on more a formally statistical than an exact economical character. Should the construction of a new plant be accomplished up to 90 percent of its completion and then the work be stopped because of the obvious lack of raw material, then from a formally statistical viewpoint one may enter the plan as fulfilled 90 percent. But from the point of view of economy the expenses accrued must simply be entered under the column of losses. The balance sheet of the actual effectiveness (the useful functioning) of plants constructed or in the process of construction, from the viewpoint of the national economic balance, still belongs entirely to the future.

(To be continued)

—L. TROTSKY.

Four Years of the Existence of The Militant

(Continued from page 1)
pride in the accomplishments. The Militant reflects today an organization small in numbers but functioning actively in the endeavor to attain a Marxian platform not only by theoretical discussion but also in the realities of the life of the class struggle.

Some Trade Union Experiences

We have mentioned our organizational growth, yet it is such experiences as those recorded in the Illinois mine field which begin to indicate both substance and form to our organization. We do not at all boast of control of the movement there or any section of it—a contention which we are repeatedly accused of by the scribes of the official Lewis-Walker organ and which they so hypocritically curse as a shield under which to continue their nefarious schemes of regaining control in the only sense understood by them—in the sense of autocratic domination. We did not contest the official party for control. But we did contest it in the struggle for correct policies and in anything then more definitely so do we in this sense contest the reactionary forces at work within the new union. We have in the past, we do today, and we will continue tomorrow, to counterpose our views to theirs and will seek further, on the basis of practical experiences, to convince the miners that they should follow these views.

In this sense we have achievements to record which will multiply in the future because they indicate already today certain substantial proofs of the correctness of our views. This is first of all measured by the actual results. And here we can definitely record the fact that the only force fighting directly for a Left wing union position at the Gillespie convention were those delegates who supported the views of the Left Opposition. They had earned the right to do so by their past record of struggle and by their leadership given to the strike. Numerically this force represented only four actual delegates. Thus it will be seen that our beginning is modest from the point of view of numbers but significant in political content.

The Working Class Orientation

Proceeding from this the important question occurs as to what it signifies for the future. The Leftward orientation within the working class ranks flows today in two main directions. It is away from the capitalist ideology and toward both the Communist and the so-called latter has so far gained the most.

It is well to remember the definite contrast between the two. Communism is based upon the proletarian revolution and struggle to achieve this goal. Reformism has no such objective and therefore lands in the position of avoidance of actual and serious struggle. Within the Communist movement contradictions from false policies come quicker to a head. This is so because of its decisively marked out objectives and the heavier class pressure upon it. This has in the past, and it inevitably will in the future, also cause disappointment within the ranks and result in members leaving the party while others are repelled

before becoming members. But, as particularly the recent experiences have proven, this also offers additional possibilities of clarification with the result that the actual revolutionists turn toward the Left Opposition. Within the social reformist camp, however, the most decisive disillusionments are still to come and at an accelerated tempo in future struggles.

That there will be such struggles in the period we are now entering is clearly indicated by all developments to date. Is it to be assumed that Centrism, which is a basic phenomenon and not a mere chance one produced by a certain situation, can change and avoid its contradictions of false policies? On the contrary. As the class struggle develops in intensity it will become the more deeply involved in these contradictions with a cumulative effect. On the other hand, when we pose the question of the party to extricate itself from Centrism, that, of course, is an entirely different matter which cannot be decided in advance. This is not a question merely of individuals but of a system of leadership. Thus it has its important relations not only to the members now within the party ranks but also to the workers who are coming in the direction of Communism.

On Future Contacts

It follows from this, that is provided

we continue to pursue a correct course, that our future contacts will be recruited much more directly from the class struggle. That itself presupposes that we become an ever more important factor within it. In this respect the experiences from the Illinois coal fields should furnish important material for study. But that also, aside from the general conclusions at which we will arrive therefrom, points to the importance of the role that the trade unions will play in the future struggle. Hence it is so much more significant that one of the milestones in our most recent development of growth is so closely connected with the realities of the trade union question. But from this the further steps must lead in the direction of much deeper penetration into the trade unions.

At this time of the fourth anniversary we see the road of the Left Opposition clearly marked out. We have attained a basis. A modest one but a significant one. While we do not forget the fact that the international revolutionary developments work in our direction with accelerated speed, it is nevertheless correct to say that our future growth and developments will be achieved at a pace corresponding to the degree with which we more actively engage ourselves in the class struggle.

—ARNE SWABECK.

Roosevelt's Victory

(Continued from page 1)
control of the American workers. To initiate our own success and to minimize the reformers' gains against us is to lure our party to sleep to the real danger confronting us in the immediate period of the struggle between reform and revolution.

The 1932 opportunist election program, the inability to carry out the Leninist united front tactic outside the parliamentary plane for a solid class foundation upon a Marxian program, created internal shortcomings within the Communist party election activity, that on the one hand played into the hands of the socialists, because the program of Communism, of revolution, was blurred with opportunist blunders, making it difficult for the worker to see the difference between the parties of reform and revolution, and on the other hand where we won votes on the basis of the opportunist program and confuse this vote and consider the WHOLE vote as representing a clear cut revolutionary vote against a reformist vote. Facts remain, that a Communist party with an opportunist election program will obtain many reformist votes labeled Communist. When we have detail reports of the socialist and Communist votes, of reform and revolution, we will return to this problem.

The Democratic party of reaction with a "liberal" cloak has full power—next March. But the problems confronting the imperialists cannot wait until March. These problems are on top of the capitalists now and must be answered

ed to their class interests. The real rulers are making provisions for this now. While Hoover hangs on and Roosevelt waits they have instructed that a working agreement be reached. Indications are that this agreement has been reached. The imperialists through this "coalition" government until March will be able to move faster. The crisis with its problem of unemployment and reorganization and the international problem of debts and markets will demand more drastic steps. Roosevelt cannot answer these problems, no more than Hoover could. "He" can, however, hurry the process of strengthening the exploiters position in the coming class struggles and wars and revolutions. Our task is to expose this "liberal" friend of the "forgotten man" and see to it that in the leftward shift of the workers we are able to defeat the reformers in their attempt to hold the discontent and struggle in safe channels.—HUGO OHELER

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THE ONLY ROAD

From the Series of Articles in the Forthcoming Book 'The Only Road' :—by Leon Trotsky

CAN IT BE expected that the Central Committee of the Communist party will independently accomplish a turn to the right road? Its whole past demonstrates that it is incapable of doing this. Hardly had it begun to rectify itself than the apparatus saw itself before the perspective of "Trotskyism". If Thälmann himself did not grasp it immediately, then he was told from Moscow that the "part" must be sacrificed for the sake of the "whole", that is, the interests of the German revolution for the sake of the interests of the Stalinist apparatus. The abashed attempts to revise the policy were once more withdrawn. The bureaucratic reaction again triumphed all along the line.

It is not, of course, a matter of Thälmann. Were the present-day Comintern to give its sections the possibility of living, of thinking and of developing themselves they would long ago, in the last fifteen years, have been able to select their own leading cadres. But the bureaucracy erected instead a system of appointed leaders and their support by means of artificial ballyhoo. Thälmann is a product of this system and at the same time its victim.

The cadres, paralyzed in their development, weaken the party. Their inadequacy they supplement with repressions. The oscillations and the uncertainty of the party are inexorably transmitted to the class as a whole. The masses cannot be summoned to bold actions when the party itself is robbed of revolutionary determination.

Even if Thälmann were to receive tomorrow a telegram from Manuilsky on the necessity of a turn to the path of the united front policy, the new zig-zag at the top would bring little good. The leadership is too compromised. A correct policy demands a healthy régime. Party democracy, at present a plaything of the bureaucracy, must rise again as a reality. The party must become a party, then the masses will believe it. Practically, this means to put upon the order of the day: an extraordinary party convention and an extraordinary congress of the Comintern.

The party convention must naturally be preceded by an all-sided discussion. All apparatus barriers must be razed. Every party organization, every nucleus has the right to call to its meetings and listen to every Communist, member of the party or one expelled from it, if it considers this necessary for the working out of its opinion. The press must be put at the service of the discussion; adequate space must be allotted daily for critical articles in every party paper. Special press commissions, elected at mass meetings of the party members, must supervise that the papers serve the party and not the bureaucracy.

The discussion, it is true, will require no little time and energy. The apparatus will argue: how can the party permit itself the "luxury of discussion" at such a critical period? The bureaucratic saviors believe that under difficult conditions the party must shut up. The Marxists, on the contrary, believe that the more difficult the situation, the more important the independent rôle of the party.

The leadership of the Bolshevik party enjoyed, in 1917, a very great esteem. And notwithstanding this, a series of deep-going party discussions took place throughout the year 1917. On the eve of the October overturn, the whole party debated passionately which of the two sections of the Central Committee was right: the majority, which was for the uprising, or the minority, which was against the uprising. Expulsions and repressions in general, were nowhere to be seen, in spite of the profundity of the differences of opinion. Into these discussions were drawn the non-party masses. In Petrograd, a meeting of non-party working women dispatched a delegation to the Central Committee in order to support the majority in it. To be sure, the discussion required time. But in return for that, there grew out of the open discussion, without threats, lies and falsifications, the general, indomitable certainty of the correctness of the policy, that is, that which alone makes possible the victory.

What course will things take in Germany? Will the small wheel of the Opposition succeed in turning the large party wheel in time? That is how the question stands now. Pessimistic voices are often raised. In the various Communist groupings, in the party itself, as well as its periphery, there are not a few elements who say to themselves: in every important question the Left Opposition has a correct stand. But it is weak. Its cadres are small in number and politically inexperienced. Can such an organization, with a small weekly paper (DIE PERMANENTE REVOLUTION) successfully counterpose itself to the mighty Comintern machine?

The lessons of events are stronger than the Stalinist bureaucracy. We want to be the interpreters of these lessons to the Communist masses. Therein lies our historic rôle as a faction. We do not demand, as do Seydewitz and Co., that the revolutionary proletariat should believe us on credit. We allot ourselves a more modest rôle: we propose our assistance to the Communist vanguard in the elaboration of the correct line. For this work we are gathering and training up our own cadres. This stage of preparation may not be jumped over. Every new stage of struggle will push to our side those in the proletariat who reflect the most and are most critical.

The revolutionary party begins with an idea, a program, which is aimed at the most powerful apparatus of class society. It is not the cadre that creates the idea, but the idea that creates the cadre. Fear of the power of the apparatus is one of the most conspicuous features of that specific opportunism which the Stalinist bureaucracy cultivates. Marxian criticism is stronger than any and every apparatus.

The organizational forms which the further evolution of the Left Opposition will assume, depend upon many circumstances: the momentum of the historical blows, the degree of resistance power of the Stalin bureaucracy, the activity of the rank and file Com-

munists, the energy of the Opposition itself. But the principles and methods we fight for have been tested by the greatest events in world history, by the victories as well as by the defeats. They will make their way.

The successes of the Opposition in every country, Germany included, are indisputable and manifest. But they are developing slower than many of us expected. We may regret this, but we need not be surprised at it. Every Communist who begins to listen to the Left Opposition is cynically given the choice by the bureaucracy: either go along with the baiting of "Trotskyism" or else be kicked out of the ranks of the Comintern. For the party official, it is a question of position and wages: the Stalinist apparatus plays this key to perfection. But immeasurably more important are the thousands of rank and file Communists who are torn between their devotion to the ideas of Communism and the threatened expulsion from the ranks of the Comintern. That is why there are in the ranks of the official Communist party a great number of partial, intimidated or concealed Oppositionists.

This extraordinary combination of historical conditions sufficiently explains the slow organizational growth of the Left Opposition. At the same time, in spite of this slowness, the spiritual life of the Comintern revolves, today more than ever before, around the struggle against "Trotskyism". The theoretical periodicals and theoretical newspaper articles of the C. P. U., as well as the other sections of the Comintern, are chiefly devoted to the struggle against the Left Opposition, now openly, now maskedly. Still more symptomatic in significance is that mad organizational baiting which the apparatus pursues against the Opposition: disruption of its meetings by blackjack methods; employment of all sorts of other physical violence: behind-the-scenes agreements with bourgeois pacifists, French Radicals and Freemasons against the "Trotskyists"; the dissemination of venomous calumnies from the Stalinist center, etc., etc.

The Stalinists perceive much more directly and know better than the Oppositionists to what extent our ideas are undermining their apparatus pillars. The self-defense methods of the Stalinist faction, however, have a double-edged character. Up to a certain moment, they have an intimidating effect. But at the same time they prepare a mass reaction against the system of falsity and violence.

When, in July 1917, the government of the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists branded the Bolsheviks as agents of the German General Staff, this despicable measure succeeded at first in exercising a strong influence upon the soldiers, the peasants and the backward strata of the workers. But when all the further events clearly confirmed the truth of the Bolsheviks, the masses began to say to themselves: so they deliberately slandered the Leninists; they basely incited against them, only because they were right? And the feeling of suspicion against the Bolsheviks was converted into a feeling of warm devotion and love for them. Although under different conditions, this very complex process is taking place now too. By means of a monstrous accumulation of calumnies and repressions, the Stalinist bureaucracy has undeniably succeeded for a period of time in intimidating the rank and file party members; at the same time, it is preparing for the Bolshevik-Leninists an enormous rehabilitation in the eyes of the revolutionary masses. At the present time, there can no longer be the slightest doubt on this score.

Yes, we are today still weak. The Communist party still has masses, but already it has neither doctrine nor strategic orientation. The Left Opposition has already worked out its Marxian orientation, but as yet it has no masses. The remaining groups of the "Left" camp possess neither the one nor the other. Hopelessly does the Leninbund pine away, thinking to substitute the individual fantasies and whims of Urbahns for a serious principled policy. The Brandlerists, in spite of their apparatus cadre, are descending step by step; small tactical recipes cannot replace a revolutionary-strategic position. The S. A. P. has put up its candidacy for the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat. Baseless pretension! Even the most serious representatives of this "party" do not overstep, as Fritz Sternberg's latest book shows, the barriers of Left-Centrism. The more assiduously they seek to create an "independent" doctrine, the more they reveal themselves to be disciples of Thalheimer. But this school is as hopeless as a corpse.

A new historical party cannot arise simply because a number of old social democrats have convinced themselves, very belatedly, of the counter-revolutionary character of the Ebert-Weis policy. A new party can just as little be improvised by a group of Communists who have as yet done nothing to warrant their claim to proletarian leadership. For a new party to arise, it is on the one hand necessary to have great historical events, which would break the backbone of the old parties, and on the other hand, a position in principle worked out, and cadres tested, in the experience of events.

While we are fighting with all our strength for the rebirth of the Comintern and the continuity of its further developments, we are least of all inclined to any fetishism of form. The fate of the proletarian world revolution stands, for us, above the organizational fate of the Comintern. Should the worst variant materialize; should the present official parties, despite all our efforts, be led to a collapse by the Stalinist bureaucracy; should it mean in a certain sense to begin all over again, then the new International will trace its genealogy from the ideas and cadres of the Communist Left Opposition.

And that is why the short criteria of "pessimism" and "optimism" are not applicable to the work which we are carrying through. It stands above the separate stages, the partial defeats and victories. Our policy is a policy of long range.

PRINKIPO, September 12, 1932.

L. TROTSKY.

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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It's Up to You!

We were again compelled to appear with a two page issue. The reasons for this are determined by our financial difficulties. We had no other choice. The extended size of the anniversary issue of last week meant a great effort and it also further drained our meagre financial resources. It is because of this that we address an earnest appeal to our readers, sympathizers and supporters. We have done that before, but there is this difference, that now it should be heeded more seriously and more concretely.

The only concrete way which really counts is, of course, to respond with cash. If you are up against it yourself and cannot respond much you should ask your friends to help and to donate. Even small contributions mean much to our limited resources; but naturally the substantial help enables us that much quicker to

actually get out of the difficulties and to appear with THE MILITANT regularly in size and in every other respect.

To us who are engaged in producing THE MILITANT our organ means much. It has become endeared to its readers. It has established a prestige within serious working class circles and enjoys their respect. Its actual role in the movement we have emphasized time and again. We need say nothing further in this respect. But it is necessary to reiterate with all possible emphasis that its future existence and success depends entirely upon its circle of supporters. THE MILITANT is your organ and we must put it up to you to help secure its foundation. We ask you to forward your contribution without delay to THE MILITANT, 126 East 16th Street, New York.

Chen Du-Hsiu's Life in Danger

The first details to arrive here on the recent arrest in Shanghai of comrade Chen Du-Hsiu, founder of the Chinese Communist movement and leader of the Left Opposition, along with eight other Chinese comrades, are contained in a copy of the Shanghai Times, leading in the report in its columns is clearly visible not merely the active assistance given the reactionary Kuo Min Tang bourgeoisie by the foreign imperialists in apprehending comrade Chen, but also the fact that he has by this time probably been turned over entirely to the hands of the Chinese butchers with his life at their mercy.

The Shanghai Times report, by itself, is sufficient to tell that detestable insolence of the Stalinist leaders in this country who calumniated comrade Chen as a Kuo Min Tang agent and "counter-revolutionary Trotskyist" with the broad hint that no worker need concern himself with the task of liberating our comrade from the Chinese hangmen. We quote the following extensive extracts from the Times:

"Chen Du-Hsiu, noted Communist leader, former professor of languages at the Peking Government University and a former member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuo Min Tang, was arrested here by Settlement detectives on Saturday night at the request of the Chinese authorities. He was taken during a number of raids on Communist cells and has long been sought by the Government for the extensive part he played in the Communist movement throughout China. Eight other Chinese for whom warrants had been issued were also apprehended and a considerable quantity of Communist literature in different languages was seized.

"The arrest of Chen is regarded as one of the most important developments in the drive against Communism which has taken place in this locality for some considerable time. His whereabouts have been unknown to the authorities for many months although his activities were traced in the spread of Communism in various provinces. He is regarded as one of the main springs in the Communist machine in this country and his organizing ability has enabled the movement to spread rapidly in the interior, according to Chinese engaged in stamping out 'red' activities.

"When arrested Chen was a sick man, having been suffering from an internal illness for some time. After interrogation he was removed in custody to a hospital, but will appear before the Shanghai District Court this morning when an application for his extradition by the Chinese authorities will be heard. It is expected that he will be eventually handed over to the Bureau of Public Safety and later transferred to Nanking for further interrogation....

"He became a fugitive after a warrant was issued for his arrest, but his activities have never ceased, according to Government officials.

"On Saturday morning the Chinese authorities made an application through the Shanghai District Court for the arrest of a number of Chinese wanted for Communist activities. The Special Branch of the S. M. P. (Settlement Military Police) in company with members of the Bureau of Public Safety made a series of raids in the Settlement and French Concession during which Chen was arrested.

"The police interrupted a meeting of Communists in a house in an alley of East Yuhang Road when five men were arrested and a large quantity of Communist literature in French, Chinese, Russian and English was seized. Information from that address enabled the police to proceed the same afternoon to a house in an alley off Yohow Road. At this address Chen Du-Hsiu was arrested and more Communist documents and literature were seized. Investigation led the police to the French Concession where the assistance of the French Police was obtained for a raid on a dwelling off Route des Soeurs. One Chinese and further literature were taken here from this cell.

"Shortly after midnight on Saturday morning another raid was made on a house off Tatung Road. In a back room two men were found, but as soon as they saw the police they jumped through an open window and attempted to escape. They were caught before going very far. Literature of the usual Communist type was located at this place.

"Interesting developments are expected as a result of Chen's arrest, who is regarded as the 'father of Communism' in China."

As we see from this report, the foreign imperialist press in China, not to speak of the native bourgeoisie itself, has quite a different estimate of the revolutionary quality and integrity of comrade Chen than have the various Browders of the official party apparatus.

But what is of far more acute importance at the present moment is the imminent danger to the lives of comrade

Trotsky Sails for Denmark

This capitalist press prints the report that comrade Leon Trotsky, exiled for years now from the Soviet Union, has been granted a short-term visa to enter Denmark to enable him to deliver a lecture in Copenhagen on the Russian revolution. If this report is true—unlike those of the many "visas granted" in the past—then no better spokesman for the principles and ideas of Bolshevism and the October revolution could have been chosen than Trotsky to speak in this fortress of petty bourgeois socialism "gradualism". The Danish bourgeoisie and its social democratic appendage have taken care, however, to circumscribe the much-vaunted "right of asylum" to three months, after which, according to the report, comrade Trotsky will be compelled to return to the Turkish cage to which he has been confined by agreement between Kemal Pasha, and Stalin, with the tacit consent of every imperialist government in the world.

A short time ago, the Czechoslovakian government was "considering" a visa for comrade Trotsky, under which he would have been fettered and gagged in that country. Even then, it was finally not granted. This did not prevent the Stalinist press of the world from shouting hysterically about the "united front of the counter-revolutionist, Trotsky, with the vassal state of French imperialism". No doubt the same slander will be repeated now. But the militants will not be deceived: the real united front is the one made by Stalin with the foreign offices of the world to make Trotsky a perpetual prisoner in Prinkipo.

Start Hunger March On Washington

United Front Can Bring Huge Movement

With the heartening example of the tens of thousands of unemployed masses who recently put the fear of their power into the hearts of the British ruling class by their militant march on Parliament in London, arrangements are now being made for a national Hunger March on the capital of the United States, Washington, where thousands of representatives of the callously ignored interests of the thirteen million or more unemployed in this country will greet the final session of the "lame duck" session of both houses of Congress with their demands. It is the "historic session" where the fathers of the country are even now promising to alleviate the intense, unspeakable misery of the masses by... a return to legalized beer. This is the manner in which the capitalist politicians of both Wall Street parties plan to interpret the discontentment of the crisis-torn masses voiced in the recent elections.

The national Hunger March is scheduled to reach Washington on December 5. Delegations of workers elected from various working class organizations and conferences are already on their way from the more distant sections of the West for their trek to the capital. The reports already indicate that every important center will be represented in the army of hungry and ragged who will present themselves to the well-fed Congressmen and Senators who foregather to legislate for the ruling class of the country. That the latter are already greatly disturbed at the possibility of the London events being repeated in Washington, is revealed by the official and unofficial instructions emanating from the capital and those sent to the various state and municipal authorities, urging them to do everything to discourage and hinder workers from pointing in the march. In Washington itself, dispatches relate, the authorities will under no condition house and feed the marchers. But the lash of hunger and misery is driving too many workers to militant action for the Hunger March to be defeated by rules or regulations or threats or cajolery. Not even the provocation that the government will undoubtedly undertake during the course of the march and at Washington proper, will succeed in eliminating the enormous significance of this organized demonstration of America's jobless for their demands.

With the time still left for the March, it is not only possible, but imperative, to draw into the movement the widest conceivable sections of the proletariat and its organizations. The recently formed united front in Chicago—not constituted according to the absurd and sterile formula of "united front from below"—is an example of how powerful is the urge among the workers for united ranks and united action, of the loud and long-lasting echo which a genuine appeal for a united front of all working class organizations will awaken in the masses. The Communists, who are in the forefront of the present movement, cannot confine this policy to Chicago, while at the same time pursuing an opposite—and isolated—course throughout the rest of the land. The formation of such a united front, on an even wider basis, in every part of the country—a step which we of the Left Opposition have persistently defended from the very beginning—is an urgent pre-requisite for such a successful movement as will really shake the cynical frigidity of the bourgeoisie towards the unemployed and their problems. Such a united front in the present Hunger March will, by itself, lay the foundation for a powerful unemployed movement after the March is over, one which will be able to continue on a more extensive field the struggle of the million-headed army of jobless.

The comrades of the Left Opposition will take their place in the ranks of the marching militants and render the movement every possible assistance at their command. In the movement itself, we will raise the demands which in addition to those advanced by the official party—\$50 winter federal relief for each family and unemployment insurance at the expense of the government and employers—are a necessary part of the workers' demands. Especially appropriate in Washington is the demand for long-term credits to the Soviet Union and its recognition by the American government, as well as the demand for the six-hour day and five-day week without reduction in pay.

In any case, the Left Opposition and its supporters stand elbow to elbow with the militants who are advancing to Washington in an imposing political demonstration of their demands before the federal representatives of the thieves of Wall Street.

The C.P. in the Elections

Reasons for Small Rise in Communist Vote This Year

The party leaders are now busily engaged in ignoring the results of the recent presidential elections, as though the party campaign was a mere routine matter the outcome of which is of no particular concern. To this date, there has not been a single statement from the Central Executive Committee analyzing the election results and summing up the party's work. The only "official" word to be heard from the vicinity of the 13th Street Sinai is the statement issued after the elections by the party's banner-bearer, Foster, in the manner of all the defeated bourgeois candidates. Aside from this, abysmal silence.

And there are adequate grounds for the muteness of the Stalinist chieftains. While small holes may be stuffed up with reports that this or that township doubled or tripled its Communist vote (the formula is usually: a rise from 10 votes to 25 votes!), the fact cannot be covered up or explained away that the vote for the presidential candidates of the Communist party this year was exceedingly small in comparison with the vast possibilities contained in the whole situation.

After four years of an unprecedented crisis, in the face of genuine all-national discontentment of the masses, an inability or refusal of any of the two big bourgeois parties to cope with the burning problem of unemployment—after all this, the only proletarian political party in the field is barely able to double the extremely low vote it obtained four years ago, that is, the vote cast at the "height of the prosperity period". It is precisely in such periods of crisis, when millions of workers are divorced from industry itself and their economic power is radically diminished—that is their ability to battle the enemy on the industrial front is enfeebled—that they turn their attention to "elections". The unusually large vote cast indicates that the masses have by no means lost interest in parliamentary activity. Yet—the disenfranchisement of the masses was reflected only in the very tiniest dribbles so far as the Communist vote was concerned.

In the face of this unqualified disappointing vote—all other factors, like disfranchisement of Negro, foreign-born and other workers, considered—what becomes of the fantastic babblings of the Stalinists on the renowned "mass upsurges" and "deep-going radicalization" of the American masses? It is not for nothing that Foster's statement (what a combination of words deliberately intended to say nothing—a disgraceful

document for a Communist leader!) is blandly silent even about the word "radicalization", which it never mentions, as if the party line had not been built up on this phrase for the last few years.

The current, unofficial explanations of the low Communist vote are, generally speaking, based upon a strained endeavor to think up something very profound and complicated to explain a comparatively simple phenomenon. The party leaders look upon the election campaign as something special, isolated, separated from all the other work of the party. We look upon it in the only correct and possible manner: as the numerical expression on the parliamentary field, which is at best a distorted and limited expression, it is true, of the success the party has had in winning to its banner the proletarian masses all during the rest of the year. It is a parliamentary culmination of the party's work in the day-to-day struggles. The vote of the worker, as a rule, expresses the confidence or half-confidence he places in the party (sometimes, the individual) for whom he casts his ballot. The Communist party cannot gain this confidence by sensational campaign stunts during the elections, by prominent candidates, leaflets, torchlight parades and the like—important and necessary though they may be. It can be gained primarily and mainly in the course of the daily struggles in which the Communists participate.

If, during these struggles, the Communist pursues a policy which best represents the interests of the proletariat, he will be rewarded by an expression of confidence in a parliamentary election. If the party, on the other hand, succeeds only in isolating itself from the masses because of its absurd or disastrous policies in the class struggle, this fact will be reflected—as it has been—when elections roll around. These are axioms which apply—not so much (in fact, practically not at all) to the Republicans and Democrats, and very little to the socialists, as they do to the Communists. Tested in this light, the past policies of the Stalinists stand revealed as having barred the road to the revolutionary movement for tens and hundreds of thousands who were being driven in that direction by the bankruptcy of the capitalist regime and its supporters. Until this simple, elementary lesson of the election is absorbed into the consciousness of the party, its headway will continue to be impeded. —S.N.

Chicago Greets United Front

Left Opposition Hails Joint Unemployment Conference

We print here a leaflet issued by the Chicago branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) on its views regarding the united front recently formed by various groups in the labor movement, ranging from the Communists, to the Socialists and A. F. of L. unions, which has already succeeded in uniting tens of thousands of unemployed workers in that city for militant action in favor of their demands—a policy constantly advocated by the Left Opposition.

Fellow Workers and Comrades:—

We hail the united front of the three organizations of unemployed workers, recently organized in Chicago. The fact that Communists, Socialists, Farmer-Laborites, and reactionary as well as revolutionary trade-unionists are able to come together at this time on the specific issue of fighting for immediate relief and other unemployed demands, is significant. It testifies to the enormous pressure of the rank and file workers upon the organizations in an effort to bring

about a united fight in the interests of the unemployed.

Aim of United Front

The united front is a means of uniting all workers in a common fight against a common oppressor on an issue of extreme importance to the workers. The united front is not a permanent body in which all organizations affiliated lose their independence and give up their separate existence. Quite the contrary, these organizations carry on their independent work, their right to criticism, to formulate their own opinions and ideas. The object of the united front is for action on one specific agreed issue.

The present united front was organized to fight against the 50 percent reduction in the unemployed relief. Its object is to unite all unemployed workers in Chicago to fight against this cut in relief, to increase and extend the relief for ALL jobless workers and to push forward the general demands of the unemployed. Toward this aim the present organizations must carry on a determined fight. The present situation demands that this united

(Continued on page 2)

OPEN FORUM

America's Role in the Coming Period

Speaker:

ARNE SWABECK

Friday, NOVEMBER 25, 1932

126 East 16 Street,
near Irving Place

ADMISSION: 15c

Auspices:

N. Y. Br. Communist League of America
(Opposition)

LEON TROTSKY

Soviet Economy in Danger

The Situation on the Eve of the Second Five Year Plan

(Continued from last issue)

But the results obtained, no matter how imposing if taken by themselves—even if considered from the bald quantitative viewpoint—are far short of those sketched in the plan.

The output of coal is maintained at present on the level of last year, therefore it has far from reached the plan figures set for the third year of the Five Year Plan. "The Donbas lags behind at the tailend of the most backward branches of Soviet industry," complains Pravda. "The tension in the fuel balance is on the increase," echoes for the industrialization (October 8, 1932).

In 1931 there were produced 4.9 million tons of cast iron instead of 7.9 million set by the plan; 5.3 million tons of steel instead of the 8.5 million; and finally 4 million tons of rolled steel instead of 6.7 million. In comparison with 1930 this signifies a falling off in cast iron of 2 percent; in steel of 6

percent; in rolled steel of 10 percent. For 9 months of 1932 there were produced 4.5 million tons of cast iron, 4.1 million tons of steel, 3.5 million tons of rolled stock. Alongside of the considerable rise in the output of iron (new blast-furnaces!) the production of steel and rolled steel in the current year remains approximately on the level of last year. From the viewpoint of the general tasks of the industrialization what decides, of course, is not the raw iron but the rolled stock and steel.

Side by side with these quantitative results, which Economic Life characterizes as "shocking lapses" there are to be placed extremely unfavorable and, because of their consequences, much more dangerous lapses in quality. Following the special economic press, Pravda openly confesses that in heavy metallurgy "the situation as regards the indices of quality is impermissible." "The defec-

(Continued on page 2)

Int. Workers School Entertainment

Saturday, Nov. 19 - 8 p. m.
126 East 16th Street
ADMISSION: 25c

STALINISTS TAKE MEASURES

The Expulsion of Zinoviev

The Lessons of the Second Expulsion of the Capitulators

With all his agitational radicalism, Zinoviev always pulled up short before the actual inferences of political formulae. Fighting against Stalinist policies in China, Zinoviev opposed to the end the weak of the Communist party with the Luo Min Tang. Exposing Stalin's alliance with Purcell and Citrine, Zinoviev was poised irresolutely before the split with the Anglo-Russian Committee. Joining in the struggle against Thermidorian tendencies, he took a vow beforehand: in no case to bring matters to a pitch of facing expulsion from the party. In this spirit of going fifty-fifty there was ingrained his inevitable downfall. "Everything, except Stalinism within those limits that would be permitted by Stalin."

After their capitulation, Zinoviev and Kamenev did absolutely everything they could in order to restore the confidence of the ruling clique in themselves and in order to be assimilated into the official milieu. Zinoviev made his peace with the theory of Socialism in one country, and once again exposed "Trotskyism" and even made attempts to burn incense to Stalin personally. Nothing helped. The capitulators suffered, shut up, and waited. And with all that they still did not succeed in hanging on to celebrate the fifth anniversary of their own capitulation; it seems that they were involved in a "conspiracy", and therefore were expelled from the party, perhaps to be deported or exiled.

What is astounding is that Zinoviev and Kamenev got it in the neck not for their own cause and not under their own banner. The warp of the list of those expelled according to the decision of October 9th, consists of outright Rights, i. e., the followers of Rykov-Bucharin-Tomsky. Does it mean that Left Centrism has united with Right Centrism against the bureaucratic core? Let us not rush to conclusions.

The most eminent names in the list, after Zinoviev and Kamenev, are those of Uglanov and Rutin, two former members of the C. E. C. Uglanov, as the general secretary of the Moscow Committee and Rutin, as the head of the Agitprop, were in charge in the capital of the struggle against the Left Opposition, clearing every corner and by path of Trotskyism in 1926-1927. They raised a particularly venomous hue and cry after Zinoviev and Kamenev as the "traitors" to the ruling faction. When Uglanov and Rutin, as a consequence of the Stalinist zigzag to the Left, turned out to be the chief practical organizers of the Right Opposition, all the official articles and speeches harped on one and the same note, "No one can deny the great service rendered by Uglanov and Rutin in the struggle against Trotskyism; but their platform nevertheless is that of kulaks and bourgeois-liberals." The Stalinists pretend that they are in awe of it as on account of just this program that the struggle had taken place. As then, so now only the Rights and the Leftists had positions based on principle. The Stalinists thrived on the sops from the one and the other.

As early as 1928, Uglanov and Rutin began to assert that the Left Opposition turned out to be correct in its stand on the question of the party regime—this acknowledgment is all the more instructive since none could boast of such successes in implanting the Stalinist regime as Uglanov and Rutin. However, "solidarity" on the question of party democracy cannot soften the heart of the Left Opposition in its relation to the Right. Party democracy is not an abstract ideal; least of all, it is predestined to serve as a screen for Thermidorian tendencies. And in the meantime, Uglanov and Rutin, at least in those years, represented the most out and out Thermidorian wing in the camp of the Rights.

Among the participants in the conspiracy, the C. E. C. lists other leading Rights, like Slepkov and Maresky, Red professors of the Bucharin School, directors of the Komsozol and Pravda, instigators of many programmatic resolutions of the C. E. C. and authors of countless articles and brochures against "Trotskyism."

On the proscribed list there are to be found Ptashay and Gorelov with a notation of their former adherence to the "Trotskyist Opposition". We have no means of judging whether the matter concerns here two very little known Left capitulators, who subsequently threw in their lot with the Rights, or whether we have before us a falsification in order to fool the party. The former is by no means excluded, but in all probability neither is the latter.

In the summary of the participants, the chief leaders of the Right Opposition are conspicuously absent. Cables to the bourgeois papers report that Bucharin "has completely reestablished his party position" and is apparently slated for the Narkompos in place of Bubnov, who is being transferred to the G. P. U.; as for Rykov, he is once again in favor, makes speeches over the radio, etc. The fact that in the list of "the conspirators" there is neither Rykov nor Bucharin nor Tomsky really does make plausible some temporary bureaucratic indulgences in favor of the former leaders of the Right Opposition. But of their being reestablished in their old positions in the party, there cannot be the slightest consideration. The group as a whole is accused of an attempt to create "a bourgeois kulak organization in order to restore capitalism in the U.S.S.R. and the kulak, in particular." An amazing formulation! An organization to restore "capitalism and the kulak, in particular" (!). This "particularity" gives away the whole, or at least hints at it. There is no denying that some of those expelled, like Slepkov and Maresky, in the period of

the struggle against "Trotskyism" developed, after the manner of their teacher Bucharin, the idea of "the kulak's growing into socialism". What stand they have taken since that time, we do not know. But it is quite possible that their present guilt consists not so much in their desire to "restore" the kulak as in their failure to recognize Stalin's victories in the sphere of "liquidation of the kulak as a class".

However, what is the relation of Zinoviev and Kamenev to the program of "restoring capitalism"? The Soviet press informs us about the following as regards to their participation in the crime, "Knowing of the counter-revolutionary documents that were being circulated, instead of immediately exposing the agents of the Kulak agencies, they preferred to deliberate over this document (?) and by this act alone, they placed themselves as the direct accomplices of the anti-party, counter-revolutionary group." So, Zinoviev and Kamenev "preferred to deliberate over the document" instead of "immediately exposing" it. The accusers do not even dare to assert that Zinoviev and Kamenev were entirely beyond considering its "exposure". No, their crime consisted in their "preferring to deliberate" before "exposing". Where, how and with whom did they deliberate? Had this occurred during a secret session of the Right organization, the accusers would not have failed to inform us about it. Obviously, Zinoviev and Kamenev "preferred to deliberate" with their own four eyes and within their own four walls. As a result of their deliberation, did they express their sympathy for the platform of the Rights. If there was even the slightest hint in the matter about such a sympathy, we would have been told about it in the decision. Silence on the matter testifies to the contrary; Zinoviev and Kamenev, obviously, subjected the platform to criticism instead of immediately ringing up Yaroda. But in view of the fact that they nevertheless did not telephone, Pravda feels it justified to ascribe to them this concept, "The enemy of my enemy is my friend."

The course strain of the accusation against Zinoviev-Kamenev makes it possible for us to conclude with assurance that blow was direct against them, and primarily them. Not because they evinced some political activity during the last period. We know nothing about it, and what is more important the C. E. C. knows nothing about either, as is evident from the decree. But the objective political situation has become so much worse as to make it impossible for Stalin to tolerate any longer legal candidates for leadership in the composition of this or the other Opposition group. The Stalinist bureaucracy, of course, has long since been aware that Zinoviev and Kamenev whom it had spurned were very much "interested" in the oppositionist trends within the party and were reading all sorts of documents that were not destined for Yaroda. In 1928, Kamenev even carried on secret negotiations with Bucharin regarding the possibility of a bloc. Records of these negotiations were published at the time by the Left Opposition. The Stalinists, however, could not decide upon expelling Zinoviev and Kamenev. They did not wish to compromise themselves by new scandals of repressions unless there was urgent necessity. The period of economic successes was then being inaugurated, in part actual, in part fictitious. Zinoviev and Kamenev did not appear to be immediately dangerous.

—L. TROTSKY.

The Left Opposition Breaks Ground in the Pittsburgh District

PITTSBURGH.—

Conditions of the working class in this most highly industrialized section of the country represent what most nearly approaches a cross-section of proletarian life in the country as a whole. More than 100,000 jobless fill the narrow, winding, filthy streets of Pittsburgh. Every day bears witness to new scenes of their misery. The furniture of evicted families, blocks the sidewalks of the proletarian quarters and the press contains full pages of eviction notices, foreclosures and legal action against the workers from day to day.

The utterly prostrate and dejected among the unemployed, those who cannot find even the doubtful refuge of relatives and friends, flock to Father Cox's Shantytown; there exists no greater repulsive and more disgusting a picture of squalor. The good "Father" preaches meekness and bids the unemployed await better times with the presidential incumbency of his recent rival and present endorser, the Astor Raskob man—Franklin Roosevelt. In the meantime the inhabitant of the reverend Father's Rooseveltville spends his time in primitive handicrafts, leads a life that resembles more that of the feudal serf than that of the twentieth century machine-age man.

The Workshop of the World—at One-Third Capacity

Conditions among the workers still at work—so to speak—are even worse. Steel workers at the mills are lucky if they have three days' labor a month. But that is not all. The Steel Barons were the initiators of all the wage cut drives of the depression years and the steel workers' remuneration has been reduced to the vanishing point. Steel is the pivot industry in the Allegheny region. And Pittsburgh is a "one factory town"—in the highest sense of the word. Activity in the steel mills sets the tune

Chicago Left Greets United Front

(Continued from page 1)

ited front be maintained to carry out its great task.

The Conference must see to it that there is no vacillation in the struggle on the part of the leaders. The workers must prevent any organization from withdrawing from the conference. We realize the strain of relations, the provocations that exist in such a gathering. But if an effective movement is to exist and be successful, it is necessary that no disintegration be permitted. The Conference must be militant. It must reject any proposal of a reactionary character. It must reject any proposal or action that will weaken, nullify and destroy the beginnings already made.

The Left Opposition has for a long time fought for a correct united front policy. One of the main obstacles has been the erroneous conception of the Communist party on the united front. Namely, their advocacy of the "united front from below". We therefore, welcome their change toward the correct policy which will bring larger masses of workers together in a united struggle for a specific aim. The success of the present conference proves that its previous policy was narrow and sectarian and succeeded in bringing together only the Communist party and its organizations. With the participation of the Communist party, the conference should have great strength and militancy.

Role of Socialist Party

The Left Opposition is well aware of the role that the Socialist party and its leaders have played in the struggle of the workers. The Socialist party leaders will never enter a united front unless it is by tremendous pressure from their rank and file. Once in a united

front movement, they vacillate, retreat, threaten and in the end pursue a course of betraying the interests of the workers. The workers in the ranks of the Socialist party must resist any splitting tactics on the part of their leaders. This applies too for all other reformist and labor groups in the conference.

We want to reiterate: the interests of all workers, unemployed and employed, in spite of everything, rests in maintaining the present united front conference, and in completing its work.

Chicago Workers! Fight for immediate relief for ALL unemployed workers. Fight for the 6 hour day and the 5 day week with no reduction in pay. Fight for Social Insurance. Demand the extension of credits and the recognition of the Soviet Union.

MAINTAIN THE UNITED FRONT!
The Chicago Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

GREEK BANQUET A SUCCESS

The banquet for the benefit of the recently organized Greek workers' club, PROTOMAGIA, held last Saturday at our Center, turned out to be a splendid success from the point of view of attendance as well as the spirit shown by those who gathered there. The collection amounted to more than \$38. Many members of the Stalinist Club, SPARTACUS were present and demanded a debate of the disputed questions, which we gladly accepted. Although we gave more than enough of the floor to our opponents, they declined a formal debate before a mixed audience. Comrades are swelling the ranks of the newly-formed club which is soon to obtain its own headquarters in the Greek neighborhood.

Soviet Economy in Danger

(Continued from page 1)

tive products eat up the steel that is up to quality. "The technical coefficients in the use of the equipment are taking a sharp turn for the worse." "The cost of production of commodities is rising sharply." Two figures will suffice: in 1931 a ton of iron cost 35 roubles; in the first half of the current year the cost rose to 60 roubles.

In 1929-1930, 47 thousand tons of copier were smelted; in 1931, 48 thousand tons, one-third of the amount set by the plan. For the current year the plan has been lowered to 90 thousand tons but for the first 8 months less than 30 thousand tons have been smelted. What this means in the manufacture of machines in general and of electro-technical equipment in particular, requires no comment.

In the sphere of electrification, with all its successes, there is considerable lagging behind; the power plants in August delivered 71 percent of the energy they were supposed to develop. For the Industrialization writes about "the inept, illiterate and the uncultured exploitation of the erected power stations." Great difficulties are being threatened in the winter in the sphere of power production. They have already begun in the Moscow and Leningrad regions.

The light industry which lagged excessively behind the plan last year, showed a rise in the first half of the current year of 16 percent but in the third quarter it fell below the figures of last year. The industry providing foodstuffs occupies the last place. The supplementary production of products for mass consumption which are supplied by the plants of heavy industries compose for the eight months only 35 percent of the yearly stipulation. It is not possible at present to estimate what part of this mass of commodities that are improvised in a hurry, really meets the requirements of the market.

The factories are supplied with coal and raw material by means of bursts of telegram-lightnings. The industry, as Economic Life puts it, "sits on lightning." But even bolts of lightning cannot deliver what does not exist.

Coal, hastily mined and poorly sorted, hampers the operation of coke producing enterprises. Excessively high content of moisture and cinders in the coke not only reduces the quantity of produced metal by millions of tons but also lowers its quality. Machines of poor metal produce inferior products, result in breakdowns, force inactivity upon the working hands, and deteriorate rapidly.

In the Urals, the paper apprizes us, "the blast-furnaces are in fever", because of inadequate supply of fuel they are allowed to cool down from 3 days to 20 days. Here is a circumstance illuminating to the highest degree: the metallurgical plants in the Urals had their own horse conveyors for the transportation of fuel; in February of this year the horses numbered 27,000, the number fell in July to 14,000; and in September to 4,000. The reason for it is lack of fodder.

Pravda characterizes in the following manner the condition of the Stalingrad tractor factory in which the quantity of annual castings fell from 250 to 140 tons (quy-thousands). "The equipment, due to the absence of rudimentary and constant technical supervision... has excessively deteriorated." "Defective products have become as high as 35 percent. The entire mechanism of the corporation is wallowing in dirt." "In the foundries there is never a thought of

into motion elements of new militancy in the working class. Workers of all shades are beginning to ask themselves how such a situation can exist, what the causes for it are. They ask these questions of themselves, not because they are accustomed to philosophizing. It is their very mode of every day life, it is actually their bread and butter problems that force them to pause and to reflect on these questions. Militants, whom the prosperity period, and the double-edged blade of reaction characteristic of it, had eliminated from active participation in the various phases of the struggle, are once again showing signs of interest, are once again expressing willingness to rejoin the fight. But the sad experiences of passivity and inaction in the course of the past four years have made them cautious and judicious. The number of those is steadily increasing who not only see the need of again taking up arms, but who also demand to know what sort of arms to take up and how to fight. They are weighing carefully the principles, the policies, the strategy and the tactics of the various political forces in the field. They feel that if the fight is to be taken up in earnest, it must be on firm ground.

Within the A. F. of L. unions, the work of the reformist fakers in lulling the masses with their treacherous policies of class collaboration is becoming exceedingly clear. And, when Green and Co. come out, finally, for such "radical" demands as unemployed insurance and "independent political action of the workers", it is because their rank and file in industrial sections like the Pittsburgh sector, are already miles ahead of them, because the workers in the shops are being made ready by conditions to shake off the fetters of the trade union bureaucracy. The prestige of what few old Left wingers still remain in the reformist unions is gaining day by day, while new Left wing forces are making their appearance.

Clarification Begins in the Ranks of the Party

The growth of class consciousness and a split of militancy among the masses

Scottsboro--What Now?

(Continued from page 1)

The text goes on to say: "The only one of the assignments which we shall consider is the second—; and it becomes unnecessary to discuss the facts of the case or the circumstances surrounding the prosecution—". Cowardly decision!! To deal with the other two would bring these judicial fossils face to face with the real issues in the case. They would have to commit the Supreme Court and through it the capitalist class to an outright reactionary position resulting in the discredit of this most sacred of the institutions of the capitalist class before the working class.

Or it would have had to decide in favor of the victims which would tremendously increase the prestige of Communism and working class activity generally. The only road it could "safely" take at the moment was the middle road of quibbling over legal technicalities. This it does most elegantly. It makes a parade of the learned justices' erudition; it traces a devious course through certain aspects of the history of American law; it juggles with definitions in and amendments to the U. S. Constitution. And it arrives at the conclusion so obvious to all that the boys were not represented by counsel in the courtroom at Scottsboro.

The liberals are singing a hymn of praise to American institutions. They say that the Court has redeemed the prestige of capitalism. They prate eloquently of justice and fairness and fair play. They are confused to the roots of their thinking. And they are sowing confusion with a prodigious hand. The capitalist press is open wide to them now for this purpose. They are serving capitalism well.

the next day." "Methods of handicraft are swamping continuous belt production."

Why is production lowered in light metallurgy in the face of colossal investments? Because, replies Pravda, "the separate branches of a single combine are not coordinated with one another in their capacity." And in the meantime the task of coordinating branches has been solved by capitalist technology. And how much more and difficult is the question of intercoordination independent enterprises and entire branches of industry!

"The cement factory in Podolsk is in dangerous straits", writes For the Industrialization: In the first half year the production program was fulfilled approximately 60 percent, in the last months the fulfillment dropped to 40 percent... The basic costs are twice as high as those set by the plan." The characteristics cited above apply in various degrees to the entire present industry.

(To Be continued)

CHICAGO DEBATE

Communism Versus Anarchism

WHICH WAY FOR THE WORLD PROLETARIAT?

Communism Anarchism
ALBERT GLOTZER JOSEPH COHEN
Member N. E. C. Editor, Freie
Comm. League of A. Arbeiter Stimme
Sunday, November 27, 1932, at 3 P. M.
at 2111 W. North Avenue.
ADMISSION: 10 Cents

CHICAGO

CONCERT AND DANCE

Sunday, November 27, 1932, 8 P. M.
at 2111 W. North Ave.
ADMISSION: 25 CENTS
Auspiex: Friends of the Militant Club

CHEN DU-HSIU

(Continued from page 1)

Chen and the other militants arrested with him. Up to now, the International Red Aid and its American section, the International Labor Defense, have preserved a horrible silence on the case. It is imperative that a genuine mass protest be made in this and other countries so that the hankens of the Chinese proletariat and peasantry may know that they cannot turn our comrades over to the executioner! Let every class conscious worker voice his elementary solidarity with the prisoners by acting immediately, before it is too late. Raise the question of the Chinese comrades in every labor organization. Demand that the Daily Worker, the party as a whole, and the I. L. D. commence a campaign for the endangered revolutionists!

cannot of course help but have its effect on the membership of the official Communist party as well. The active comrades in the C. P. who have, from their daily contacts, felt the new features in the situation: the general discontent of the broad layers of workers, the rebirth of militancy in the old organizations reaching even into the ranks of the decrepit and corrupt socialist party, the possibilities for important progress of Communism—have also been obliged to review the recent past and to draw lessons therefrom.

Sporadically and in a groping, instinctive way, it is true, but nevertheless so conditioned that they have had to confront the stupid and disastrous policies of the Stalinist faction with the very facts of everyday life. The contrast between the excellent prospects for Communist work and the retrogressions and defeats engendered by the false direction of the leadership opened the minds of many party comrades to the dangers brought upon our party by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Faced at each step with persecutions for pointing out the destruction caused by the Stalinist "third period" policies; with their "united front from below only", with the sharply contrasted adventurist and opportunist sides of the unemployment work, for instance; disillusioned after many "turns" and "half-turns" which all remained on paper and which brought the party not a single step forward, the militants were led by the logic of their struggle to concentrate fire against the local bureaucracy as such. After a hard fight, the Pittsburgh rank and file finally forced the recall of the altogether discredited and incompetent bureaucrat, Carl Price, from his position as District Organizer. The Price incident cannot help but teach the party comrades the important lesson, that only by an actual and determined fight can they help regenerate the party.

But it would be altogether misleading and self-deceptive for the Communist workers to consider the defeat of Price as an ultimate victory and to rest upon

—S. G.

THE MILITANT

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WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



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FOUR YEARS!

Trotsky Greeted Militant

The Revolutionary Kernel Is Assembling Around Opposition

To the Editors of the Militant.
Dear Friends:

I fear that my greetings to the fourth anniversary of the Militant will arrive a little late. But my greetings are none the less hearty because of it. All our friends on this side of the ocean value highly the work which you have carried on during this long, and yet short, period.

Can we consider ourselves satisfied with the results of our work? Of course, this question concerns not only the United States but also all the other countries in which our adherents live and struggle. To answer this question is not so simple. As yet, the Left Opposition has nowhere become a mass movement. But it has assembled the revolutionary kernel which knows what it wants. Precisely in this field are the achievements of the Militant greatest. Not so long ago the Right Opposition in a number of countries seemed to be much stronger and more deserving of attention than the Left. From the very outset, we were of the opinion that the Right wing group will experience an evolution towards the social democracy; giving up some of its elements to us and some to official Centrism. The developments of the last year have completely confirmed this prognosis. In Germany, the Brandeburgers have split, giving a considerable minority to the Socialist Workers Party, which means to the Left social democracy. In Czechoslovakia, the Right Opposition went over to the social democracy; the minority, with the revolutionary elements, under the leadership of comrade Neumath, joined us. In Switzerland the Right Opposition is coming closer to the social democracy while among the better section of the workers sympathies are growing towards the Left Opposition. As far as can be judged from here, the Lovestone group in America can hardly boast of any successes. Their official organ, in the first place, is characterized by confusion. These people do not know what they want and are scarcely capable of foreseeing what share they will be washed upon by the first strong wave.

In the camp of official Communism, confusion of no lesser degree. The resolutions of the Twelfth Plenum of the ECCP offer a terrible testimonial of poverty which the leadership of the Comintern issued to itself. In spite of the exceptional conditions of the economic crisis and a complete international impasse of imperialism, Communism barely

moves ahead. In some countries (Germany, Bulgaria), it registers certain purely parliamentary successes, which do not, however, correspond in any way to the scope of the social crisis. In other countries, Communism retreats before the social democracy on every field of the working class movement (France, Czechoslovakia). In all countries without exception, the cadres of official Communism are most dissatisfied, disoriented, split into separate inimical groups.

The condition of the party apparatus in the USSR bears a most menacing character. No one really trusts the leadership there and the leadership has completely lost all faith in itself. Everything that the party contains of thinking revolutionary elements, is turning towards the Left Opposition. The forces on which Stalin based himself in the struggle against us, are turning over more towards the Thermidor. The situation in the Soviet Union is an extremely difficult one. In the political chaos to which the Centrist bureaucracy has brought the party, only the Left Opposition knows what it wants.

The political life of the United States is clearly approaching a turning point. Within the near future it will become clear that when Heraclitus the Dark said, "Everything flows, everything changes", he had in mind also the republic of Hoover-Roosevelt. Old traditions, conceptions, prejudices, will go by the board. Through a period of ideological chaos and stress, the classes in American society will create for themselves a new modern ideology. A strong revolutionary kernel, welded by a uniformity of doctrine and political method, will be called upon in such a period to play a great role. The creation of such a kernel is the achievement of the Militant. So much the heartier is my greeting.

—L. TROTSKY.
Prinkipo, November 1, 1932.

OPEN FORUM

Congress and the War Debts

Speaker:
HUGO OEHLER
Friday, December 2, 1932
126 East 16 Street,
ADMISSION: 15c
Auspices:
N. Y. Br. Communist League of America
(Opposition)

Fight for Left Opposition Proposals in Pittsburgh Hunger March Conference

PITTSBURGH.—

Friday evening, Nov. 11, the United Front Hunger March Conference of Pittsburgh was held at Walton Hall. According to the report of the credentials committee, 69 delegates representing 22 organizations were present. The report said these organizations were such as the I.L.D., the I.W.O. and also mumbled something about A. F. of L. locals.

But the names of the organizations were not given. From the faces of those present, it was, however, easy to ascertain that the vast majority were party members or members of organizations directly controlled by the party. Aside from the two delegates of the Communist League (Opposition) we know of only the two delegates of a single Unemployed Citizens Committee (Mustel's) as being non-party workers in attendance there. This is sufficient to characterize the "united front" nature of the conference as well as the new and latest turn toward "genuine united front" made by the recent Stalinist plenums on a national as well as on an international scale. Characteristic also of the caricature "united front" was the fact that in this heart of the steel industry the "representative of the steel workers" was a frail girl comrade, who herself told us that she comes from—the Hill Section, that well-known citadel of steel production.... She was the delegate of the party's Steel and Metal Workers Union, the only one to speak in its name at the conference.

The Left Opposition Takes the Floor
After two very matter of fact reports, dealing with practical directives rather than with the outline of a political program of action, by comrades Kearns and Myerscough, discussion was opened. The discussion dragged along at a slow tempo for about half an hour, the participants dealing with minor questions, which though important in themselves, were in place at practical committee meetings rather than at a united front conference. It was not until the delegates of the Left Opposition took the floor that the conference became alive mainly due to the anxiety of the party bureaucrats to drown out the Leninist united front proposals of the Opposition.

Comrade Gordon took the floor for the Communist League of America (Opposition) and in the brief time allotted to him greeted the conference in the name of our organization, pledged support to its work and outlined in concise form the

Leninist united front policy of the Left Opposition on the unemployment question. After criticizing the official reporter for not drawing the highly important lessons of the Chicago hunger march, explaining the latter and calling for their application in Pittsburgh, the delegate from the League closed with a presentation of the unemployment platform of the Leninist Opposition (immediate relief, supplemented with the demands for unemployed insurance, the six-hour day without reduction in pay, long term credits to the Soviet Union, etc.). He repeated the pledge of loyal cooperation with the conference and its committee, in spite of differences in policy, and took his seat amid vigorous applause from the other delegates.

Immediately, the party faction started with its organized attack. A certain Menken made himself ridiculous with the charge that the Opposition wanted to cooperate with the treacherous Bill Green and by slinging with some assinine slanders about the local group. A whole string of others followed with the same

(Continued on page 2)

Call the Scottsboro Conferences!

As day after day passes, the great opportunity to mobilize the masses of the working class to demand the freedom of the Scottsboro boys, which the Supreme Court decision gave to the Communist party, is slipping away. All eyes were on the party and the I. L. D. when the decision was handed down. The workers expected that the party would give the signal for an even greater struggle. As yet there is no struggle, and no call to build one. Are the workers to be disappointed? The answer rests with the party.

What is the reason that the party does not issue the call for united front conferences of workers' organizations? Why do they hold back?

What is there to be gained by this delay? The new trials will be held in March. No time must be lost in building a fighting movement of the black and white workers to give a great force to the legal arguments which the I. L. D. lawyers will make in the courtroom in the Spring. That is the way the working class wins its "law cases".

Every worker inside the party and outside must now raise his voice in comradeship criticism of the party for this harmful delay and urge it to issue the call for united front conferences on a national scale. Let us proceed at once to forge the weapons which can accomplish the freedom of these boys and strengthen our fight against all class persecution.

A SHANGHAI REPORT OF COM. CHEN'S ARREST

The letter below, which we have just received from our comrade in Shanghai, will serve also as a reply to the vicious police article which appeared on the question of comrade Chen Du-Hsiu a few days ago in the Daily Worker. The article of the Shanghai correspondent of the Worker, if it had any meaning at all, might have been written in the chancellery of Chiang Kai-Shek. It announced that our comrade Chen was merely going to Nanking to "interview Chiang Kai-Shek". In China, such "interviews" have a murderous meaning: the word is the cynical expression used to signify that a revolutionist is being sent to his death. The

SHANGHAI.—

On October 15, the Kuo Min Tang government and British imperialism dealt a heavy blow to the Chinese section of the International Left Opposition. Comrade Chen Du-Hsiu was arrested, and other arrests and raids continued for about three days. Twelve comrades were taken altogether, among them four members of the Central Committee, the rest being functionaries and technical workers. This came about, just as in May 1931, as a result of betrayal, of which there has been an epidemic in these last two years, in the official party as well as in the Left Opposition. For example, in Nanking, responsible workers went to the authorities to betray all the other comrades, so that over 30 comrades were shot. In some local organizations, the party secretary has handed to the police the other party workers. As for us, our best comrades, six of whom are members of the Central Committee, two of them already dead in prison. The second betrayal followed in August 1931, in which five comrades, one of them a C. C. member, were arrested. There were also several individual arrests made this year.

But this time the loss to us is infinitely greater. Now nearly the whole C. C. (except for two worker-comrades) has been put in prison and you can well imagine the consequences.

Bourgeoisie Jubilant

The arrest of comrade Chen has called forth, both in the imperialist and in the Chinese bourgeois press a satisfaction and a wild joy. The Shanghai Times speaks of him as "the father of Communism in China". The Chinese bourgeois press speaks of his arrest as "the most important case since the drive against Communism started". Thus, in spite of the slanders of the Stalinists, in spite of the numerous arrests of Communists, the capitalist press still regards the arrest of comrade Chen as the most important one since 1927.

The Chinese Communist Party is depicted. Nobody, not even in the party ranks, knows the party leader or leaders. Several months ago, I learned that

Stalinist crime in this case lies in the fact that they are not only surrendering our noted revolutionist to the Kuo Min Tang assassins without joining in our protest, but are actually covering up the black butchers by disseminating the malicious lie that comrade Chen has been sent under military escort to... "interview Chiang Kai-Shek". No conscientious revolutionist can remain silent in the face of this horrible piece of Stalinist police work. Raise your voice in protest and demand that the party and the I. L. D. act to remove the stain they have cast on the Communist movement!—Ed.

the general secretary of the party is a youth named C. whom I knew well. He is of student origin, sent to Moscow at the end of 1926 to study as a member of the Y. C. I. First as student and then as interpreter, he remained in Moscow until 1929 or 1930, joined the party there and in 1932 he becomes the general secretary of a party which claims hundreds of thousands of members. There is nothing strange in it; he attained the post simply because he is the puppet of the Stalinist specialist on China, Miff. The party's old leaders have either gone into the "Soviet and Red Army districts", occupying posts as "people's commissars" there, or have simply been removed from responsible work, like Strakhov, or have been expelled from the party. The party is physically exterminated under the "leadership" of such Moscow students who are only capable of obeying and transmitting instructions from the Comintern to the lower organizations, and of carrying on intrigues against their adversaries. Thus, a comrade in the high leading party organs once told me that the members of the Political Bureau show absolutely no initiative in the work, but only do what they are ordered. One of our own comrades from Hongkong, who just came out of prison, told me the following: in prison he met a responsible party worker who informed him that in Canton there are not even Communist elements, and in Hongkong there are only two party nuclei which consist exclusively of functionaries sent from the outside by the party. Communist ideas not only cease to penetrate into the masses but they even lose their hold on the old party members. Some vie with each other in delivering their own comrades to the police: Kuo Min Tang to receive jobs there.

Chiang's "Blue Shirts"

Meanwhile, Chiang Kai-Shek has found a new orientation for his policies. He no longer feels able to control the heterogeneous K. M. T. effectively and has therefore organized a Fascist organization for himself, the so-called "Blue Shirts Association". In actuality, the

(Continued on page 3)

Marchers Advance To Demand Relief

Broad, Militant Movement Can Win for Unemployed

Delegates of the national unemployed hunger march are converging upon Washington to demonstrate at the opening of the coming short session of Congress. They are going to demonstrate to give a great emphasis to the need for working class relief. They are the advance guard in a struggle which, of necessity, must develop into much larger proportions. Every ounce of working class energy should therefore be thrown into the scale to support this demonstration.

These hunger marchers represent something very real regardless of their present limited credentials. They represent millions of workers thrown onto the social scrap heap by a protracted and growing unemployment crisis. No security whatever for these millions has so far been provided by those who, today, rule us all. On the contrary, the changing economic structure of the country works in the opposite direction. Today, decaying capitalism throughout the world, transforms millions of workers into hungry, homeless tramps. And it is an important sign for the future when especially in the United States a section of them clearly show that they chose not to submit, but prefer the road of fighting resistance. In this sense the hunger march is a great harbinger of the future. But so far it represents directly only the militant working class section.

In a small measure the hunger march is another test to decide the future direction of working class struggle. Reform or revolution. This test will have an influence on the coming decision which the class must make. But it is also a test of policy which, in the end, will determine our success and victory. It is not the revolutionists alone who are recorded in favor of unemployment relief. The distinction between the reformists and revolutionists cannot be made that way, as the official party leaders have so often attempted to do; nor in the amount of dollars and cents demanded for relief, as they have also done. The reformist leaders of the Socialist party long ago, began speaking for the needs of the unemployed, for relief, for a measure of security through unemployment insurance. Now even the A. F. of L. leaders speak in favor of a system of unemployment insurance. But actual struggle

for its attainment is the test of the sincerity of these proposals. There has not been one step taken or proposed by the Socialist party leaders, nor, of course, by the A. F. of L. hierarchy, to obtain this mere reform measure. These elements are bitterly hostile to hunger marches and to any fighting demonstration for relief. Is not this the surest proof of their game of deception?

Actual relief can be won only by a determined fight against the opposition of the capitalist rulers, and we are here confining ourselves solely to the question of amelioration of unemployment, and not speaking at all of its solution. In this determined fight the national hunger march plays its important part. Moreover, when correctly pursued it can, in a measure, become one of the stepping stones toward reaching the revolutionary solution of the unemployment problem.

But to have any significance at all in this respect and to really play an important part in the struggle for relief such hunger marches must become an expression of the working mass as a whole, not merely of one small section. The workers under social reformist influence should be drawn in. The workers of the A. F. of L. and all unions should be drawn in. Most certainly the success of efforts in that direction will determine the success in getting relief for the class as a whole. This was very clearly demonstrated in Chicago where the official Communist party, despite its present false views of the united front policy attained a great temporary success.

It is pertinent to ask: are the Socialist party leaders, are the A. F. of L. leaders to be allowed to record themselves formally in favor of relief without being formally, in reality and in every other respect, put to the test in the struggle which is necessary to obtain relief? The official party has nothing to gain from confining the unemployment demonstrations to the section of the working class which it influences or controls. On the contrary, it must take the opposite road. The way to do that is through the united front policy which brings the workers' organizations together, with their leaders, or in spite of their leaders, in unity of action for specific objectives.

—A. S.

Stalinists Make Right About Face in Chicago Unemployed United Front

The recent united front conference held in Chicago to fight the 50 percent reduction in unemployed relief instituted by the city authorities, was a striking vindication of the policy of the International Left Opposition and its American section on the united front. What lends this fact such importance is that for the first time in many years in Chicago, a genuine united front of working class organizations was constituted in the struggle on a specific issue affecting all workers. The organizing committee that initiated the conference was composed, strange as it may seem, of the Unemployed Citizens dominated by the Communist party, the Chicago Committee on Unemployment, controlled by the Socialist party, and the Workers League, representative of the split-off section of the Proletarian party.

That the whole incident is regarded with utmost seriousness by our party is illustrated by the fact that the columns of the Daily Worker contained lengthy reports of the conference, the demonstration, and topped this off by publishing a page article by Bill Gebert on the "Lessons of Victory of Chicago Unemployed."

The Socialist party similarly engaged in such an inner discussion. To understand this heated discussion, we will endeavor to examine the conference, the demonstration and the post conference period.

Birth of the Movement
Without a doubt the birth of the conference was due entirely to the pressure of the rank and file elements in all three unemployment organizations. We shall not here take part in the discussion as to who were the prime initiators of the conference. The party claims this distinction—the Workers League contests this claim. We let the readers judge upon the examination of the material presented. The unemployed in Chicago have undergone severe suffering during these years of crisis. They have faced police clubs on numerous occasions. At other times they watched their comrades fall by bullets. Starvation and misery was and remains their lot. Those small numbers of workers receiving a measly sum for relief suddenly found this relief cut in half. It was this latest act which caused a fermentation in the ranks of the unemployed and was responsible for the pressure put upon the leadership of all three unemployed organizations, to act. That is the only explanation as to how a united front was organized through the initiative of three organizations, two of which were the Communists and Socialists.

The need for such united front action has existed for a long time. It was not brought about because of the opposition of the Communist party and the Socialist party. The Socialist party refused to participate in united front actions because they did not want to join in struggle with the Communist party, because they fear real struggles of the masses, because their role in the workers movement is in reality to check the militancy of the working class. The party, whose duty it was in the very beginning and at all times to initiate such united front action, was bound hand and foot by its stupid, sectarian policy of the "united front from below". This policy, based on the false conception of social Fascism, which ascribed to all other organizations and their membership a "counter-revolutionary" role, resulted in conferences organized by the party which brought to it only party organizations and party members, but no broad masses of non-

(Continued on page 4)

(Continued on page 3)

What Do the Communists Say About Mr. Duranty and Comrade Stalin?

There is no capitalist newspaper correspondent in the world today more authoritative and accurate in reporting the standpoint of the central Stalinist leadership than Mr. Walter Duranty, the highest paid foreign correspondent in the world, stationed in Moscow for years. What he writes about Russia in the conventional language of the bourgeois press is a faithful copy of what is generally left half-said or unsaid by the decisive Stalin staff.

We have pointed this out on many occasions in these columns and it has become a commonplace in the radical movement. The only ones who still deny it formally (and always with that hollow ferocity which convenience rather than conviction dictates), are the editors of the Daily Worker. The division of labor still operative in the Stalinist machine does not permit them to acknowledge what is apparent to a child, for to do so would explode too many fictions disseminated by the Centrist school of falsification. The untrustworthiness of the denial, however, is confirmed by the fail-

ure of the local Stalinists to meet our challenge, i. e., to deny that Duranty's dispatches to the New York Times are used as the basis for countless "re-writes" in the Daily Worker office, which finally make their bow as "special correspondence from Moscow." It is quite well known in informed party circles (we know it from personal observation for weeks on end) that the Duranty dispatch of the morning usually re-appear in more "orthodox" language in the following day's issue of the central party organ. If for no other reason, then, the most recent of Duranty's sensational dispatches are of more than ordinary interest to the Communist workers. If you want to know what is really happening in the cabinets of the Kremlin, what is really going on in the minds of Stalin & Co. (not what they say on holiday occasions), pay close attention to the informed reports of Mr. Duranty, which are read with equal avidity by the State Department officials and the members of the Central Committee of our Communist party.

In the Times of December 20, 1932, Duranty, referring to two editorials in Pravda, official organ of the Russian party, which "throw new and interesting light on the Soviet attitude toward foreign labor unrest", remarks:

"The earlier editorial for the first time enunciated clearly what has become known as the Stalinist (Attention, Messrs. Lovestone and Co.—S.) doctrine—that a successful Socialist State can be established in the USSR irrespective of what happens abroad.... The editorial did not specifically disavow socialized Bolshevik propaganda—that would be too much expect (As yet?—S.)—but made it clear that the establishment of a Socialist State in the USSR had replaced propaganda as a means and a purpose of the Kremlin policy...."

As to the second editorial, Duranty writes, "the Kremlin fears the danger of war is now so great in Europe, especially Germany, that even the gains—from the Bolshevik point of view—of a social revolution disappear in comparison

with the danger of war or become actually undesirable because any grave social disturbance at the present juncture might provoke war. No other interpretation of the two Pravda editorials is possible save this strange paradox—that the Bolshevik Kremlin today regards the growth of the revolutionary movement in Europe with real anxiety."

Two days later, Mr. Duranty continues with his instructive revelations, still in the same key: "If peace can be maintained the Soviet government is confident the difficulties will be overcome and that a year or two will bring comparatively smooth sailing (Duranty's translation of Stalin-Molotov-Radek's "classless socialist society"—S.), but a disturbance now would be little short of disastrous. More than any country in the world the Soviet Union today finds peace desirable and almost necessary."

"For this reason a grave revolutionary outbreak in Germany or elsewhere looms

Class Trends in Elections

We return to the election for the purpose of discussing the class motion revealed by the election. We have already dealt with the results on the basis of the partial returns. What we are interested in is the relation of forces below the democratic and republican parties. The relation of reform and revolution and the motion of the working class caused by the prolonged crisis.

Throughout the country and particularly in New York and New York City there has been a tendency of the voters to cross regular party lines. To cut up and down the ballots. To protest against the unbearable conditions. Tammany was hard hit by the protest vote for Hillquit and McKee.

The capitalist papers uphold the opinions of the capitalists, uphold this protest because they desire a reduction of tax and more drastic measures against the workers who menaced their return to "prosperity". The workers, says the capitalists, want a "dole" and a "bonus" and a better living standard—that "cannot" be paid if markets are to be obtained on a lower level of world competition.

The capitalist papers spoke of this protest and cutting across party lines as a return to a "sane vote" of men and women who vote for the "best man". The economic trend has swallowed up the bourgeois "individualism" and this return to voting for the best man gives the capitalists the impression this is a return to their happy past and a relief from the present which is already very unsatisfactory.

This is the bourgeois concept of the problem, but it is incorrect. In reality it is the expression of the capitalists' desires. When party lines of reaction break, the safest thing for the two party system is to talk about voting for the best man. The capitalists will always see that the democratic or republican party, or if necessary the socialist party, will have the "best man", when the beginning process of the motion of the class shifts the workers to the Left, into the stream of class struggle.

The protest vote of the election, the cutting across party lines considering the many forms of disenfranchisement and counting out of the Communist party shows that the motion of the class in the last three years is to the Left. An ideological change in the class is taking place following the economic changes. The capitalists desire to hold the working class into safe channels is well served by the best man theory.

The ideological hold reaction had upon the workers has been shaken. Large layers of our class have cut themselves loose. They are grouping for a way out. The molecular process has started. The crystallizing pole of reaction has lost its power. The political lag of the class is being narrowed by the present events.

Roosevelt, the "best man" was a suitable net to hold in check the bulk of the discontent. It has slowed the process to the left but has not stopped the process and the centrifugal force away from reaction. So far, the new crystallizing poles of reform and revolution have not been able to pull the main whirling class motion itself. However, one thing can be said at this stage—that there will be a bitter fight between reform and revolution for the lead in transforming the centrifugal force of the class away from reaction to centripetal forces for reform and revolution. Which of the two poles, reform or revolution, will obtain the decisive lead in the coming period will to the greatest degree depend upon the Communist party, its program and tactics in the class struggle.

It is not a two cornered fight between reform and revolution, with the factions and divisions within each camp as well as between these two camps. Reaction

still has a word. More than once, in the their hold upon the masses. But more than once they have been able to transform this centrifugal force into centripetal force, subjecting the American worker ideologically to new bonds. And in this problem of regaining lost ground, the economic factors were not the only factors favoring the capitalists. The inability of the revolutionist to pose the question and answer it by Marxism, in theory and practice has done its share to help the capitalists.

In 1912 "Teddy" Roosevelt's "revolt" was able to prevent the molecular process of our class motion from moving to the next stage, to crystallizing channels. The war played its role and then in 1924 La Follette and the "Independent political actionists" repeated this service for the capitalists. F. D. Roosevelt plays his part today, as the "best man". In this latter period, after the war the American Communist were taking steps forward, but with the warped concept of Farmer-Labor party and slogan of a Labor party we helped reformism build a wall between the molecular motion of the class to the left and its crystallization into the camp of revolution.

Today the opportunist platform of 1932 of the Communist party repeats this in a different form.

This time reaction will not have such a favorable opportunity. Economics has moved ahead and does not favor the capitalists in the relation of class forces. The contradictions are far too great. The center of the axis is moving to the

left and the educated capitalists know that a regrouping and stop gap at the point of reform is a thousand times better than a crystallizing point at revolution and class struggle.

The Stalinists inability to understand the relation of reform to revolution in the American link of the world capitalist chain, although playing into the hands of reaction, nevertheless is not sufficient for the capitalists to readjust their forces on the same central axis. The driving forces of the economic contradictions are greater than the blunders of Stalinism. However, the Stalinists blunders does not enable us to make a clean sweep from reaction to revolution, rather, it helps the reformers hold these workers between reaction and revolution.

In order to take advantage of the centrifugal forces within the camp of reaction and obtain this motion around our orbit we must have a Marxian program and tactics. Living on the heritage of the October revolution has its power but in the long run cannot replace a Marxian program. If we do not correct these Stalinist blunders, in theory and practice, in time the quantity gain of the reformers and the socialist will transform to "quality" for reaction. If we do correct these mistakes a quantity and QUALITY gain for the Communists will drag with it a quantity gain for the reformers but not a quality gain.

The next election like the present election will merely raise the curtain to show how successfully we have been in the task of exposing the enemy and building our own structure. The present election does not speak so well for the Communists. It speaks better for social reformism.

The Arrest of Comrade Chen

(Continued from page 1)

K. M. T. is a Fascist party in its relation to the workers and poor peasants. But Chiang no longer trusts the K. M. T. and is compelled to lead an independent political existence. This is symptomatic of the fact that the K. M. T. is in the process of disintegration. Therefore the edge of the "Blue Shirts Association" is directed more against Chiang's political opponents inside the K. M. T. This association has its "blood and iron groups" in Nanking, Hankow and Shanghai, to initiate the "movement of extermination of opponents" or the "blue terror". They make secret arrests and assassinations. The cadres for this "blue" movement, Chiang Kai-Shek draws from two sources: (1) the former Whampoo cadets; (2) the students from Moscow. Chiang Kai-Shek often gives high pay to those renegades and Moscow students. He often puts the question to them: How did Stalin eliminate Trotsky? His press openly advocates that he should apply the same methods to his political adversaries as Stalin did to Trotsky, or Mussolini to Nitti. There are now more than 300 Moscow students in Chiang's service. They are fighting for the non-capitalist development of China and the land to the peasants. Of course, not only Chiang Kai-Shek but other groups of the K. M. T.—under one cover or another, social democracy, peasants' and workers' party, etc.—draw recruits from the renegades from Communism. Owing to the absence of mass movement, these attempts have not come out into the open but group themselves around various magazines.

The entry of these renegades into the K. M. T. is the outcome of the Stalinist school of education. The Stalinist school suppresses free speech and free thinking, obligates the students to memorize the Marxian-Leninist catechisms mechanically, without understanding their inner connections, without remodeling the mind, only disorients the best elements in our own ranks, facilitates it for

alien elements to adopt protective colors, and at the decisive moment,—they turn against us. The Stalinist school does not educate the new generation from the point of view of Communism, i. e., of permanent revolution, but from the point of view of vulgar democracy, i. e., class collaboration. Stalin's policy is always directed towards weakening the position of the C. P. and strengthening that of the enemy. It is disastrous indeed that during the revolutionary ascent, the Chinese party as a whole was put at the disposal of the K. M. T. and during the counter-revolutionary triumph, a part of its forces serve the K. M. T. as traitors. Re-education is needed to turn us into genuine Communist but under the blows of reaction and the prejudices sown for years, this is an extremely difficult task, which accounts for the slow progress the Chinese Opposition has been making.

Chen's Record of Struggle

Comrade Chen has been the most prominent figure in the Chinese revolutionary movement for the last fifteen years. Born in 1879 of a rich Mandarin family, he carried on revolutionary activities from the time of his youth, mainly in the literary field, as the editor of newspapers and teacher of middle schools. He was abroad in Japan several times. At that time the revolution was directed at the Manchu dynasty, and it was national and democratic. The revolution of 1911 ended in a failure, in the setting up of the military dictatorship of Yuan Shi Kai and then Tuan Chi Jui. The former capitulated before Japanese imperialism on the "21 demands"; the latter was a notorious puppet of Japan.

Comrade Chen, in distinction from the quasi-revolutionists of that time, of the Sun Yat Sen type who aimed to overthrow Yuan Shi Kai and Tuan Chi Jui by military adventures, set himself the task of winning the youth by devoting himself to propaganda work. He founded the monthly called "La Juensee" (The Youth), which played a most im-

portant role in the history of Chinese culture and social movement. In the name of science and democracy, he waged a merciless war against the teachings of Confucius which, as a tradition for 3,000 years, hindered the development of revolutionary thought among the youth. "La Juensee" also contributed to the reform of the Chinese language, to replace the old dead language in literary composition by the spoken language; this had the same significance as the replacement of Latin by the vernacular languages in Europe in the 16th century. Since then, writing is no longer for a small number of scholars but rather for the masses. This period (1916-1919) called the period of "ideological revolution and literary revolution" paved the way for the development of the mass movement, beginning with the anti-Japanese student demonstration on May 4, 1919. During this period, comrade Chen, as dean of the Literature Department of the Peking University, was forced to resign because his literary activities aroused strong opposition among the conservative circles, just as they aroused the mass movement and revolutionized the mind of the youth.

It is characteristic that the Kuo Min Tang, at the head of which stood Sun Yat Sen, even at that time looked upon the ideological and literary revolution with suspicion, met it half-way, and followed it when it became popular. Needless to say, the K. M. T. government tries every means today to restore the dignity of Confucianism and to spread the use of dead language in writing.

At the height of the student anti-Japanese movement, comrade Chen, a former professor but an ardent revolutionist, wrote a leaflet denouncing the treacherous Tuan Chi Jui government and he—the only one to do so—distributed the leaflets in the streets of Peking in order to direct the movement against its internal foe. He was thereupon arrested and put in prison for several months. After his release, he went to Shanghai and

wide variety of organizations and workers who resented any effort on the part of the party to unseat us.

The Conference had hardly convened when difficulties arose. This was to be expected. A gathering composed of so many conflicting organizations and political movements could not but go through deep antagonism and struggle. What was clear from the outset was the development of a Left wing group under the leadership of the Communist party and a Right wing group headed by the Socialists. The Left wing was in the great majority. But from the very beginning the party made the error of desiring to "capture" the conference, although it was quite clear that by virtue of numbers alone the Left wing dominated the conference. The election of a chairman brought the conference into its first crisis. Having previously agreed upon Karl Lochner, representing the Unemployed Councils, as secretary, the organizing committee referred the election of the chairman to the floor of the conference. The non-party elements proposed the election of a temporary chairman until such a time as the credential committee reported on the number of delegates. The party insisted upon a permanent chairman from the outset, and for whom everybody present at the conference, whether delegate or not, supporting the party, cast a ballot during the first vote. The farce was too obvious and upon protests from various delegates a revote out the number of "delegates" in half. Even then the Left wing vote was in a majority.

The call for the conference signed by the three organizations met with a huge response everywhere. The masses reacted as never before, and the conference bore testimony of this fact. 750 delegates representing 350 organizations made up the conference. Included in the conference were over 40 church organizations composed entirely of unemployed workers, the Farmer-Labor Party, the A. F. of L., fraternal organizations, the T. U. L. Upon the invitation of the Workers League, the Chicago branch of the Communist League sent two delegates who were seated, quite obviously only because of the presence of such a

The conference organized itself. Discussion opened. With a party member in the chair, the efforts of our comrade Edwards to take the floor were thwarted almost until the adjournment. The party was prepared to prevent our comrade from speaking and presenting our point of view to the conference.

In the main the position of the Left wing was correct at the conference. It was correct for them to warn the workers against betrayals, against vacillation and to urge a militant struggle. But when John Williamson, while speaking continued to declare that this united front conference, which included not only workers, but their organizations and their leaders, was a "united front from below" it marked a shame-faced attempt of the party to maintain its previous stupid position on the united front in the midst of a right-about change toward the correct position. In the presence of this great number of delegates, Williamson declared that "we do not unite with leaders, we unite only with the workers" while seated around one table were Lochner and Weber (the District Organizer of the Party), Karl Borders, representing the Socialist party, and Dixon from the Workers League.

The Demonstration

The organization of the demonstration brought out the sharpest differences in the conference. The party was absolutely in the right when they insisted upon drawing the political lessons of this protest. And they were right when they insisted upon carrying banners for Foster and Ford. Had the party agreed to march without carrying banners in support of their presidential candidates, or in presenting political slogans, that would have marked a capitulation to the Right wing and the reactionaries. The issue as to the degree that the party wished to give the demonstration a political character, has no real bearing on the discussion. But that it was absolutely correct for the party to insist upon this point is indisputable. And here we must declare that the Workers League in lending their support to the Socialist party, which opposed any political conclusions to be drawn from the whole situation, capitulated before the Right wing and themselves became party to the splitting tactics of Borders and the Socialist party. In turn the party introduced once again its petty Stalinist methods by proposing in the executive committee, that the conference return the money donation made by the Left Opposition because the "Trotskyists are a counter-revolutionary organization".

In spite of a dreaching rain, the day of the demonstration brought out between 35,000 and 50,000 workers. The demonstration was militant in character and displayed the immense possibilities inherent in the situation. Quite naturally, the party dominated the march because of its militancy, if by nothing else. The workers present recognized that only the Communists could give leadership to them in their struggles. Without doubt the party gained considerably in prestige during the demonstration.

But what is of greater importance is to draw the lessons of the united front. First of all it must be established that the party made a right-about face on the question of the united front, notwithstanding the fact that it was brought about primarily because of the pressure of the unemployed workers, and in spite of its conflict with the official party position which heretofore opposed such movements.

The Opposition marched with its own banners containing the slogans: Immediate Relief for all Unemployed; Six Hour Day and Five Day Week with No Reduction in Pay; For Social Insurance, The Extension of Long Term Credits to and the Recognition of the Soviet Union. (To be continued)

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

JAPAN

Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat

By Jack Weber

Japan in Manchuria

Manchuria is twice the size of Japan proper but it has one-half the population. In resources it resembles closely Canada with its wide prairies, suitable for the growing of wheat and other grains. Only one-half the arable land of Manchuria is under cultivation and yet Manchuria is already the great food granary of the East. Its cattle, timber, minerals are vastly important to Japan's economy. For this reason 77 p. c. of the total Japanese capital invested in China, is invested in Manchuria. The South Manchuria Railway and its allied concerns absorb 54 p. c. of the Manchurian investment. Its control of the economic life of Manchuria is undisputed.

In any conflict between Japan and any other power—the U. S. or Soviet Russia—Manchuria and its control would prove vital to Japanese defense. But it is also the base for further Japanese aggression. Once her power in Manchuria is consolidated, she would then penetrate into Inner and Outer Mongolia, and into the Far Eastern regions of the U. S. S. R. With utmost care, the Japanese generals are preparing for the conflict they see as inevitable with Soviet Russia. They have utilized the present crisis, when America and England are occupied with their internal woes, and when the Soviet Union is completely absorbed in its Five Year Plan, to take the first preparatory steps. Not an unimportant part was played in this decision by the growing Chinese immigration to Manchuria. In his 1927 document Premier Tanaka stated: "The num-

ber of Chinese grows so rapidly in South Manchuria that our political and economic interests sustain losses. We are compelled in the circumstances to take aggressive measures in North Manchuria in order to safeguard our prosperity in the future. But if the Chinese-Eastern Railway, belonging to Soviet Russia, develops in this district, then our new continental policy will receive a blow which will inevitably bring about conflict with Soviet Russia in the near future.—The Chinese-Eastern Railway will become ours and we shall seize Kirin just as we seized Dairen. It seems that the inevitability of crossing swords with Russia on the fields of Mongolia in order to gain possession of the wealth of North Manchuria is part of our program of national development."

Strategic Railways

Japan's feverish activities in Manchuria center about the building of three important railways, important strategically and economically. These railways are designed to permit quick concentration of troops in Manchuria as well as effective mobility in warfare. The plans for these roads were made years before the actual invasion of Manchuria. They are designed to undermine economically the Chinese-Eastern railway and to facilitate the immigration of Koreans into Manchuria. How these Koreans are to be used as tools is made abundantly clear by Tanaka: "If the Koreans come to this district we must offer them financial support through our trust societies and other financial organizations. These organizations must have property rights,

and the Koreans will be limited to the right to work upon the land. Formally, however, the Koreans must have property rights.... Thus we shall, unnoticed, gain the control of the best rice plantations which our immigrants, i. e., the Japanese, must receive. They will be able to displace the Koreans, who in their turn, will seek new lands which, in the future, will also come into the hands of our people."

What of the Chinese Revolution?

The Japanese can succeed in their blood and iron policy aside from the jealous intervention of the other imperialists, only when the Chinese revolution fails utterly, that is, if the Chinese workers fail to take the power in the near future, leading the peasantry in revolt. The repercussions of such a revolution on the Japanese workers and peasants would, under present conditions, be instantaneous and profound. This problem will require our attention in a later article.

Japan and the U. S.

In its policy of imperialist expansion Japan has come into direct conflict time and again with all the other imperialist powers. But particularly is this the case with respect to the U. S. since the Russo-Jap War. Today the question of war between these two imperialist states is openly discussed in the press of the entire world. The problem of imperialist war is frequently posed by Communists in such a manner as to posit a race between the outbreak of this U. S.-Jap war and war against the Soviet Union. The Stalinist method of approaching the problem of defending the Soviet Union, taking into account this imperialist rivalry (properly so!) has led however to such incorrect and dangerous expedients as that of having the U. S. Communist party demonstrate before the Japanese consulates with the demand for expulsion of the Japanese representatives. Such a method of approach is best calculated to mislead the working class.

The population of Japan, static for

the two hundred years preceding the Restoration, has doubled during the last sixty-five years. The birth rate of Japan is so extremely high that despite the high death rate there is an annual increase of population of 750,000. Of this number less than 10 percent have been annually absorbed into industry, leaving the remainder to find a place ultimately in an agricultural economy already overburdened under the present system and unable to provide food for the people of Japan. The Japanese government has been forced to approve, tacitly, of measures for birth control and to encourage emigration. Those who emigrate, particularly to Brazil and other South American countries are given 300 yen, providing they agree to renounce their citizenship and not to return to Japan. But these measures have not helped. Nor has there been much of a movement to colonize Manchuria where the climate is too rigorous and the food too different from that to which the Japs are accustomed. The Japs prefer warmer lands where rice is readily grown. Hence their great interest in the 7,000 islands making up the Archipelago of which the Philippines form a part, sparsely populated compared to Japan itself. The Japanese government has designs also on the thousands of islands (five times the area of Japan) in the East Indian Archipelago.

The Philippines

These islands, seized by the United States at the same time that China was being threatened with partition among the European powers in 1898, form the first obstacle to Japan's "place in the sun". The islands contain iron ores but no coal, these ores now forming one source of supply for Japan. The United States is interested in exploiting the Philippines for the production of rubber, so as to break the irritating monopoly of the British and Dutch. Furthermore, the Philippines form the outpost for U. S. imperialism in the Far East.

(To Be Continued)

After the defeat of the Chinese revolution, comrade Chen declined the repeated invitations to go to Moscow, knowing that he had nothing to learn from the epigones. Only in 1929 did he begin to make the acquaintance of comrade Trotsky's writings on the Chinese revolution and he convinced himself of the correctness of the Opposition. Owing to such convictions and his refusal to fight against "Trotskyism", he was expelled from the party in the Fall of 1929. Since then he became the leader first of one of the factions and then of the united Opposition. He contributed all his energy, his time and his means (modest though they were), that is, all that he possesses, to the movement. The K. M. T. government put up a high reward for his arrest, but he lived in the workers' district of Shanghai, attended many meetings and directed the work, wrote articles and appeals and even supervised the technical work. In recent months, he was seriously ill, confined to bed.

A Heavy Blow

The K. M. T. has finally achieved its aim, utilizing the traitor in our ranks. He has been transferred to Nanking, and we do not know what fate is to befall him in the end. The K. M. T. government is not lacking in its desire for revenge. It is out of the question that the masses will speak, because they are in an amorphous state. But there are many influential intellectuals, scholars, professors and journalists who, in view of his past services to Chinese culture, to the revolution, and because of his emigration, urge leniency towards comrade Chen. There are slanders being deliberately spread against him by the KMT as if he had requested to see Chiang Kai-Shek. The first to "believe" such rumors are the Stalinists.

Comrade Chen's revolutionary and literary activities for the last 15 years reflect his epoch with both its strong and weak sides. It was the period of the national awakening of the petty bourgeois students and the young proletariat, and many currents of socialist and revolutionary thought of the post-war epoch found their way into China. Events developed too rapidly to allow political fighters a systematic and serious study

In the midst of these cross currents, Comrade Chen developed to Communism in a series of stages, therefore with some inconsistencies. Being limited by the fact that he knows only the Japanese language (he knows English poorly), he was hampered in obtaining a thorough Marxian education. He had to lead the Chinese revolution at the time when the Comintern leadership had already passed into the hands of the epigones. His development was not supplemented and assisted in due time. He is characteristic of the constant striving for progress but the remnants of old thought also weigh upon him. At a time when the Opposition urgently needs his leadership and his political experience, when his defects might be overcome under comrade Trotsky, he has been snatched away from our midst by the KMT government—the greatest loss sustained by us in the last two years.

—NIEL-SIH.

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STALINISTS TAKE MEASURES

The Expulsion of Zinoviev

The Lessons of the Second Expulsion of the Capitulators

ZINOVIEV—Now the situation has changed at the root. True, the newspaper articles explaining the expulsion proclaim that because we have grown economically extremely strong, and because the party has become a soundly monolithic, therefore we cannot tolerate "the slightest conciliatory spirit." But in this explanation the white threads that baste it together, stick out all too clumsily in open view. The necessity for the expulsion of Zinoviev and Kamenev, for an obviously detestable reason, testifies quite on the contrary to the extreme weakening of Stalin and his faction. Zinoviev and Kamenev had to be liquidated post haste not because of a change in their behavior but because of a change in the background. Riutin's group, independently of its actual activity, is dragged along, in the given instance, in order to garnish the service. In the foreknowledge of the fact that they may be soon brought to account, the Stalinists are "taking measures."

In general, one cannot deny the fact that the judicial combination of the rights, who inspired Stalin's policies in 1923-1928, of two actual or supposed former "Trotskyists" and of Zinoviev and Kamenev, guilty of knowing but not informing—that this, to repeat, is a product entirely worthy of the political creativeness of Stalin, Yaroslavsky and Lagoda. A succinct amalgam of the Thermidorian type! The goal of the combination consists in mixing up the cards, disorienting the party, increasing the ideological confusion and thus hindering the workers from making out what's what, and muzzling the way out. The supplementary task consists in politically lowering Zinoviev and Kamenev, former leaders of the Left Opposition, now being expelled for "unity" toward the Right Opposition.

Zinoviev's Game with History

Inevitably a question arises, how is it that old Bolsheviks, men who are wise and experienced in politics, gave their opponent an opportunity to deal them such a blow? How could they, who renounced their own platform for the sake of remaining in the party, when all is said and done, fly out of the party because of a fictitious connection with a platform foreign to them? One must perforce reply that this result also did not come about accidentally. Zinoviev and Kamenev tried to play tricks with history. Of course, they were motivated, first of all, by solicitude for the Soviet Union, for the unity of the party, and not at all for their personal welfare. But they posed their tasks not on the plane of the Russian and World revolution but on a much lower plane of the Soviet bureaucracy.

In those most difficult hours for them, on the eve of capitalism, they adjoined us, then their allies, "to meet the party half-way." We replied that we were prepared to meet the party all the way, but in another and a higher sense than was required by Stalin and Yaroslavsky. But was that not a split? Was that not a threat of civil war and of the downfall of the Soviet power?—We replied, if it did not encounter our opposition, Stalin's policies would inevitably doom the Soviet power to ruin. And this is the idea that is expressed in our platform. What conquers are principles. Capitulation can never be victorious. We shall do everything in our power so that the struggle for principles be led in consonance with and after consideration of the entire situation, both domestic and foreign. But it is impossible to foresee all the variations of development. Nevertheless it is absurd and criminal to play hide and seek with revolution, to use trickery in dealing with classes and diplomacy with history. In such complex and responsible situations one must be guided by a rule so excellently expressed by the French in the proverb, *Fais ce que dois, advienne que pourra!* Perform your duty, let come what may!

Zinoviev and Kamenev have fallen the victims because they did not keep to this rule.

If one leaves aside the absolutely demoralized part of the capitulators of the type of Radek and Platakov, who, as journalists or functionaries, will continue to serve every victorious faction (under the pretext of serving socialism), then the capitulators taken as a political group, represent in themselves moderate intra-party "liberals" who, at a given moment, rushed too far to the Left (or to the Right) and who subsequently took to the road of coming to terms with the ruling bureaucracy. But the present day is characterized by the fact that this conciliation, which appeared so final, has begun to crack and to explode, and thence in an extremely acute form. The tremendous symptomatic significance of the expulsion of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Uglanov and the others originates in the fact that in the new clashes at the "tops" there are reflected the profound surges in the masses.

The Basis Under the Capitulations

What political prerequisites were there that conditioned the period of capitulations in 1929-1930? They were: the bureaucratic turn of the helm to the Left; the successes of the industrialization; the quick growth of collectivization. The five year plan absorbed the working masses. A great perspective was opened up. The workers were reconciled to the loss of political independence in expectation of near and decisive, socialist successes. The peasant poor awaited from the collectives a change in their future. The standard of living of the lowest layers of the peasantry rose higher; it is true, to a considerable measure, at the expense of the basic funds of rural economy. Such

were the economic prerequisites and the political atmosphere of the epidemic of capitulation.

The growth of economic disproportions, the aggravation in the situation of the masses, the growth of dissatisfaction of the workers as well as of the peasants, confusion in the apparatus itself—these are the prerequisites for the revival of all, and of every kind of Opposition. The sharpness of contradictions and the intensity of alarm in the party push ever more onto the road of protest the moderate, cautious and always-ready-for-compromise, party "liberals." Driven into a blind alley the bureaucracy immediately replies with repressions, in a large measure preventive.

We do not as yet hear the voice of the Left Opposition in the open. Small wonder! Those same bourgeois papers that relate about the favors presumably in store for Rykov and Bukharin, simultaneously report "new mass arrests among the Trotskyists." The Left Opposition in the USSR was subjected in the course of a number of years to such fearful police persecution, its cadres were placed in such exceptional conditions that it is infinitely more difficult for it than for the legal "liberals" openly to formulate its opposition and to intervene organizationally into the developing events. By the way, the history of bourgeois revolutions reminds us that in their struggle against autocracy, the liberals, utilizing their legal prerogatives, always came out first in the name of the "people"; only the struggle between the liberal bourgeoisie and the bureaucracy cleared the way for the proletarian. Of course what is concerned here is merely a matter of historical analogy; but we still think that it does explain something.

The resolution of the September plenum of the C. E. C. boasts out of time and out of place that having crushed counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, having exposed the anti-Leninist kulak essence of the Right opportunists, the party... has attained at the present time decisive successes.... The nearest future, one should expect, will make clear that the Left and the Right Opposition are not only neither crushed nor annihilated but, on the contrary, that they alone exist politically. It was precisely the official policies of the last three or four years that prepared the conditions for a new

upsurge of the Right-Thermidorian tendencies. The striving of the Stalinists to lump into a single pile the Lefts and the Rights is facilitated to some measure by the fact that the Lefts and the Rights speak of a retreat for the time given. This is inevitable: the exigent need of a regulated retreat from the line of adventurist leap ahead has become the vital task of the proletarian state. The Centrist bureaucrats themselves dream of nothing else but the possibility of retreating in order, and without losing face completely, yet they cannot but recognize that a retreat in the face of the need for foodstuffs and for all other things may cost them all too dearly. For this reason they are retreating by stealth and by accusing the opposition of tendencies toward retreat.

The actual political danger consists in the fact that the Rights are a faction of permanent retreat and that they have now been given the opportunity to claim, "we have always demanded this." The twilight in which the party lives does not allow the workers to make out quickly the dialectics of economic processes and to appraise correctly the limited, temporary and conjunctural "correctness" of the Rights, along with the erroneous of their fundamental position.

The Importance of Our Policy

All the more important, therefore, becomes the clear, independent, and looking to the far future, policy of the Bolshevik-Leninists. Follow carefully all the processes in the country and within the party! Appraise correctly different groupings according to their ideas and the social ties! Do not become frightened at isolated tactical coincidences with the Rights! Do not forget, because of tactical coincidences, the antagonism of the strategic lines!

The political differentiation in the Soviet proletariat will occur along the line of the following questions:—How to retreat? What are the limits of the retreat? When and how to pass over to a new offensive? What should be the tempos of the offensive? No matter how important these questions are in themselves, they alone do not suffice. We are not building policies for one country. The fate of the Soviet Union will be resolved in an indissoluble jointure with the world development. It is necessary to place again before the Russian workers the problems of world Communism in their full scope.

Only the independent emergence of the Left Opposition and the joining together of the basic proletarian kernel under its banner can resurrect the party, the Workers' State and the Communist International.

Prinkipo, October, 1932.

—L. T.

LEON TROTSKY

Soviet Economy in Danger

(Continued from last issue)

The administrative hue and cry after quantity leads to a frightful lowering of quality; low quality undermines on the next stage the struggle for quantity; the ultimate cost of economically irrational "successes" surpasses as a rule many times the value of these same successes. Every advanced worker is acquainted with this dialectic not through the books of the Communist academy (alas! more inferior goods) but in practice, through experience in their own mine-shifts, factories, railroads, fuel stations, etc.

The consequences of the frenzied chase have permeated in all their entirety the sphere of education. Pravda is compelled to admit that, "by lowering the quality of preparation, by skipping scientific subjects, or by passing over them at 'cavalry trot,' the VTUZL (Highest Technological Educational Institutions) (that took this path instead of aiding industry, injured it." But, indeed, who is responsible for the "cavalry trot" in the highest educational institutions?

If we were to introduce a corrective coefficient for quality into the official data, then the indices of the fulfillment of the plan would immediately suffer substantial drops. Even Kuybishev was forced to admit this more than a year ago. "The figures relating to the tremendous growth of industry become relative," he announced cautiously at the session of Supreme Soviet Economic Council, "if one takes into account the variations in quality." Rakovsky expressed himself much more lucidly, "If one does not take into account the quality of production then the quantitative indices represent in themselves a statistical fiction."

Capital Construction

More than two years ago, Rakovsky warned that the scope of the plan was beyond the available resources. "Neither the scale of the growth of production specified by the plan," he wrote, "nor the specified plan of capital construction were prepared for... The entire preceding policy in the sphere of industry reduced itself in reality to the forced exploitation of old fixed capital... without the slightest concern for the future." The attempt to compensate for lapses by a single leap ahead is least realistic in the sphere of capital construction. The resources necessary for the fulfillment of the plan "do not obtain in the country, and will not obtain in the nearest future." Hence the warning: "the plan of the capital construction will be broken

down in a considerable measure." And this prediction also has been completely substantiated. In the sphere of construction the lag was extremely great as early as 1931. It has grown still more in the current year. The transport construction program for 9 months was fulfilled 38 percent according to the estimates of the department itself. In other branches the matters relating to construction are as a general rule even less favorable; and worst of all is the sphere of housing construction. The material and monetary resources are divided between altogether too many constructions which leads to the low effectiveness of the investment.

Sixty-five million roubles were expended on the Baidashalsky copper factory, the expenses continue to grow from day to day—factually all for nothing! in order to continue work it was necessary to transport in the course of a year 300 thousand tons of freight, whereas the ready transport provides all told only 20 thousand tons. Examples of a similar kind, though not of such clarity, are too many.

The poor quality of materials and of equipment react most cruelly on the capital construction. "Iron for roofing is of such rotten quality," writes Pravda, "that it cracks when once handled."

The shocking lagging behind in the sphere of capital undertakings automatically undermines the foundations of the second five year plan.

Domestic Disproportions and the World Market

The problem of the proportionality of the elements of production and the branches of economy constitutes the very heart of socialist economy. The tortuous roads that lead to the solution of this problem are not charted on any map. To discover them, or more correctly to lay them—this is the work of a lengthy and arduous future.

The entire industry groans from the lack of spare parts. Weavers' looms remain inactive because a bolt is not to be had. "The assortment of articles produced," writes E. J., "in the line of commodities of widespread consumption is haphazard and does not correspond to... the demand."

"One billion roubles has been immobilized, 'frozen' by (heavy) industry, in the course of only the first half of 1932, in the form of stocks of materials, unfinished products and even finished goods in factory warehouses." (For Industrialization,

The Situation on the Eve of the Second 5 Yr. Plan — A Marxian Analysis

September 12, 1932). Such are the expressions in terms of money of certain disproportions and discordances according to the official estimate.

Major and minor disproportions call forth the need of turning to the international market. Imported goods to the value of one chervonetz can bring out of its moribund state home production to the value of hundreds and thousands of chervontz. The general growth of economy, on the one hand, and the sprouting up of new demands and new disproportions, on the other, invariably increase the need of linking up with the world economy. The program of "independence" i. e., of the self-sufficient character of Soviet economy, discloses more and more its reactionary and utopian character. Autarchy—is the ideal of Hitler, and not of Marx, and Lenin.

Thus the import of ore from the inception of the five year plan multiplied five times in volume and four times in value. If within the current year this article of import fell off, it was exclusively on account of the foreign exchange. But on this account the import of factory machinery grew excessively.

Kaganovich in a speech on October 8 asserted that the opposition, Left as well as Right, "proposes to us that we strengthen our dependence upon the capitalist world." As if the matter concerned some artificial and arbitrary step, and not the automatic logic of economic growth!

At the same time the Soviet press cites with praise the interview given by Sokolnikov on the eve of his departure from London. "In England there is increasingly spreading the recognition of the fact that the advanced position of the Soviet state in industry and technology will present in itself a much wider market for the products of British industry." As a sign of the economic progress of the Soviet Union, Sokolnikov considers not the weakening but the strengthening of the ties with the foreign market, and consequently the strengthening of the dependence upon world economy. Is it possible that the former Oppositionist Sokolnikov is trading in "Trotskyist contraband"? But if so, why is he being screened by the official press?

The Position of the Workers

Stalin's speech in July 1931 with its salutary "six conditions" was directed against the low quality of the production, the high basic cost, the migration of laboring forces, the high percentage of waste, etc. From that time on there has not appeared an article without reference to "the historic speech." And in the meantime all these ailments which were to be cured by the six conditions have become aggravated and have assumed a more malignant character.

From day to day the official press bears witness to the downfall of Stalin's prescription. In explanation of the falling off in production Pravda points out: "The decrease in labor power at factories, the growing migration, the weakening of labor discipline" (September 23). In the category of reasons for the extremely low productivity of the Red Ural combine, "For Industrialization", alongside of "the shocking disproportions between the different parts of the combine" lists the following (1) "the enormous migration of labor forces"; (2) "the underhead policy of the working wage" (3) "failure to provide (the millworkers) with some manner of liveable quarters"; (4) "indescribable food for the millworkers"; (5) "the catastrophic falling off of labor discipline." We have quoted word for word. As regards the migration, which "has grown beyond all bounds," this same paper writes, "the living conditions (of the workers) are ghastly in all the enterprises of non-ferrous metallurgy without exception."

In the locomotive factories, which failed to provide the country with about 250 locomotives for the first three-quarters of the year, "there is to be observed an acute insufficiency of qualified workers. More than 2,000 workers in the course of the summer left from the single Kolomoysk factory." The reasons? "Bad living conditions." In the Sormovsk factory—"the factory kitchen is a dive of the worst sort." (For Industrialization, September 28) In the privileged tractor factory in Stalingrad, "the factory kitchen has fallen sharply in its work" (Pravda, September 21). To what a pitch the dissatisfaction of the workers must have risen in order to force these facts into the columns of the Stalinist press!

In the textile industry, naturally, conditions are not better. "In the Ivanovsk district alone," E. L. informs us, "about 35,000 qualified weavers left the enterprises." According to the words of this same paper, there are to be found enterprises in the country in which more than 90 percent of the total force changes every month. "The factory is turning into a thoroughfare."

In explanation of the cruel flop of "the six conditions" there was for a long time a tendency to confine the observations to bald accusations against the management and the workers themselves, "inactivity," "lack of willingness," "resting on their laurels," etc. However, for the last few months the papers more and more often point out, mostly on the sly, the actual core of the evil, the unbearable living conditions of the workers.

Rakovsky pointed out this reason of reasons more than two years ago.... "The reason for the increase in breakdowns, the reason for the falling in labor discipline, the reason for the need to increase the number of workers," he wrote, "lies in the fact that the worker is physically incapable of bearing up under a load that overtaxes his strength."

(To Be Continued)

The 1932 Elections and the American Working Class

The presidential elections have once again rendered devastating proof of the paradox of a politically terribly backward working class in a highly developed industrial country. That is shown on the face of the returns. But it is still necessary to probe a little deeper to enable us to find the trends which are indicative for the future.

Here we have a situation of more than three years of acute economic crisis and yet we have reached no further than the democratic party, one of the very important cogs of the system itself, being able to corral an overwhelming majority on the promise of "a new deal." It is indisputable that the issues of the economic crisis pressed forward, overshadowing everything else in the elections. But the results, insofar as they were expressed in elections, were only the fact that the Republican administration and Hoover received the blame for the crisis and the democratic party marshalled by and large the mighty, but blind protest vote.

Discontent and Radicalization

Are we to conclude from this that there is not as yet any visible radicalization of the American workers or any visible Leftward trend accelerated by the effects of the crisis? Let us say at the outset that we do not at all proceed from the fundamentally false estimates of radicalization made by the official party leadership. With that we have nothing in common. Nevertheless it would be incorrect to conclude that there are not yet tendencies of a Leftward development of the American workers.

No one could fail to notice the enormous discontentment as revealed by the elections, and revealed clearly also in demonstrations outside the elections. But it is still groping. Politically, in the main, it is still harnessed within the traditional channels, flowing from one capitalist party to another. This is the one side of the picture, on the other there is the growth of support enjoyed by the Socialist party. In this instance that does represent a swing away from capitalist allegiances of the past, despite the fact that its historical meaning becomes something else. Also, in actual numbers, there is a growth of the Communist vote in such instances where the official party managed to get on the ballot. A growth, however, which is entirely too insignificant to be commensurate with the opportunities which were at hand. But that is, as has been said before in these columns, particularly due to the failure of the official party leadership to conduct an election campaign in such a manner and to pursue a policy in the day-to-day struggles which will win for the party at least a measure of confidence of the discontented masses.

Above all one must remember the political background of the American working class. The European tradition of independent political action has not yet been established. The American workers, regardless of their many heroic examples of strike struggles, have not yet learned to act as a class in a political sense. That, of course, is expressed also in the parliamentary elections. Hence its blind

protest vote became entirely undistinguishable from the conscious capitalist vote. Hence also the support of the Socialist party and the Communist party is the only material expression of opposition to the capitalist parties, recognizing, however, the limitations of a parliamentary elections in actually registering the working class sentiment. Moreover, when we speak of the support to the Socialist party in this sense, it is particularly important for us to remember that, while this was undoubtedly in the main a working class support, it could be recorded for its ticket also primarily because of the failures of the official Communist party leadership to indicate clearly the revolutionary direction. In this instance the reformists gained at the expense of the revolutionary party. Historically, this can only mean in opposition to the revolutionary party.

But in the United States today the economic basis for an ideological and political regrouping of class forces is already established. American politics will become Europeanized. It would at this moment be difficult to forget that the decisive economic factors which have long ago precluded the bubble of national self-sufficiency are also very strongly expressed in politics. As one small example we might mention the claim made by the various debtor nations, immediately after the elections, to get in on "the new deal." They want a suspension of the present payments due and a general downward revision of debt payments to the United States. This, of course, only testifies to the increasing

role played by American imperialism in world affairs. Its struggle for hegemony, its struggle to supplant the bourgeoisie of the other capitalist nations and simultaneously its efforts to save the whole of the capitalist system from the further extension of the October revolution, will in the main be determining for future political developments at home.

But within the United States the dialectics of class relations, resting upon the economic basis already created, is also at work performing its task of transforming the political backwardness of the working class into its opposite. There need be no doubt that on a historical plane the traditional two capitalist party system holding exclusive sway, will give way to parties contesting along class lines with a working class acting politically independent of the capitalist parties. That we know will be the direction. But it is not yet decided to what extent and for how long it may assume forms of social reformist political action. In that decision the Communist vanguard will play its part. And it is in consideration of this that the support recorded by the Socialist party deserves serious attention.

There have been tendencies before in the United States toward a break-up of the two party system, horizontally and along class lines. We had the various blocs of which the farm bloc and the "progressive" bloc became the most outstanding. They represented mainly the middle class elements from both parties seeking a way of combination against the big bourgeoisie. This is temporarily

Mister Duranty and Comrade Stalin

(Continued from page 1)

before the Soviet Government as a post-tive menace, because things being what they are, the Soviet Union would be almost inevitably involved. Even if Russia managed to hold aloof, a grave disturbance in Europe, especially a revolutionary disturbance, would work havoc with the Five-Year Plan, which is the keynote and kernel of Soviet policy."

Even passing acquaintance with Stalinist primers of "socialism in one country" will enable anybody to recognize in the above quotations simply a Durantesque popularization for American consumption of the theory of "socialism in one country." At the expense of Mr. Duranty's generously preferred wireless dispatch charge account, "somebody" in Moscow is giving a tip to the "important" readers of the New York Times: This is not Lenin's time; Stalin has come into power. World revolution may have been in the air during the days when Lenin and Trotsky were sowing the wild oats of the young Russian revolution. Today we are interested in one country alone and we don't take the Comintern too seriously (didn't Stalin tell Lomazade that the C. I. would collapse if it were not for the subsidy?). Therefore, orient yourselves accordingly. This is the tip and it is to obvious to require comment, at least on our part. But the New York Times

does not make a comment (and it also takes the tip) which repays quoting:

"In Moscow," says its editorial of November 23, "writes Mr. Duranty, there is one menace which is feared above all others, and it is the outbreak of a revolution in Germany or elsewhere in Europe. This is a far cry from the time when Lenin staged the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, not because he was interested in Russia but because he wished to set Western Europe on fire. Today Stalin does not want to set anything on fire. He wants to be let alone to build socialism in Russia. He is afraid of revolution abroad, even if it comes without Soviet aid. A German revolution is sure to be followed by a Fascist counter-revolution, and in the swing-back Russia is likely to be swept along with the rest."

With minor amendments, the comment of the Times editors is fairly keen and warranted. Only one other "comment" is missing: What have the Communist militants to say about the "entente cordiale" in the realm of revolutionary philosophy so affecting concluded between the former Riga liar and purveyor of the "nationalization of women in Russia" slander, on the one hand, and the "best discipline of Lenin," Joseph Stalin, on the other? It is worth restating upon!

—ARNE SWABECK.

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

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Police Attack Hunger Army

As we go to press, latest reports tell us that the hunger march is converging upon its destination—Washington, D. C. From the four corners of the United States caravans of unemployed men and women are moving towards the capital to raise their voices in the powerful resounding cry for relief and insurance for the jobless, hunger-stricken millions. Congress which opens its sessions on Dec. 5 will do all in its power to sidetrack the burning needs of the masses with a gaseous debate upon whether they will be able to drown out the hunger and privation of the unemployed army by raising the alcoholic content of beer. The legislature of well-fed and blegged flunkies opens tomorrow—for the master. But the usual tranquility will no longer prevail. For through the cracks and crevices, the open windows and the open doors, there will echo a mighty shout of the hunger march that is determined to have its demands heard.

In spite of the mocking stories, in which the bought press has done everything possible to ridicule and discredit the hunger march the capitalist class is hardly confident or at ease. On the contrary, so fearful are they of the effects the hunger army might have upon the discontented working class back home that they are ready at a moment's notice to abrogate the much vaunted democratic right—the right of redress and peaceful petitioning. All vacancies and leaves for the Washington police force have been rescinded, and this veritable army of more than 5,000 bluecoats stand ready to answer the demands of the unemployed with police batons, tear gas and bullets. A word from Hoover and the standing army goes into action. The Executive Committee of the bonus class wants no repetition of the bonus army experience last summer.

Orders have issued from Washington for all state and city governments to use all means at their disposal "to discourage the hunger march". In compliance with this order dozens of cities have refused to shelter, let alone to feed the jobless army, in spite of the obviously empty armories and public buildings. Clashes between marchers and police have already taken place in Chester, Pa., and Wilmington, Del. In Cumberland, Md., the National Guard has been called into action to prevent the marchers from passing through the city!

Today's newspapers inform us that if the hunger army is too persistent, blood will flow on the streets of Washington. By this statement they unwittingly fix the responsibility for any bloodshed clearly upon the shoulders of the capitalist government in Washington. It also reveals so that no one can possibly misunderstand just what the attitude of the twin flunkies of the two parties of the boss class, stripped of the glowing campaign promises, is towards the unemployed millions. Bullets to those who want bread! But despite all these repressive measures the voice of the hunger marchers will be heard! The cry for relief and insurance will rise higher. Whatever happens in Washington—peace or bloodshed—the movement of the jobless will grow bigger, its voice more determined, its ranks firmer. The hunger march is but one small step that will finally lead towards the destruction of the system of misery and starvation.

It only remains for the Communists to enlarge the present labor movement by the united front of all labor organizations until its power becomes irresistible.

The Stalinists and Trotsky's Radio Speech to America

The Stalinist press has developed a furious rage over the speech on the Russian revolution delivered by comrade Trotsky over the radio network arranged by an American company. The stream of calumny and abuse which are constantly on tap in the Stalinist editorial roomers for the special purpose of slandering the Opposition, were unleashed this time also. An identic editorial in the *Daily Worker* and the *Freiheit* is filled with this stereotyped calumination. According to the hired scribbles of the apparatus, Trotsky's speech was delivered in collaboration with British imperialism, which controls the Danish government and is making good use of the "counter-revolutionist" to "poison the workers" against the U. S. S. R. Just how much credence can be put in the maliciously deliberate lies of the Stalinists, will be seen by reading the transcript of Trotsky's speech which we print below. But aside from that, the Stalinists have still failed to answer the embarrassing questions we have not

ceased to put to them. Why has every important government in Europe consistently refused to grant comrade Trotsky a visa which would enable him to take up residence in the country? Why have bourgeois republicans, yellow social democrats of all wings, reactionaries and "enlightened" monarchists—in a word, all the governments to which application was made—met the request for asylum with such a united front of NO! Why has only one country permitted him to stay within its borders—reactionary Turkey, and that only by secret agreement with Stalin? Why did Czechoslovakia, where the latest attempt was made (and gave the Stalinists the occasion for their somewhat "premature" cries about the "united front between the Skoda works, French imperialism and Trotsky"), finally refuse the visa which it "promised"—if Trotsky would refrain from revolutionary action.

To answer these questions would indicate where the real united front lies. It consists in the tacit agree-

ment arrived at between the Stalinist apparatus in the U. S. S. R. on the one hand, and the bourgeois governments of the entire world on the other, to keep comrade Trotsky a prisoner in Turkey for the rest of his life. The visit to Denmark is a purely episodic interruption of this imprisonment, "generously" granted by the Danish social democracy because of the insignificance of the Communist movement and as a demagogic display of adherence to the principle of the right of political asylum.... for three months.

The speech delivered over the radio for fifteen minutes by comrade Trotsky, is reprinted here as it was received. In some parts, unfortunately, we were unable to establish the text with complete accuracy and the doubtful sections are indicated by three periods. While it is essentially correct, it should be read with that reservation in mind. Its condensed nature was, of course, conditioned by the briefness of the time allotted for the speech.

Extracts from the Speech

I will make an attempt to give the American radio audience a short exposure of my lecture on the Russian revolution. This, in two senses, is a daring enterprise. The limits of time are too narrow, and my English—my poor English—is in no proportion to my admiration for Anglo-Saxon culture. I

Delivered by Leon Trotsky and Broadcast from Copenhagen

beg your indulgence all the more since it is the first time I am addressing an audience in English.

What question does the Russian revolution raise in the mind of thinking man? First, why at all did this revolution take place? And, second, has the revolution stood the test? The fact that the proletariat reached power for the first time in such a backward country as czarist Russia seems mysterious only at first glance. In reality it is wholly in accord with its historical background. It could have been predicted, and it was predicted. Still more, on the basis of that prediction the revolutionists built up the strategy long before the deciding event.

Permit me to quote here a passage from a work of mine in 1906. I quote: "In an economically backward country, the proletariat can come to power sooner than in the economically advanced countries. The Russian revolution, in our opinion, creates such conditions under which the power can pass over to the proletariat (and with a victorious revolution it must) even before the policy

anything less than stupid and ridiculous. When a leadership fails to understand the stage and tempo of the revolutionary struggle, it understands nothing in the world. From the speeches of the workers, one gets a vivid impression of the militancy and the revolutionary strength latent in the American proletariat, waiting to be brought forward by a policy and leadership that will release it into active and intelligent channels of the class struggle. There is naturally confusion in their ranks, but they know what they want and they know that in order to get what they want they must fight. And they are willing to fight and to sacrifice. It only remains to show them the right road, to tell them how to fight.

To many of us who listened to these speeches of the workers, not unmixed with petty bourgeois confusion, it is true, the introduction of the section organizer of the Communist party appeared to come as a relief. Now we would hear a real Communist speech and all the confusion and errors would be cleared up. To our consternation, this individual piled confusion on top of confusion and it was left to us to admit that the most inexcusably stupid speech of the entire conference was made by the party's organizer, the vanguard of the proletariat.

Are the contradictions of capitalism and the problems of the working class arising out of them to be solved by the simple process of a parliamentary contest? Apparently so, since this Stalinist tells us that not only are we going to struggle now, but that when the spring elections come, the City Hall fakers will be turned on the streets. This assertion met with tumultuous applause, despite the fact that it was presented as the culmination and most important result of the movement!

Nor was this bolstering up of parliamentary illusions all. Together with this Right wing tendency, was the equally stupid Leftist solution of other "responsible" party spokesmen.

The conference was a success in spite of the leadership. Its results will be shown in the only field where the workers can effectively make progress—in the field of actual struggle. It is here that the workers will learn, and not merely from speeches and declarations. The Left Opposition is small here, but in spite of its numerical weakness, it will give these activities its fullest support.

MIMEOGRAPH WANTED

Any comrade a friend who has a mimeographing machine, in good condition, for sale at a low price, is urged to get in touch with George J. Papcun, 2224 1-2 Rockingham Road, Davenport, Iowa.

CELEBRATE NEW YEAR'S EVE

Communist League of America
at
126 East 16 Street,
Watch for further announcement

A. F. L. Convention Talks «Radical»

Labor Discontent Forces Lip-Service to Left Measures

Two measures of great significance were adopted at the American Federation of Labor convention just concluded at Cincinnati, Ohio. It went on record for the universal adoption, without delay, of the six-hour day and five-day week, to carry with it no reduction in pay. It indorsed with only five dissenting votes, the proposal for compulsory unemployment insurance, to be inaugurated by the various states, at the cost of the owners of industry by assessing the amount of 3 percent of their total payroll. Here we have a reversal of positions formerly held, particularly in regard to the latter proposal, with a speed which left this assemblage of portly gentlemen gasping at their own audacity.

Is A. F. of L. Leadership Turning Left

This presents a picture to our imagination of superannuated troglodytes who, when coming out from their ultra-conservative dug-out, are struck by the impact of a superior force and begin to march at a pace which leaves their whole past in the shade. The question immediately occurs to us: Is the A. F. of L. leadership turning Leftward? The answer, which is an emphatic NO, must, to be complete, cover several important aspects of the present situation; but it can nevertheless be summed up under the general heading: "mass pressure". Only, and that should never be forgotten, these labor "leaders", when they move forward a few inches at a time, always in doing so, lag way behind the masses.

Basically we are confronted here with the question of the changing economic structure of capitalist society in its decay stage. This is beginning to leave its marks also in the United States. We have here an army of millions of unemployed the permanent aspect of which cannot escape even the trade union upper crust. Conditions have become rotten ripe for such measures as those accepted by the A. F. of L. convention. The historical significance lies not in the fact that they were accepted at this time. It lies in the fact that they could be accepted at all in this gathering in which a genuine rank and file worker would have as little chance of getting in as the proverbial snowball in hell.

These gentlemen have been used to think that the "dole" was a sad plight of Europe alone. They denounced it at their last convention held in Vancouver a year ago. They labelled it "un-American". They have always held that the Amsterdam International was too radical. But in time they will even find out that revolutionary struggles are not confined to Europe. And that will likely dawn upon them much quicker than the snail's pace at which they themselves move.

Essentially their fear of the masses moving Leftward is a genuine one and compels them to move. In this sense they see the handwriting on the wall. The repercussion of the capitalist crisis has already created considerable havoc within the union ranks. There is a marked and ominous loss of membership. Whole unions have been almost wiped out under the capitalist offensive. Many members were unable to meet the inflexible heavy financial obligations imposed by the

trade union bureaucracy. Many others left in utter disgust seeing none of the working class interests protected and becoming victims of countless sell-outs. The bureaucrats fear a situation of lean treasures. They have had to face incipient revolts in many unions against their offhand wage-cut acceptances. They have witnessed militant hunger demonstrations which by the way could often have been bigger and much more powerful if the Stalinist leaders could rely from their blind stupidity and adopt the united front policy. There is no reason to doubt that these essentially reactionary trade union leaders understand quite well how to judge the latent forces yet dormant within the American working class which is, however, potential material for the revolutionary movement once properly aroused and properly directed.

The Fear for Safety of Capitalism

But this is only one side of the picture. On the other hand the fear of these capitalist henchmen for the safety of the capitalist system itself is undoubtedly equally as genuine. To them the

(Continued on page 4)

Conference Seats St. Louis Opposition

ST LOUIS.—

More than 500 delegates representing 65 organizations (together with untold conference delegates), attended the united front conference called by the Unemployed Councils for November 20 in St. Louis. The Communist League of America (Opposition), St. Louis branch, sent delegates to the party bureaucrats. Why were our delegates seated in St. Louis and excluded in New York?—Ed.) Our comrades were elected on the Resolutions Committee and also on the Committee to see Mayor Miller to present the demands of the Conference. (We were also elected on the Committee of 25 to be known as the "United Front Committee".

In so far as the conference reflected the growing militancy and determination of the masses to struggle against the brutal offensive of the capitalist class, it was a success. The mood was indeed a fighting one—a mood which with the proper policies and tactics, with a correct theoretical analysis of the task of the revolutionary party, could be utilized to bring many of them to the banner of Communism. For this, a whole series of questions must first be made clear to the workers. Lenin said about a period in the Russian revolution, that "the masses are a thousand times to the Left of us", and the conference revealed a somewhat similar situation. When one sees "Leftism" among the masses, one is not surprised but pleased, even if they may be far more to the Left than the possibilities, arising out of the objective conditions, warrant. But when this ultra-Leftist position passes over and finds unmeasured expression on the lips of the leadership, it cannot be characterized as

Arrest 2 Pittsburgh Oppositionists

PITTSBURGH.—

Two militant Left Oppositionists were arrested here last night following a mass meeting conducted by the Pittsburgh branch of the Communist League (Opposition). They have been officially charged with violating some city ordinance by spreading printed matter calling for support of the Hunger March to Washington. The meeting had been called as part of the Communist League's participation in the Unemployed United Front movement here.

The two arrested workers, comrades Pete Vonnas and Nick Lepirs, have been sentenced to the workhouse without trial and are being held incommunicado at the Allegheny County penitentiary in Blaw Knox.

The International Labor Defense, although offering technical aid, has refused the request of a representative of the Communist League (Opposition), to appeal the sentence. George Martin, District Organizer of the I. L. D. explained that his organization does not pay fines as a matter of policy and considered an appeal inadvisable for reasons not stated.

YOUTH DEBATE

This coming Saturday, December 10, at 8:30 P. M. in the Labor Temple big hall the Young Spartacus Youth Club of New York will debate the Young Peoples' Socialist League on the question: **Communism vs. Socialism—which program for the working class?**

The Yipsels will be represented by Gus Tyler; the Spartacus Youth Club by Joe Carter. Last spring a similar debate was held. Those who came late will remember that they had to stand. Comrade early. The admission is only fifteen cents.

Opposition Ejected from Conference on Hunger March in New York

NEW YORK.—

The Joint Committee for Support of the National Hunger March which held its final ratification conference last Sunday at the Irving Plaza Hall, denied the delegation from the Communist League of America (Opposition) the right to participate in the Hunger March to Washington. This conference particularly was dominated completely and mechanically by the official party bureaucrats.

With the exception of a scant dozen or two from the Left wing A. F. L. locals, the composition of the delegates was overwhelmingly from the TUUL unions and the fraternal and sympathetic organizations close to the party. The flop-houses, municipal lodging houses and the unemployed seamen had huge delegations. The Communist party itself was conspicuous by its absence. It had likewise abstained at the preliminary meetings.

No Serious United Front

No serious attempt was made to organize a genuine united front which would embrace all the existing organizations of the working class. The result was that the Joint Committee represented, in actuality, nobody but the party and its allied organizations. This stupid and short-sighted policy serves, as usual, to play right into the hands of the reactionaries who are happy to see the movement confined to the revolutionary vanguard, without drawing in those workers not yet within the sphere of Communist influence. The "united front" now practiced by the Stalinists is not much more

than the party in numerous disguises. Such a course inevitably isolates the Hunger March from the masses of the workers, with results that can only bring harm to the movement.

The National Hunger March initiated by the party should have made the most vigorous efforts to bring the Socialist party and the A. F. L. unions into the conference. The discontentment of the rank and file workers would have made this possible. Had it been done, the Hunger March would have been an enormous demonstration of far greater effectiveness. Such a united front would have meant a repetition of the recent successful demonstration in Chicago, but on a much vaster scale.

Within the ranks of the Socialist party and particularly in the A. F. L. unions, a genuine appeal for united action would have resulted in arousing sympathy and support, and in causing the workers to bring pressure to bear upon their reactionary leadership. But the Stalinists chose to take a different road.

The conference opened with Carl Winters presiding. In his introductory remarks he emphasized the necessity of eliminating from the conference any spies or stool pigeons or disrupters and enemies of the working class who were possibly present; that in order to eliminate such elements, it was necessary to go through an elaborate and lengthy ceremony.

A New Kind of Committee
A "Morals Committee" was appointed
(Continued on page 2)

A Reply from Shanghai to the Stalinists Slanders on Chen Du-Hsiu's Arrests

SHANGHAI.—

From the Reuter News Agency you have probably heard some news about the Chinese Opposition. But while some of it is right, there is a good deal of untruth in the reports.

Since the organization of the Blue Shirt Society, nearly all the students from the Moscow Sun Yat Sen University have conspired in it. They learned many things in the USSR, especially from the GPU, and they are using it faithfully, especially to strengthen Chiang Kai-Shek. According to an official report, the students misdeeds against the Stalinists number about 500. Their only task is to arrest Communists and destroy the Communist organizations. They have spread to all the important provinces of China, but their main strength is in Shanghai.

The leader of this group is Koo Song Chong (the head of the special detachment of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921) and Ma Yu Fu (a former member of the Central Committee who quit it three months after Koo.) They not only arrest Communists, but spend a great deal of money to buy up Communist militants who have a tendency to grumble. In this way, they got to the private secretary of comrade Chen Du-Hsiu, by the name of Sie Sou Sen. He is also one of the returned students from the Sun Yat Sen University. Sie told the Kuo Min Tang where comrade Chen's home was located—he being the only one to know place. Hence, comrade Chen was ar-

rested on September 16, at a moment when he was very sick. Right after that, other militants of our Central Committee were arrested, including the famous party organizer, comrade Fan Fu-Tze.

According to a report, Sie received 100,000 silver dollars for his work from Chiang Kai-Shek. The prisoners number nearly 30, and all the organs are destroyed.

On October 30, comrade Chen and the others were transferred to Nanking, the capital of the Kuo Min Tang government. Reuter and other news agencies declared that Chen had requested the Kuo Min Tang to take him to talk directly with Chiang about the Trotskyist movement in China. Though this rumor was refuted three days later, the Stalinists and the other anti-Communist forces continue to use this lie to fight the Opposition.

The first wave of arrests is over but the second and more extensive wave of persecution is being prepared.

The Stalinists are cynical about this loss to the forces of the revolutionary movement. They tell the Chinese workers that the Trotskyists are anti-revolutionary, that our organization is the "Left wing of the bourgeoisie." They declare that Chen Du-Hsiu's arrest is not a blow to the Chinese revolution but a matter of indifference to it. But our comrades are fighting the persecutions and looking for aid from the workers in other countries.

October 20, 1932. —H.

Greek Stalinists Fail To Meet Challenge

NEW YORK.—

The sixth issue of *Communists* that appeared on Nov. 12 contained among other articles an answer to the Stalinist slanders; also a criticism concerning the conduct of the Stalinist leadership in the Greek workers Club "Spartacus". The *Empire* attempts to evade the concrete accusations of *Communists* by resorting to the time-worn slanders against every Greek Oppositionist. About comrade Pappas they are unable themselves to fabricate any calumnies because they know very well that they are so discredited that no worker will believe them. Therefore they resorted to the assistance of the Stalinist-controlled *Food Workers* I. U. to get a statement in order to have a certain effect, not upon the revolutionary workers of the union who voiced their support of Pappas at their last convention, but upon those workers of far cities who are not acquainted with Pappas.

About the notorious bourgeois lackey Vassadakis, they refrain from saying anything about their support to him. About *Atlantis* the Monarchist organ which benefits by their one-sidedness not a word is mentioned either although the printers of *Atlantis* refused to accept a wage cut and have been picketing its premises for the last two weeks. Not even a strike is sufficient for the Stalinists to voice vigorously an attack against *Atlantis*. The alliance is too sacred to be broken by such an insignificant event. The first week they printed a few lines on the fifth page of the *Empire* as a news report and in their last issue they don't mention a thing about the strike but simply repeat the old fables that the *National Herald* is the only anti-labor paper and the most dangerous. The *Atlantis* was able to appear thanks to the services of the strike-breakers Chalkiopoulos and Cocoris who 6 years ago performed the same honorable job for the benefit of the *National Herald*.

We have always emphasized that both papers are purely bourgeois organs and as such they don't differ an iota in their anti-labor character.

The striking printers of *Atlantis* must know that they can't win their strike by confining their activities to one shop. The A. F. L. fakers will not move one finger to assist their struggle in a substantial manner. Only a militant policy and leadership can guarantee a successful struggle. The strike must be extended to the other Greek printing plants because, as they know very well, the other scab shops assist the *Atlantis* to appear regularly. Since the Greek Stalinists are reluctant to give their support lest they will harm *Atlantis*, they must accept the support of the Left Opposition. From the A. F. L. fakers they can expect no support except friendly negotiations with the bosses of *Atlantis*.

OPEN FORUM

The Negroes in America --
National or Proletarian
Revolution?

Speaker:
MAX SHACHTMAN
Friday, December 9, 1932
126 East 16 Street,
ADMISSION: 15c
Auspices:
N. Y. Br. Communist League of America
(Opposition)

Letters from Militants

Unser Kampf Tour Brings Results

The tour in the interest of *Unser Kampf*, which in the past six weeks has taken us through New Haven, Boston, Montreal, Toronto, Cleveland, Youngstown, Detroit, Chicago, Davenport, and finds us at present in Minneapolis, revealed to us more than anything else the vast possibilities for the growth of the Left Opposition and the keen interest of the Communist workers in our message. The Stalinist course of zig-zags has stripped the official party in the localities of the more competent older leaders. Many of them, at a loss to explain the party blunders, left the party in disgust. Hundreds others were expelled for fighting the local manifestations of bureaucracy, not knowing to this day that this bureaucracy is a component part of the Stalinist regime and a consequence of a false political line. This is especially true of the Jewish speaking movement where the Communist party at one time had the dominating influence.

Unfortunately our local groups with few exceptions barely touches the surface in reaching the disoriented and confused Communist workers with the message of the Left Opposition, which alone could save them for the revolutionary movement. This is why our efforts in the tour were concentrated primarily on the organization of functioning groups not alone among Jewish speaking workers, but wherever we found it possible. The lectures that we held, were merely a by-product.

In New Haven we found that the comrades were not functioning in an organized manner. One of our comrades in this locality has been functioning as the secretary of the I. L. D., the Stalinists finding it impossible to replace her for want of capable people. During our stay in New Haven we met with the comrades several times, discussed the need for organized activity, and with the necessary assistance from the center we believe it will be possible in the future to build up a strong center there. We appeared before a number of working class organizations and sold our literature which was bought quite eagerly. We had no open lecture here but we do hope on our return to the center to arrange such lectures at frequent intervals in view of the proximity of this locality to New York.

Our Boston branch has been humming with activity of late. The comrades have taken upon themselves the initiative in building up a social science club which had an attendance of about thirty people during our stay there. We have also gathered a group of Jewish workers who at present are proceeding with the organization of a club which we are sure will render assistance to *Unser Kampf* and to our movement in general. Upon the very day of our arrival we were invited to speak at Chelsea Labor Lyceum. Here the Stalinists deserted an excellent field of activities when the "third period" was first proclaimed and they did not deem it possible to work in the same institutions with "Social Fascists". The result was that a large section of Left wing workers refused to follow the party in its splitting tactics and remained in the Labor Lyceum without any guidance or direction. Upon the request of these Left wing workers we spoke at the Labor Lyceum on the election campaign and in support of the Communist candidates. The following day we lectured in the Labor Lyceum on our differences with the Socialists present in the audience. It was quite natural. They consider us less "practical" than the Socialists and when it comes to a choice, prefer the latter. On the other hand, we were well received by the Left wing workers, many of them finding that we were voicing criticisms which had been in their own minds. We established some contacts there and sold a substantial amount of literature.

We appeared before several branches of the Workmen's Circle appealing for the support of *Unser Kampf* which they as a matter of routine referred to the Executive Committee. We are not yet aware of the results.

The work of the Left Opposition in Montreal has heretofore been carried upon the shoulders of one comrade and one or two sympathizers. We must say that he had done exceedingly well, being active at the same time in a leading capacity in his trade union and other organizations. The appearance of *Unser Kampf* has given several Jewish speaking workers the chance to acquaint themselves with the viewpoint of the Left Opposition for the first time. The expulsion from the Young Communist League of comrade Gilbert for raising some of the questions that the Left Opposition has raised was an additional factor which made possible for us to definitely organize a Branch of the Left Opposition in this locality. In addition to that we took the first steps in organizing a Youth Club.

Our lecture in Montreal exceeded our expectations. For the first time we succeeded in having an open lecture on our differences with the party in this locality with an attendance of over 80 workers. This in spite of the picket line in front of the hall compromising all the party leaders, who exerted all their efforts to discourage workers from attending our meeting. The audience sat through till 1:00 in the morning listening to our point of view, discussing with us and asking questions. The work we have started in Montreal will be followed up by comrade Spector who is scheduled to take a lecture trip from Toronto to Montreal.

Of all the places so far visited by us we find that our Toronto group is making more genuine advances than any other one. They have gained about 10 mem-

bers in the recent few weeks. They are awake to all the struggles of the workers, taking an active part in them. The class in Marxist conducted by comrade Spector has an attendance of 35 to 40. The Toronto group is sinking its roots wide and deep. The most recent achievement during the week we spent in this locality was the aid given in the organization of the Students League of Canada, which is publishing its own monthly paper, *The Spark*. Our comrades were also making preparations for the publication of a Canadian organ of the Left Opposition, *The Vanguard*, which was to appear on the 7th of November.

We went to Toronto with the impression that the work for *Unser Kampf* was carried by one comrade. This was true only until recently. The short few months of our existence has gained for us new adherents with the result that we found it possible to organize an *Unser Kampf* Club which has its inception about 15 workers. Several young workers were recently expelled from the Y. C. L. and the party for selling and distributing *Unser Kampf*. As for the two lectures that the comrades arranged for us, one on the German situation had an attendance of 65-70; the second one on *What the Left Opposition Stands For* had an attendance of close to 150. We also addressed an open forum of the tailors. At all these meetings we found a keen and sympathetic interest in our viewpoint.

The sales of our literature in Toronto have doubled and trebled and in the case of *The Militant*, we believe that increase is five-fold. Preparations were under way in Toronto also for the organization of the Spartacus Youth Club. Under the experienced, capable guidance of comrades Spector and MacDonald and with the favorable objective conditions that exist, Toronto will undoubtedly become one of the most powerful bases of the Left Opposition in the future.

As for the rest of the tour, we will report it on a different occasion.

Kansas City, Nov. 29, 30.
St. Louis, Dec. 2, 3, 4.
Springfield, Ill., Dec. 5.
Chicago, Dec. 6.
Cleveland, Dec. 8, 9.
New Castle, Pa., Dec. 11.
Pittsburgh, Dec. 12, 13.
Baltimore, Dec. 14, 15.
Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 16, 17.
Trenton, Dec. 18.

—SYLVIA BLEEKER.
—MORRIS LEWIT.

Pittsburgh Youth Club and Opposition

PITTSBURGH.—Workers of Pittsburgh may already be familiar with the Progressive Youth which has recently been organized here. Especially, due to the fact that the *Freiheit* a short time ago accused us, of the Left Opposition, of wanting to break up one of its meetings. Of course this is only just another of the *Freiheit's* trained-to-lie stories, to which the Left Opposition has been accustomed for long.

Of course, the membership of the club consists of workers with different tendencies and should the workers of the official party use the right tactics in going about united front activities, there are possibilities of bringing the elements of the club to such a point where the club as a whole would participate in the everyday struggle if the working class. But due to the fact that the party members here are trying to railroad through their points without the consent or the understanding of the members and in the meantime, mostly against the Left Opposition, they not only meet with failure

but also lose the sympathy of the members.

For instance: Last week leaflets were distributed which said that the Progressive Youth Club would celebrate the 15th anniversary of the Russian Revolution in conjunction with the party-controlled I. W. O. It was only natural that a good many of the club members should raise the question as to why the membership was not consulted about this affair. The result was that not only did the club refuse to join, but the membership as well was aroused against such tactics. This would never have happened if the proposal had been made in a straightforward and correct united front manner.

The official party members are blind in thinking that they can railroad through anything. The results of last week's experience ought to teach them something, if they will only open up their eyes.

Pitts. Anniversary Meet

PITTSBURGH.—

Thanks to the Communist League of America (Opposition), the workers of Pittsburgh now have a long sought opportunity to study and learn the real Marxist theory of Communism in a Left Opposition study class organized by comrade Gordon, sent to this city recently by the League.

The "Marxist Study Class" is increasing in worker students from week to week. It assures the development of a genuine, well equipped revolutionary group within the workers movement of Pittsburgh.

On Saturday, November 12, the Marxist Study Class celebrated the 15th anniversary of the Russian Revolution in a hall on Center Avenue. Over 40 students and sympathizers were present.

The celebration was opened by the chairman with the singing of the "International". Then comrade Gordon was introduced as the speaker for the Communist League. He spoke on the great international significance of the Bolshevik victory in October 1917 and stressed the historical role of the Left Opposition as its truest defender. After touching upon the tasks that this role implies here in Pittsburgh and in the everyday class struggle, he closed with an appeal for support of the Left Opposition's struggle for working class and Communist unity on the basis of the Marxist program and the Russian Revolution. The whole crowd, party sympathizers among them, applauded heartily.

There was some dancing afterwards and the comrades gathered in a group to sing revolutionary battle songs. Before closing, the speaker of the Communist League made an appeal for aid in the preparations for the Hunger March, reporting on the United Front Unemployed Conference at which the League was represented by delegates and asking for financial support to make its work successful. The collection netted a small sum, which was quite substantial considering the numbers.

Refreshments were served by the entertainment committee. Then the affair was closed with the singing of "Solidarity Forever".

Eject Opposition Delegates in N.Y.

(Continued from page 1)

(by whom?) and every delegation and its representative appeared before it. William Klitt, a duly elected delegate from the Alteration Painters Union, was objected to by the "unholy three" which had been informed that he was a "Trotskyist". An attempt was made to disqualify him, but the other delegate from the Union threatened to withdraw if it were done. The Committee thereupon reluctantly permitted him to participate.

Strangely enough, no objections were made to any of the other delegates. All were accepted, none was excluded, with the exception of course of the Left Opposition delegate. The most elementary semblance of democratic procedure was absent. The "Morals Committee" under the trained direction of Winters, Sam Weisman (whose moral qualifications, as exemplified by his work in the food workers' union, is well known to our readers) and Jack Perilla, functioned like a well-oiled steam roller, a la Tammany Hall. As our delegation, consisting of M. Glee, H. Milton and H. Ross, passed before the Committee, the objection was raised. We were accused, no less, of murdering two workers on Avenue A and 7th Street. A chorus of gasps was to be heard at this point, which we took as the opportunity to inform the Committee that at the time the two workers were killed, we had invited the Communist party and the I.L.D. to organize a workers' jury trial to determine the responsibility for the deaths, and that both the party and the I.L.D. did not see fit to reply.

Dropping this line of action, the inquisitors told us that the CLA was a political organization and that consequently we could not participate in the Hunger March! To which we replied that it was most unfortunate that the C. P. was not present, that we considered it a serious error on the part of the party to fail to participate openly in such a movement.

Perilla interrupted us at this point to say that they would defend the party themselves and that we should "mind our own business".

Left Opposition Excluded

Charges were hurled at us that we were enemies of the working class, that we represented nobody, etc., etc. We, on our part, kept the floor and disposed of the arguments made against us. Finally, the patience of the triumvirate was apparently exhausted and we were informed that we could go, that the "Committee" would consider the case and inform us of its decision. We asked for the right to appear before the Committee to defend ourselves. To which Sam Weisman replied that they had already listened to our arguments and would render a decision without us being present. Protesting against such a procedure, we requested that the decision be made then and there. A hasty consultation took place and we were finally told that the Committee saw fit to deny us the right to participate in the Hunger March to

Our Club Plan MILITANT BUILDERS

PAID SUB CARDS

They're coming in alright. We have started with a rush. And that, of course, is the way to do it. The Paid Sub Card ideas seems to have caught on. Now we must keep it up. Remember comrades: the *Militant* sells these half-year Paid Sub Cards in minimum blocks of four or more to the bloc if wanted, of course; they are sold by the *Militant* only on a cash basis; you dispose of them according to your circumstances in blocs or singly, for cash or on credit; all that the recipient has to do is fill in his name and address on the card mail it in and he will be entered on the list as a subscriber. It's as simple as that.

NEWCASTLE SHOWS THE WAY

In response to the launching of the second phase of the Club Plan three branches have thus far sent in three cards. They are Philadelphia, New York and New Castle, Pa. Fourteen cards, that is to say, subs, have been sent in on this basis. Of this total New Castle accounted for eight, New York, five and Philadelphia, one. These are credited to the branch standing which is given below.

When a comrade sends in four of these cards we credit him with a Club Plan Sub and include it in the standing of the staff. As we keep accurate records of every card coming in as well as going out a comrade need not send in four of these Paid Sub Cards at one time to receive credit for a club plan sub. We will add it up, so to speak, and for every four we will add four to his total. We have already done this with comrades Reburn and Hudson of New Castle who sent in four of these Paid Sub Cards apiece.

To sum it up: we think that we have made a good beginning but it is only a beginning. We cannot leave off building when only the foundations, and hardly that, are laid. We want a towering structure. We understand that it can-

Washington. We recorded our protest, and, pursuant upon the order, left the hall.

Our resolution endorsing the Hunger March and presenting the unemployment program of the CLA, could not, unfortunately, be distributed at the conference, for technical reasons. It is reproduced elsewhere in this issue of *The Militant*.

—HARRY MILTON.

Pamphlets Wanted

We are now completely out of the Bound Volumes of comrade Trotsky's pamphlets. But the demand still continues. This leaves us no choice but to make another attempt to bind some more. This is where the difficulty comes in. As you remember we advertised the Bound Volumes as containing some pamphlets that were out of print and unobtainable except in these Bound Volumes. That was true. But now that the Bound

not be erected over night by rubbing Aladdin's lamp. It must be built by our efforts. Let us add brick to brick. Every sub, every Paid Sub Card sent in is a brick in our *Militant* structure. The staff record measures our bricklaying.

THE STAFF

Chicago Friends-of the Militant Club	12
P. Vomvas	12
B. Morgenstern	8
V. R. Dunne	8
H. Nash	7
W. Krehm	6
H. A.	4
M. Hudson	4
F. Rayburn	4
H. Capella	4
M. Gottlieb	4
J. Hamilton	4
W. Konikow	4
O. Coover	4
S. Lessin	4
J. Sifakis	4
A. Joel	4
E. McMillen	4
A. Millen	4
J. Weber	4
J. Ross	4
C. Shechet	2

THE RECORD BY CITIES

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Minneapolis	20
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New York	18
Toronto	10
Boston	10
Philadelphia	9
New Castle	8
Montreal	7
St. Louis	4
Des Moines	4

Notice the way New York is climbing. It looks as though it won't be long now before it's up at the top. But there's New Castle! And who can say what they will do out there? Well, we're watching. Let'er go. We'll not be disappointed if a lively scrap develops for first place.

Volumes are all gone these pamphlets are unobtainable anywhere, even by us.

In order to bind additional sets we need the following pamphlets: *The Draft Program*; *The Turn in the C. I. Germany—the Key to the International Situation*; and *World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan*. If our comrades will send these pamphlets to us we will be able to go ahead with the binding. We need lots of them. The more we receive the more we will be able to bind.

We ask for these pamphlets on the following terms. We are absolutely unable to pay for them with money. We can issue credit slips for the amount of the pamphlets against any accompanying or future order that the comrade may make. But these orders must be for literature. We are strongly against applying them to sub extensions and renewals. And the pamphlets must be in good condition.

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A Picture of the Situation in China Today

SHANGHAI.

Let us dwell now on the labor movement in Shanghai after the Sino-Japanese conflict. Since millions in wealth were burned in ashes, production was contracted, unemployment increased, the hunger army swelled, the post-war crisis weighs heavily upon the people. The bourgeoisie lost no opportunity to dismiss the disgruntled workers, to lower wages, to intensify the exploitation of labor. The task of the day was to fight for the defense of the workers' interests against the capitalist offensive. In spite of the unfavorable conditions of struggle, a strike wave developed, the postal workers' strike, the newspaper printers' strike, the strike in the silk factories, the strike of part of the tramway workers, the telephone workers' strike, the bus conductors' strike, and other strike and labor disputes. Most of the strikes ended in defeat. The attitude of the employers was too resolute and intransigent, but the workers were also stubborn in their fight. The yellow leaders either sabotaged or betrayed the strikes. In these strikes, it could be seen that the yellow unions, could serve as the prop for the workers to start the strikes. Of all the strikes, the Stalinists had connections only with the telephone workers' strike and the bus conductors' strike. The Left Opposition led the telephone workers' strike at first, but the Stalinists used all means to break down our leadership. While the strike committee under our influence was really elected by the masses, the Stalinists set up a strike committee elected by their own men, most of whom were not workers. This committee they used to attack our strike committee. The Stalinists clamored that the strike must be ended only when a 100 percent victory is secured, that they refuse help from any organization what-

soever (the yellow unions included). The telephone company is an American enterprise. When the foremen (under the influence of Nationalist feelings) offered to cooperate with the strikers, the Stalinists put up unreasonable demands to make this collaboration impossible. The employers, seeing the dissension among the strikers, stiffened their resistance. The workers returned to work unconditionally and many were later fired. The bus strike revealed even more clearly the failure of the Stalinist tactics. They at first obtained the leadership of the strike, but they do not know how to adapt themselves to the backward workers so as to draw them into the struggle. When they declared that they refuse any help from the outside, their leadership was discredited by the strikers. The ultra-Leftist conduct of the Stalinists only isolated them from the workers and all the heroic efforts made to stop the strike-breakers were of no avail.

In spite of the revival of the labor movement in the post-war days, owing to the false tactics pursued by the Stalinists, the lack of political propaganda and struggle for democratic demands, the Communists did not entrench themselves in the labor movement. The organizing activities of the workers did not greatly increase. The disproportion between the leadership and the masses' will to fight is still enormous.

To complete the picture of present Chinese political life, let us turn our attention to what is happening in the red army districts. The government troops have lately gained several victories in the Hupeh, Anhwei and Honan provinces. Direct and up-to-date information from those districts, we do not possess. We have read, not so long ago, two resolutions passed by the first dele-

gated congress of the Communist party in the Southern Kiangsi Soviet district (the center of the Soviet districts). We quote the following parts from it to show the real situation in these districts:

The resolution starts by complaining against the line of Li Li San for "not confiscating the rich peasants' superfluous and better land...in every many Soviet districts, much of the landowners' and rich peasants' land was not confiscated and the land was left undivided for a long time; where it was divided according to the productive implements. It was absolutely a rich peasant line".

"Proletarian consciousness in the party of the Soviet districts is weak, the backward ideology of the peasantry is reflected in the party...The activities of the workers and peasants are not developed, the alien elements, such as the rich peasants, the merchants and the youth of the landlords and gentry, penetrate into the government and into all the revolutionary organizations. Even the party cadres are filled with such alien elements....

"The class struggle in the Soviet districts...is hampered. From the government down to the mass organizations, the organizational relations are extremely loose and many organizations exist only on paper....

"There are still mistakes and defects in the red army work. First of all, in the reorganization of the red army, the purging of the elements of the landowners, rich peasants and merchants, was not made the central task; rather the task was set of cleansing the army of troops—quite vaguely—while all the soldiers and non-commissioned officers of the former white army are regarded as tramps....Up till now, the red army has not yet rid itself of the traditions of

the partisan warfare which expresses itself in loose organization, small groupings, undisciplined action, lack of scientific division of labor, ignorance of positional warfare....The remnants of militaristic caste still exist, its concrete expression lies in the fact that bad relations exist between commanders and commanded, between the army and the toiling masses....

"After the August (1931) resolution of the Central Bureau on the agrarian question...there are still Right wing opportunist mistakes, which consist in the concessions made to the landowners, gentry and rich peasantry....

"Although repeated reorganizations are undertaken in the Soviet governmental institutions, there are still landowners, rich peasants and merchants mixed with them. The Soviet government thereby loses the class character of the workers and peasants power....The basic organizations of the political power—the city and village Soviets—are not organized at all. The village government executive committee and government groups, replace them...consistently ordering about the masses. The government institutions are busy with those non-governmental functions, such as the obtaining of transport coolies, the entertainment of passengers, etc.

"The former trade unions were not the class unions at all. The employers, the independent laborers, even the monks and oracles join the trade unions. The class struggle of the workers against the employers is not developed. Nothing has been done to improve the workers' living conditions. The eight-hour day is generally not enforced. The struggles which the trade unions lead are the struggles of the independent laborers against the peasants...threatening to break the alliance with the peasantry.

The anti-imperialist agitation is generally ignored.

"Very few workers and agricultural laborers are in the party, but the alien elements, like the rich peasants, the merchants, the youth of the landowners, still mix themselves up with it....

"The militarist remnants still preserve the government as the Kuo Min Tang government. They think that the red army is the creator of the government, and the government institutions should be inferior to the red army."

Thus, in spite of the passage of important resolutions condemning bureaucracy, the rich peasant tendency, militarist survivals, etc., for the last two years, matters in the Soviet districts continue to go from bad to worse. The partisan warfare inevitably degenerates when it is not supported by mass movements in the cities. The Stalinists want to deny this truth but, in the long run, they become its victims. Under the cover of Communism, the Stalinists are really converting the Chinese party into a peasants-workers party. The influence of Communism in Chinese politics is practically nil, what the Chinese Communist Party represents is the policy of the petty bourgeois turned desperate. The Manchurian crisis opened up broad possibilities for Chinese Communism to make progress. The KMT government has never been so discredited as in this crisis. The masses of the people are becoming radicalized, but Chinese Communism is paralyzed by its internal weakness and has let its chances go by. The KMT regime is regaining its lost positions and once again stabilizing itself.

We have to begin from the very beginning. The difficulties on the road are great. But under the leadership of the International Opposition and comrade Trotsky, we shall be able to find the correct path, to consolidate our own ranks, to move on slowly but steadily.

—NIEL-SIE.

For the 6-Hour Day, 5-Day Week!

For years the American worker has been the most highly exploited and politically backward class in the advanced capitalist nations. Now this class is confronted with permanent mass unemployment. One reaction of the working class to the crisis has been the motion in opposite directions of this physical and mental condition of speed-up and backwardness. The speed-up has been intensified while the political consciousness of the class is being awakened and is moving into class channels.

The condition of mass unemployment and the lowering of the standard of living of the American workers has set in motion class forces, that if properly directed by the party, can become the force, which will be able to move the class far along the road toward the solution. This is true, in so far as the revolutionists direct this class force by a correct program of action.

Once more history is proving the correctness of a Marxian analysis and its class program for the problem. The analysis of the Left Opposition is being confirmed, but due to the revisionists, the Stalinists, it is being confirmed in a negative way.

When the process of capitalist accumulation reaches its advanced stage, when accumulation is counterposed by overpopulation and mass unemployment; when the productive forces reach a point where the relative decrease of the number of industrial workers is transformed into an absolute decrease, expressed by increased production and by a decrease in labor power; when "Accumulation of wealth at one pole, is therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole"—then the period of proletarian revolutions has been entered and unless the capitalists take drastic steps, or are faced with a proletarian without a Marxian leadership—the favorable objective conditions will be developed and transformed into revolutionary uprisings of the proletariat against the capitalists.

One of the most fundamental economic problems confronting the American capitalists, which they recognize, but which the party under Stalinist leadership does not recognize—is the adjustment of this surplus labor power to the tremendous productive forces which constantly calls for less labor power per unit.

There is no solution of this problem for the capitalist class, because it is only a surface indication and an expression in the decay stage of capitalism of the contradiction between socialized production and capitalist appropriation. However, if our class through the inability of its vanguard does not take advantage of the favorable class relationship, the capitalist class will, by this means, not only steal a march on us, but will also strengthen their position against the coming class battles.

Either of the immediate temporary "solutions" of the problem of the reorganization of labor power to productive forces, the capitalist road or the proletarian road, is negative for the capitalist class from the standpoint of economics, but negative to an entirely different degree. However, from a political standpoint, the capitalists victory far less harmful, if we allow the capitalist to decide how to recognize which means to allow them to "solve" the problem confronting them. The capitalist's aim in obtaining the lever of the problem is to find the capitalist way out of permanent mass unemployment, and to slow up the tempo of class consciousness development of the American workers and to further reduce the standard of living to enable them to obtain a breathing spell from the contradiction of the accumulation and the falling rate of profit, by the reduction of the necessary labor through speed-up and lower wages.

The aim of the working class must be to utilize this contradiction to widen the gap between these economic contradictions of the capitalist mode of production, accelerate the process of class consciousness and force a reorganization of labor power to productive power—by the reduction of hours with NO REDUCTION OF PAY. Only class pressure properly organized and directed by the Communist party can accomplish this task.

Up to the present our constant and consistent criticism and activity against the Stalinist course in the unemployment field and their failure to mobilize a struggle, or at least to prepare the ground for it, around the slogan of the six-hour day and five-day-week and no reduction in pay, has, as we have pointed out more than once in the columns of the Militant, resulted in allowing the capitalists to proceed with this gigantic problem unhampered, without a warning to the class, without a directive to the class as though we were automatons to be handled and remolded to the capitalist's desires.

The capitalists and their government have been steadily, and without too much bragging, working on this problem. They have floundered, they have made mistakes, but being left alone by the vanguard of the proletariat, they were able to at least take some steps "in the right direction" toward strengthening their class position against the inevitable coming head-on struggles.

Long before last summer when Hoover called a conference of business leaders, financiers, industrialists, labor fakery, etc., to consider the "reduction of hours" and means of "speeding up business recovery", the most capable technicians and capitalist leaders had worked out preliminary steps to release some of the pressure of permanent mass unemployment, not through unemployment insurance or immediate relief, but through more fundamental class steps for their own class interest, because as yet, the class was not resisting in an effective manner the onslaughts. Wage cuts were

being sanctioned by "labor". "Labor" also was opposed to the dole. "Labor" objected to "government charity". "Labor" wanted work.

The shorter work day propaganda of the bosses is a means of reducing the standard of living of the workers, is a means of furthering the wage cut drive by the "Stagger Plan" against the workers. The blind and ignorant Stalinists saw the capitalist side of this class problem confused it with our side and dismissed it as reactionary, as "social fascist", etc., not once realizing that every problem has its working class side "also". This should be A B C, but like all simple problems Stalinism makes them complicated and all complicated problems Stalinism tries to simplify, which has resulted in simplifying matters for the capitalist enemies. The Stalinists forgot or ignored the struggle for the shorter work day and bitterly fought the slogan of, "The six hour day, the five day week, and no reduction in pay."

Up to the present, the capitalists have not made much progress with their side of this problem. Nevertheless, what little progress they have made is far greater progress than we have made with our side of the same problem, because the most powerful organized political force of our class, the party, controlled by the Stalinists, has put a damper on even the thought about this problem.

Some of the preliminary steps taken now, after three years of the crisis, by

the capitalist class, is the establishment of the "legal" apparatus to "solve" this problem. They have established a national organization, with Walter Teague, of the Standard Oil, who is now devoting his full time to this "emergency" for (I suppose) a "dollar" a year, just like he devoted his time to the "emergency" of the last world war. They know what emergencies are and act accordingly. The committee functions throughout the country, covering every avenue of activity using labor power.

"The entire country has been divided into sections. In each locality a chairman has been appointed who in turn enlists the heads of the large business and industries. All the firms in the same line are grouped together and a vice group or chairman as appointed who in turn enlists the heads of large business and industries. General meetings are held throughout the country, as well as group meetings, and representatives visit individual firms to explain the advantages of the plan." "Moreover, much literature is distributed and plans are worked out for adopting the scheme to special cases". (New York Times, Oct. 30)

Teague says, "more than 3000 firms, mostly in the manufacturing and industrial field have already adopted similar plans and it is estimated that if they had not done so 3,500,000 more workers would have been added to the list of unemployed." One can read almost daily accounts of the "practical plan" and its

results in the "share the work movement."

It must be remembered that this is the capitalist's side of the problem and is the opposite in content if not in form of the workers side of the question of the reduction of hours. The capitalist method speeds up the workers side, through the class struggle drives in the opposite direction. The class pressure will determine to what degree it can drive the movement in the opposite direction. The role of the party will determine much of this. Stalinism has already answered. We Communist workers should answer them by removing such leaders and replacing them with Marxists. By recalling the Left Opposition to the party.

Speaking of "Job sharing", Teague says, "The help of the ablest business executives is required. We are trying to mobilize these men for an attack on what I consider the principle obstacle to the return of prosperity: unemployment." One should not confuse the terminology Teague uses with the real essence of the problem. The minority exploiters must always cloak their "attack" against the workers in class collaboration drapes when the class relations are so favorable for them.

The Left Opposition will continue its propaganda in this field and coordinate it with the other pressing immediate demands for the struggle against unemployment and point out that the solution of the problem is found in the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. As Stalinism "grows" in America so grow the mistakes of Stalinism. —OEHLEH.

Stalinist Zig-zags on the Chicago Conference

(Concluded from last issue)

The Party changed its position on the united front in the Chicago affair. But it changed it in usual fashion. It remained silent about this reversal of policy. It continued to preach "united front from below". It failed to educate its membership about this change with the result that there is naturally confusion in the party ranks. That is why it necessary for Gebert to discuss the lessons of the conference.

Party Confusion

In his appeal for funds, Goldman, the I. L. D. lawyer, characterized the united front quite correctly. He stated that it was a unity of workers of various political parties and other organizations, united in common struggle on an issue that effected all workers. Goldman went so far as to restate Trotsky's declaration on the united front: "We will even make a united front with the devil. Between Goldman's speech and that of Williamson lay a great abyss. In the District Committee of the party an intense discussion revolved around the united front. It found itself face to face with a reality that contradicted the position of the party. That is why comrade M., whom Gebert takes to task, could not understand why the leaders of the Socialist party and other Right wing organizations were seated at the conference. Comrade M. we must declare, correctly interpreted the party policy. And while Gebert is essentially in the right in his criticism of M.'s position, he should declare that the policy of the party is wrong and that the united front in Chicago marked a departure from the official Stalinist position on the united front.

Under the training of the theory of social fascism, and having been taught that the party would not and could not sit around one table with social fascists, nor for that matter in one conference, comrade M. drew his logical conclusions that it was wrong to have seated Borders and Schneid, of the Socialist party, McVeigh of the Farmer-Labor Party, and others.

What is more amusing is the close of Gebert's article. After correctly criticizing the conference for its failure to attempt to draw employed workers into the movement, for having failed to appeal to the A. F. of L. for support (does this not sound strange coming from Gebert, or is there a new line in the offing), for

its failure to draw into the executive committee other delegates besides those from the Workers League, the Unemployed Councils and the Socialist groups, he makes a final plea for the extension of the united policy as practiced in Chicago.

Our View

In the leaflet distributed to the demonstration (See Militant, No. 144) the Opposition, declared its approval of the united front and pointed out that this united front was precisely what the Opposition had been calling for at all times. We welcomed the change in the line of the party, because the change was a correct one, permitting the Communists to gain contact with wider masses of workers, to demonstrate before them the superiority of the position of the Communists over other political movements, and thereby winning support of non-Communist masses. It enabled further an exposure of the Socialists as splitters and betrayers, who kept the threat of withdrawal from the conference over the head of its participants. If too militant a policy was adopted. But we raised the slogan of: "Maintain the United Front" because the struggle of the unemployed did not end with the demonstrations. It remains just as acute today as ever and the party must continue the correct beginning. But from all appearances the united front has disintegrated not only because the Socialists welcomed the end of the demonstration and thereby their participation, but also, because the party likewise was prepared to end the united front with the close of the demonstration. This is a great error and a crime against the unemployed workers who need leadership and united action.

But Gebert's humor is too tragic. He calls for an extension of the united front policy applied in Chicago, but does not raise the cry of maintaining the present united front and extending the struggle it began. He does not declare that the official policy of the party must be discarded because it is false and contradicts the entire event in Chicago. Which shall it be? "United front from below", which means no united front at all—or, a united front of all workers and their organizations, as took place in Chicago. The party must declare itself. It cannot face two ways on this question.

We have no doubt the pressure of the situation brought about this "new line". But this change is only a beginning and

because it is not a complete and thorough change, it is incorrect. The party gained in Chicago. The policy of the united front as advocated by the Opposition was vindicated there as it is vindicated everywhere. In Germany, the Berlin organization carried out a similar policy and locked horns with the Central Committee. In the United States, the Central Committee remained silent. Why?

The party has as its task to bring about clarity. It must not hedge, and make half changes while maintaining the theoretical base for a false position. Away with the theory of social fascism and the "united front from below!" Then the party will be in a position to make greater progress.

—ALBERT GLOTZER

Archives of the Left Opposition

Engels on the International Revolution

Falsification of history! In this concise phrase can be summed up the entire present campaign of the Stalinists in attempting to give to their false theories a heredity dating back to the days of Marx and Engels. But what they can do with the as yet unpublished works of Lenin, they are unable to do to those writings of the founders of scientific socialism that saw the light of day long before the era of the present epigones.

An excellent and concise presentation of the view of Engels on the question of 'socialism in one country', is obtained from the pamphlet entitled "Principles of Communism." This writing composed of a series of questions and answers, was a draft of a program submitted by Engels to the Communist League in 1847. The draft was used by Marx in the creation of that masterpiece of programmatic literature, "The Communist Manifesto."

The work appeared in America as one of the series of pamphlets in "The Little Red Library", under the title "Principles of Communism" (published by the Communist party). Unfortunately, a serious typographical error crept in, making unintelligible the answer to the question that we are concerned with. Since then, it has appeared, in an understandable manner—damning to the authors of the

Trotsky Speaks to American Audiences on Significance of Russian Revolution

(Continued from page 1)

Let me sum up the events which date from 1906. In accordance with its immediate task, the Russian revolution was a bourgeois revolution but the Russian bourgeoisie was already entirely reactionary. The victory of the Russian revolution was, therefore, possible only as the victory of the proletariat. But the victorious proletariat will not stop at the program of the bourgeoisie; it will go on to a program of socialism.

This was the theory of the permanent revolution formulated by me in 1905, and since then exposed to severest criticism under the name of "Trotskyism". It is clear, therefore, that the general causes of the revolution were visible to the Marxists long before it occurred.

The first and most general explanation is that Russia was a backward country, but only a part of world economy, only an element of the capitalist world system....

In this lies the real reason for the Russian revolution; it occurred because the chain broke at its weakest link. The deplorable condition of the feudal monarchic system, aggravated by capitalism's exploitation, created a terrific force which found its realization in the proletariat.

A fundamental factor was the existence of great revolutionary resources in the oppressed nationalities within the borders of the empire, constituting 57 per cent of the total population. To these must be added the experiences of the revolution of 1905, which Lenin called the dress rehearsal of the revolution of 1917 and which witnessed the first creation of the Soviets, and the imperialist war....

Last, but far from least, was the existence of a powerful Bolshevik party, the most revolutionary party in the history of mankind. It was the living condensation of the modern history of Russia.... It learned to recognize the weaknesses of society as typified in the great events of the twelve years from 1905 to 1917. It educated cadres equally capable of initiative and subordination to discipline. Its revolutionary activities were based on the unity of its doctrines, on the tradition of the common struggle, and confidence in its trusted leadership. Thus stood the party in the year 1917.

In September Lenin, who was compelled to keep in hiding, gave the signal—"The crisis is ripe! the hour of the in-

surrection has approached." He was right. The bourgeoisie finally lost its head. The democratic parties wanted the remains of the confidence of the masses. The Russian army no longer wanted to fight for the foreign aims of imperialism.... The oppressed nationalities rose up against the bureaucracy of Petrograd; in the most important sections of Soviet Russia the Bolsheviks were dominant. The Soviets demanded action. The time was ripe to strike....

Only under such social and political conditions was the insurrection possible, and thus it also became inevitable. The party carried through the October insurrection with cold calculation.... For this reason, it brought to victory the Bolsheviks in a country occupying one-sixth of the surface of the globe.

The question now comes up: What was achieved at the high cost of the revolution? Many critics take malicious joy over the fact that the land of the Soviets bears but little resemblance to a realm of general well-being. What did the revolution do and why did the sacrifices justify themselves?

Permit me to think that the difficulties and the mistakes, as well as the achievements of the Soviets are no less familiar to me than to any one else. But in criticism as well as in acclamation, dispassion is needed. Fifteen years! Fifteen years is a long period in the life of a man. But fifteen years in the life of a people is just a minute on the clock of history. In the course of the Civil War in the United States, 50,000 men were killed.

Can such sacrifices be justified from the standpoint of the progressive forces of American society.... Absolutely! And from the standpoint of the development of humanity as a whole, there can be no doubt whatever.

Out of the Civil War came the present United States, with its unbounded practical initiative, its technology and its economic life.... The deepest, the most objective and most indispensable criterion of social progress is the growth of the Russian revolution from this point of view is already gained by experience. The principle of planned economy has for the first time in history shown its ability in recording unheard of results in production in a short space of time....

Thus we have an explanation of the extraordinary persistence of the masses of the people as shown through all the years of the revolution.... The Russian masses of today endure privations, but not passively. With their own hands they are creating a better future. They want to create it at any cost. But let any enemy attempt to impose its will from the outside on the patient masses, and you will see whether they are passive or not.

I am sure that the great American people have the highest interest, moral as well as material, and are in sympathy with the effort of the great Russian people to reorganize their social life on a higher level.

If my short talk can help a few thousand, or even a hundred, Americans to understand the internal inevitability in the development of the Russian revolution, my efforts will have been well rewarded.

League Resolution For New York Hunger March Conference

The following resolution of the Left Opposition was presented to the New York Ratification meeting of the Unemployment Conference in the selection of delegates for the Hunger March:

Resolution

The National Hunger March called by the Unemployment Councils has the endorsement and active support of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

While we are actively participating in the day to day struggle for immediate relief and consider this a most pressing problem of our class, we nevertheless, do not lose sight of, and continually point out, that the solution of unemployment and our other class problems can only be had by the overthrow of the capitalist system.

The struggle for immediate relief and the mobilizing of broad layers of our class to support the Hunger March on Washington can only be accomplished upon the basis of the United Front, as the latest united front of the Communist Party, the socialist party, trade unions and other worker organizations of the Chicago Unemployment Conference. In order to expose the social-reformers. Any other so-called united front is only a caricature and a denial of the Leninist United Front.

The Communist League (Opposition) fraction of the Communist Party ask the delegates assembled at the New York ratification meeting to call upon the Communist party to officially send delegates to the Hunger March. It is the duty of the Communist party to officially send delegates and give Communist directives.

The Hunger March must not limit its demands to immediate relief. To the demand, for Social and Unemployment Insurance, must be added the demand for the Six Hour Day, the Five Day Week and no reduction in pay. Also the demand for Long Term Credits to the Soviet Union.

The New York Ratification meeting should adopt these demands and measures to increase the class pressure, to expose the enemy and to mobilize greater numbers of our class for the activity of the class struggle.

—NEW YORK BRANCH.
Communist League of America
(Opposition)

JAPAN

Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat

By Jack Weber

Commercial Rivalries

China forms the battleground of the nations and exposes the utterly hopeless contradictions of imperialism. Even back in 1908 U. S. Special Agent Clark, sent to Manchuria, reported: "Manchuria is a very important market for American flour, oil, tobacco, etc., and especially for American piece goods. It is the only section of China in which American piece goods practically monopolize the market.... The trade of Manchuria is of more importance to the U. S. than to any other nation, with the possible exception of Japan." It was the successful Japanese methods of closing this trade to the U. S. that led to the Hays formulation of the Open Door policy, a policy consistently accepted in words by Japan and broken in deed by the methods of railway rebates to Japanese business, by the prompt delivery of Japanese goods and the holding up of foreign goods, by the forgery of trade marks, in fact all the methods taught by capitalism. The foreigners pay full duties on goods entering Manchuria, the Japs evade these duties. It was fundamentally this conflict that led to the "political" outcry against the Japs in the U. S.

Pacific Shipping

A deadly conflict is constantly being waged for control of Pacific shipping. Here the low wages of Japanese seamen

give Japan an advantage although she is at the peculiar disadvantage of requiring eleven sailors for every eight needed on U. S. ships due to the lower stature of the Japs. Both countries use the shrewd "catch-as-catch-can" methods in this conflict. Despite all its disadvantages (older and fewer ships) the Japs control the shipping of 80 percent of their own freightage (imports and exports).

Controversies with the U. S.

The period from the Russo-Jap War to the present is sown with innumerable seeds of conflict. The ousting of American business from Manchuria raised a storm of obloquy in the press here against all things Japanese. In San Francisco, Japanese children were excluded from the ordinary schools and were forced to attend special schools for Orientals. The Japanese agitation about this matter caused President Roosevelt to send the U. S. fleet into the Pacific for a "tour" of the world (1908). Continued friction over immigration led to the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1912, the Japs withholding passports from laborers if no exclusion law were passed. But the California alien law of 1920 and the Supreme Court decision shutting the Japs out of citizenship led up to the exclusion law of 1924.

The conflict over loans and railways

in China present a Gordian knot in the economic battle for supremacy in the Far East. Harriman tried to purchase the South Manchurian railway in 1905. This attempt being futile, Knox then tried to "neutralize" Manchuria by making the railways "international", a move whose only fruit was the secret partitioning of Manchuria between Czarist Russia and Japan. In 1913 came the attempt to grant an international loan to China for the purpose of building a rival railway to the South Manchurian in Shantung. The State Department approved the "consortium" for loans to China in 1919. However, in every case Japan has outmaneuvered the U. S. imperialists in this sphere.

The World War intensified the struggle for mastery. The U. S. opposed the 21 demands and the attempt of Japan to seize the Siberian Maritime Provinces in the 1918-1920 intervention. Owing to American cable and wireless interests, the U. S. opposed the ceding of the Island of Yap to Japan as a "mandate".

American militarism saw with dismay the handing over to Japan of the strategic Caroline and Marshall Islands and there has been constant friction over the secret building of naval bases in these islands. Finally the United States called Japan to order at the Washington Conference in 1921 where Japan was forced to retreat temporarily. At this conference the U. S. forced the abrogation of the Anglo-Jap alliance of 1902 which formed a threat to the U. S., but which had also become embarrassing to England. At the present time Stimson continues the policy of opposition, by refusing to recognize Manchukuo. Here is Tanaka's view of recent developments: "The Nine Powers Agreement is exclusively the reflection of

the spirit of trade rivalry, England and America wanted, by means of their great wealth, to smash our influence in China. The proposal for the limitation of armaments is merely a means of curtailing our military power and depriving us of the possibility of conquering the huge territory of China."

Chinese Trade

The share of the U. S. in Chinese trade is on the increase. It controlled 17 per cent of Chinese imports in 1928, the Japanese controlling 26.4 percent. Japan's share is also increasing at the expense of England. The struggle of the U. S. against the strengthening of Japan's influence in China is reflected politically in the alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek. The Americans feel that their strongest ally would be the growth of a unified Chinese bourgeoisie. Aerial developments, radio communication, transport are being furthered rapidly by U. S. capitalism.

The Strategy of War

Why has not war resulted long since between Japan and the U. S.? The answer lies in the immense distances involved. So long as Japan controls her inland sea and the open routes to China, she has nothing to fear from the U. S. with its nearest naval base 5,000 miles away. The effective battle radius of modern fleets from their bases is considered to be only 500 miles. Whether aircraft can revolutionize the situation remains a problem of the future. Japanese control of the Caroline and Marshall Islands means a threat to the flank of any invading navy over 2,000 miles of its route by submarines. Only with the help of a capitalist Russia could the U. S. hope to emerge from an impasse in case of war with Japan.

(To Be Continued)

The Question of War Debts

World Bourgeoisie Upset by Sharp Conflicts Over Problem

The elections are over and the politicians can again talk openly about what the bankers have been discussing privately. The war debt question has pushed itself to the fore and has taken some of the columns devoted to the beer question. Hoover and Roosevelt are discussing this issue. The democrats and republicans are trying to iron out some of the difficulties to enable Congress to present a working basis in order that the capitalists may have a suitable Christmas present this year.

The question of the American loans is one of the most important knots the capitalists have to unravel. Its importance is due to the fact that the war debts is one side of the question of markets. And markets is a life and death question for the capitalists of the United States. The extension of long and short term credits to other capitalist nations out of the vast accumulation of the American capitalists has its many-sided difficulties in this decay stage.

The history of the American loans to the allies, Americas entrance into the war and the continuation of heavy borrowing by Europe after the war, expressed by the struggle over Reparations, has been given first attention by the American capitalists, even though the middle-class congressmen would have us believe otherwise.

Since the Lausanne Conference, reparations from Germany, for the allies, is a thing of the past; so the allies want to consider the debts in the same light. But Uncle Sam is not so foolish. According to the latest figures the American capitalists and their government loaned \$7,077,000,000 to Europe during the war, and \$3,261,000,000 after the war, making a total of 10 billion dollars. In principle and interest the borrowers agree to pay 22 billion dollars and have paid \$2,623,000,000 before the Hoover Moratorium. Now the low world price level has doubled the debt when considered in the light of payment in kind.

When the last world war broke out the loans to these European nations meant, considering the relationship of forces—European War plus American loans produced rich new markets for the American capitalists. The Americans were able to take over markets in all parts of the world. Loans to rival imperialists in Europe enabled the United States capitalists to invade the long protected European markets. Factories hummed and profits rolled in while the reformers and the labor leaders behind the workers to American imperialist plans.

The decision of America to enter the war on the side of the "allies" like all other problems, for the determining reason, sifted down to the question of economic interest. The bankers' judgment has proven fruitful but the objective conditions of decay capitalism has reduced and contradicted the measures for further world domination.

As soon as the war was over Great Britain and the other allies took immediate steps to get out of the clutches of the American dollar. The British Government withdrew orders for American commodities at war time prices. The cancellation of these orders would shatter the structure and hopes of the American imperialism. Hoover who was the United States Food Administrator at the time wrote President Wilson:

"Our manufacturers have provided the particular types of manufacture required by each of these governments and have enormous stocks of these material on hand ready for delivery." "If there should be no remedy to the situation we shall have a debacle in the American markets, and with the advance of several hundred million dollars now outstanding from the banks to the pork-products industry we shall not only be precipitated into a financial crisis but shall betray the American farmers who have engaged in these ends. The surplus is so large that there can be no absorption of it in the United States, and it, being perishable, will go to waste."

The American capitalist were caught in a structure of their own making. They could not withdraw without losing their key position. They were forced to wade deeper into international problems. From this flows the post war loans. To protect and extend American markets.

As soon as the dollar "solved" one contradiction a new one, more menacing grew out of the "solution". Additional loans preserved her markets and held off the day of reckoning. By 1923 the extension of the October revolution had outgrown other dangers and a series of measures from the Dawes plan down to the present have been taken—to save tottering capitalism, to hold in check rival imperialism and to insure markets for America. Expensive markets, but nevertheless markets.

American loans to Europe had its positive political side in the past but the quantity of the loans has reached such proportions, particularly with Germany, that a quantity change has taken place and further loans on the same basis shakes the structure of American economy.

The contradictions have grown. In the past the allies paid what Uncle Sam extended in loans. The American loans through the Dawes Plan and the Young Plan kept ahead of the reparation payment on the one hand and the repayment of loans by the allies on the other hand. In addition to this between 1923 and 1928 American exports to Europe have increased by \$281,000,000 but American loans in the same period increased in value by \$490,000,000. American accumulation of capital is the concrete expression of Marx's abstraction in "Das Kapital".

During the war America loaned to the allies commodities in the form of munitions, textiles, cereal and tobacco. In return, the American capitalists obtained

provisions for such treatment of our trade by the debtor nations as will assure access of American goods to its markets on fair competitive terms."

The New York Times in an editorial on War Debts on November 26th informs Congress that, "Realization of the interdependence of the world is wanted in Congress today." It starts the editorial with the above sentence and makes the following conclusion: "If, by our attitude toward Great Britain and France, the hope of Germany to progress is destroyed, what barrier will remain against the spread of Communism." In the decay of capitalism American must not only protect herself and her markets but she cannot put this above the capitalist interest to prevent the spread of the October revolution.

It looks as through the American capitalists and their government are in an impasse. Gold and commodities in payment according to the world price level is out of the question. There is another way which will enable the American imperialists to gain an advantage point in the present world struggles.

The Moratorium was an important preliminary step for the realizing of the line up of the imperialists for the coming war. Now the American imperialists are making haste to gain an advantage point in the present world struggle through further use of the War Debts as a club over the heads of her allies. The allies of course are trying to turn the loans into a club over America's head.

The discussion over the war debts is taking on the plan, no matter what form they cloak the barrier for cancellation or reduction of loans in, of America's struggle as the leading imperialist to extend her domination over greater sections. The U. S. aim is: (1) for trade concessions, (2) for secret agreements for the United States in the re-alignment of world forces in preparation for the approaching war, (3) and the struggle to rebuild a world financial structure with Dollar supremacy, (4) and to prop up decay capitalism.

The question has been posed in bold relief by the world crisis and the imperialists are struggling to answer it in their own way, to their own liking. But they are not the only ones concerned with the problems or are they the only ones who are "sitting in the game".

The proletariat and their party the Communist party, threaten to upset the whole structure. With the Marxian theory of the permanent revolution the revolutionists can alter the whole course.

—HUGO OEHLER.

THE MILITANT

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Is the A.F. of L. Moving Leftward?

(Continued from page 1)

question presents itself also in the form of a grievance. How can they lead the organized workers within "safe" channels so long as the employers insist upon what they consider a too heavy price of wage cutting—too heavy because the workers appear to become unwilling to accept? They still remember the editorial in the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain three years ago, at the time of the Toronto convention. That editorial gave them a gentle slap: "You self-complacent officers are too easy in your swivel chairs while the job of organizing the workers in the South is left to the Communists. You must assert your leadership." They then smarted under the sting. And now, although this is likely going considerably beyond the scope of the advice of that editorial, the swivel chair artists are aiming to show leadership in order to regain their previous position of being able to force concessions from capitalism sufficient to become again the trusted and well-rewarded lieutenants. That this can be fully substantiated there need be no doubt and it would be dangerous to fall into any illusions whatever as to anything else being expected from them.

Even the most sketchy analysis will easily bear this out. For example, the main sponsor of the unemployment insurance proposal was John L. Lewis. The very one who has long ago solved his own problem of security—crisis or no crisis. By his one-time first lieutenant, Frank Farrington he was accused—and there would be little reason to disbelieve the accusation—of having accepted \$100,000 from the Kentucky coal mining interests to keep that field working during the miners national strike of 1922. He was accused of having received \$650,000 from the Harriman bank of New York for services rendered in Pennsylvania during that same strike when 60,000 Fayette and Somerset county miners found themselves betrayed and their new budding organization destroyed. He now more particularly feels the sting of the most recent revolt in Illinois where 30 to 40,000 miners have definitely parted with his wrecking policies and taken the direction of the Progressive Miners Union. Surely he has reason to make an attempt at staging a comeback and he will have not the slightest scruples in making it apparently via the progressive route. Even Matthew Woll, the chairman of the convention resolution committee, to whom no red-baiting method is too debasing and no ambition too elevated, just as long it gives him publicity, was "won" for the proposal. Not to forget Victor A. Olander, the secretary of the resolutions committee, often named the statesman of labor because of his ability to give a kind of lofty theoretical interpretation to the base position of serving capital within labor's ranks, also was "won" for the proposal.

All have become "convinced" that drastic steps are required by the present unemployment situation. Undoubtedly they feel that they have been let down by their benefactors and are animated by the zeal of a "just" grievance. The New York Times quotes Green as hinting "force" at the A. F. of L. convention to get the shorter week. Yes he did speak very radically when he exclaimed: "We say that we are going to strike for this great economic reform. Just as the carpenters led the fight for the eight-hour day, so the time has come for some militant union to lead the fight for the shorter work-day and work-week. I and my associates on the executive council are going to find a way out even though we may be compelled to resort to forcible methods to compel industry to yield. We will not be denied the realization of this great reform. It will be given to us in response to reason or we will secure it through force of some kind."

Thus spoke the pious Baptist Green, but we are sure that we get a much better picture of him from one of his typical statements appearing in the "Federationist" of June 1931. He said:

"As depression has laid its paralyzing hand on the business of the world, bringing catastrophe to a quarter of a million of people, we look to gatherings of captains of finance and leaders of industry to find the way out."

The Real Green

We still remember Green in his true role pledging at the Hoover conference, during the early part of the crisis, that there would be no strikes during this period of economic stress. We remember him speaking at West Point, close to that time, giving what was tantamount to a pledge of labor's docile readiness for the next war. While there has been a change in phraseology, has there been any change in essence since that time? Hardly.

The old heads, if such a distinction can be made in the convention corridors, deplored the actions taken by the delegates. They were more intransigently standpat and could not see the reason for indulging in the luxury of such a modern maneuver. Listen to the argument of Furuseth, who by his own powers, guarded as the rock of ages, has succeeded in reducing the International Seamen's Union to a mere shell. He exclaimed: "The insurance proposal will make out of a free man a pleading beggar who must go for his food to others." Well, is that not already the position which he has helped the members of his own union so excellently to arrive at? Howard of the International Typo-

International Workers School

Attend the Classes

Monday
STATE AND REVOLUTION—WEBER

Wednesday
THEORETICAL SYSTEM OF MARXISM—OEHLER.

Sunday
HISTORY OF THE COMINTERN—SHACHTMAN

Our Second Term Begins January First. Next issue will carry announcement of classes and instructors.

LEON TROTSKY

Soviet Economy in Danger

(Continued from last issue)

But why are the living conditions bad? The papers refer in explanation to the contemptuous (!) attitude to the questions relating to the living conditions of the workers and to providing them with the necessities of life." (F. I. September 24). With this single expression the Stalinist press has said more than it had intended. "A contemptuous attitude" to the needs of the workers in a workers' state is possible only on the part of an arrogant and uncontrolled bureaucracy.

This risky explanation was made necessary, no doubt, in order to hide the basic fact: the direct lack of material goods to supply the workers. The national income is incorrectly distributed. Economic tasks are being set without any account being taken of the actual means. An increasingly inhuman load is being dumped on the shoulders of the workers.

References to "breaks" in the supply of foodstuffs are now to be met with in every number of the Soviet press. Malnutrition plus forced exertions. The combination of these two conditions is enough to do away with the equipment and to exhaust the producers themselves. In consolation, Pravda prints a photograph of a working woman in the act of feeding "her own private" pig. That is precisely the way out. "Private domestic economy," lectures the paper (October 3), "hitherto tied the worker to capitalism but now it attaches him to the Soviet system." One cannot believe one's eyes! Once upon a time we learned that private domestic economy depends upon the enslavement of the woman, the most abominable element of social slavery in general. But now it appears that "its own private" pig attaches the proletariat to socialism. Thus the hypocritical functionaries turn cruel necessity into virtue.

Poor nourishment and nervous fatigue engender an apathy to the surrounding environment. As a result, not only the old factories but also the new ones that have been built according to the last word in technology, fall quickly into a moribund state. Pravda itself issues the following challenge, "Try and find at least one blast furnace that is not wallowing in rubbish!"

As touches the conditions of morale, they are no better than the physical conditions. "The management of the factory has cut itself away from the masses" (Pravda). Instead of a sensitive approach to the workers, there obtain "bare-faced commanding and domineering." In every individual instance the matter touches isolated factories. Pravda cannot guess that the sum of the individual cases constitutes the Stalinist regime.

In the entire non-ferrous metal industry, "there is not a single factory committee that functions more or less satisfactorily" (For Industrialization, September 13). However, how and why is it that in a workers' state the factory committees—of the entire industry and not only in the branch of non-ferrous metals—function unsatisfactorily? Is it not, perhaps, because they are strangled by the party bureaucracy?

At the Dzerzhinsky locomotive plant, during a single session of the nucleus bureau of the blacksmiths, there were taken up simultaneously 18 cases of expulsions from the party; in the wheelwrights—9 cases; in the boiler-makers—12 cases. The matter is not restricted to an isolated factory. Commandeering reigns everywhere. And the sole answer of the bureaucracy to the initiative and criticism from below are—repressions.

The draft of the Platform of the International Left Opposition proclaims, "The living standards of the workers and their role in the state are the highest criterion of socialist successes." "If the Stalinist bureaucracy had approached the tasks of planning and of the living regulation of economy from this viewpoint," we wrote more than a year ago, "it would not have missed five frightfully each time, it would not have been compelled to put through the policies of wasteful zig-zags, and it would not have been placed face to face with political dangers." (Bulletin 23, page 5).

Rural Economy

"The rural economy of the Soviet Union," wrote Pravda on September 28, "has become absolutely entrenched on the road to Socialism." Such phrases, bolstered up as a rule by bare citations of the number of collectivized homesteads and hectares, represent in themselves a hollow mockery of the actual condition of the rural economy and of the interrelations between the city and the village.

The headlong chase after breaking records in collectivization, without taking any account of the economic and cultural potentialities of the rural economy, has

The Situation on the Eve of the Second 5 Yr. Plan - A Marxian Analysis

led in actuality to ruinous consequences. It has destroyed the stimuli of the small commodity producer long before it was able to supplant them by other and much higher economic stimuli. The administrative pressure, which exhausts itself quickly in industry, turns out to be absolutely powerless in the sphere of rural economy.

"The village of Caucasus," we are informed by this same Pravda, "was awarded the prize for its spring sowing campaign. Concurrently, the tillage turned out to be so poor that the fields were entirely overgrown by weeds." The village of Caucasus is a symbol of the administrative hue and cry after quantity in the domain of rural economy. 100 percent collectivization has resulted in 100 percent overgrowth of weeds on the fields.

The kolkhozes were allotted more than 100,000 tractors. A gigantic victory. But as the innumerable local newspaper reports show, the effectiveness of the tractors far from corresponds to their number. At the Poltava machine building station, one of the newest, "out of 27 tractors recently delivered, 19 are already seriously damaged". These figures do not hold only for exceptional cases. The station on the Volga Ukraine has 52 tractors; of these, two have been out of operation since spring, 14 are being completely overhauled, and of the remaining 36, less than half are being utilized in sowing, "and even these remain alternately idle." The coefficient of the useful functioning of the 100,000 tractors has not been determined as yet!

During the dizzyest moment of 100 percent collectivization, Rakovsky made a stern diagnosis, "in the sum total of the results which have been prepared for by the entire preceding policies and which have been aggravated by the period of the ultra-Left adventurism, the chief result will be the lowering of the productive forces of the rural economy, indubitably evident in the sphere of stock raising and in a part of the utilization devoted to raising technical raw material, and becoming increasingly evident in the sphere of the cultivations of grains."

Was Rakovsky mistaken? Unfortunately, no. Nothing can produce so shocking an impression as the small, quite imperceptible, decree issued by the C. E. C. on September 11, 1932, which met with no comments in the Soviet press. Under the signature of Kalenin and

Molotov, the individual peasant proprietors are duty-bound to relinquish, for the needs of the kolkhozes and at their request, all horses for a stipulated price. The kolkhozes are in turn obliged to return the horses to their owners in "good condition."

Such is the inter-relation between the Socialist and petty bourgeois sections of rural economy! The kolkhozes which cultivate 80-90 percent of the arable lands and which should, in theory, attract the individualists by their achievements, are compelled in actuality to resort to the legal aid of the state in order to obtain through compulsion horses from individual proprietors for their own needs. Everything here is topsy-turvy. This single decree of September 11 represents a deadly sentence to the policies of Stalin-Molotov.

The Problem of Establishing the Link

Could the inter-relationships between the city and the village become improved on this material productive basis? Let us recall once again: The economic foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat can be considered fully assured only from that moment when the State is not forced to resort to administrative measures of compulsion as touches the majority of the peasantry in order to obtain the products of rural economy; i. e., when in return for machines, tools and objects for personal use, the peasants voluntarily supply the state with the necessary quantity of food-stuffs and raw material. Only on this basis—along with other necessary conditions, internally as well as internationally—can collectivization obtain a true socialist character.

The correlation between the prices for the products of industry and the products of rural economy has changed indubitably in favor of the peasant. In truth, it is an unfeasible task, to perform an accounting in this sphere that corresponds in some manner to reality. For instance, Pravda writes that "the cost of a quintal of milk ranges in the kolkhozes from 43 to 206 roubles." The variation is even greater between the State prices and the price on the legalized markets. No less heterogeneous are the prices for the industrial products, all depending upon the channel through which they reach the peasant. But, without in any way pretending to be exact, it is possible to assert that the price-scissors, in the narrow meaning of the term, have been closed by the peasants. For its own products, the village has begun to obtain such a quantity of monetary equivalents as would assure it, if such goods obtained.

(To be continued)

ther the A. F. of L. convention will follow. Note—Another article taking up further in the next issue.

MONEY FOR SUBS

Elsewhere in this issue we outline the second phase of the Club Plan. It concerns the Paid Sub Cards. We explain there how this scheme can be made to boot the circulation of the Militant. Here we want to put these Paid Sub Cards to an additional use. We need money; not just for the usual routine of running an office and getting out mail. The situation is really serious. We are in a desperate financial situation. The two two-page issues were not tricks to hijack a few extra dollars out of our comrades and friends.

We were forced to retreat to two pages. It was either that or no issue. To us the continuity of the weekly Militant is a vital question. And we are sure it is that to all our readers. That is what is at stake—a weekly four page or what? We must, at once, make reasonably sure that we can get out a weekly four page. For this purpose we need money.

But we don't want to climb out of this hole to plunge into another one at a later date. We want, if possible, to emerge from this crisis, with your help, in such a way that we can take a step toward avoiding such a crisis, in the very near future, at any rate. That is why we appeal here to you to support the weekly Militant by buying these Paid Sub Cards. Buy them in blocs of at least four. That is the minimum unit. This gives us two dollars. Then get busy either selling them to workers or distributing them free according to your circumstances.

If you recall them buy another bloc of four or more. If you do this you will be giving invaluable aid to the Militant. You will be helping it financially and at the same time extending its base. At the same time you will have created a small revolving fund of your own which you will be using exclusively for helping the Militant. And all that this involves financially on your part is an outlay of a minimum of two dollars. The turnover does the trick. Everytime you buy a bloc of cards for two dollars it starts four subs on their way in addition to giving us financial help. Can you do it? If you can, do it at once.

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Hoover's Message

While the police of Washington were terrorizing the National Hunger Marchers who had come to the opening session of Congress to demand immediate relief and unemployment insurance, Hoover delivered his message to Congress. The message called for greater support for the bankers and a greater struggle against the workers. The highlights of the Hoover message called for: reorganization of the banking system for the bankers; greater centralization of the governmental apparatus in the interest of the imperialists. An 11 percent wage cut for the Federal employees; a cut for the Veterans Fund; reduction of government building and expense; and a sales tax to shift a greater share of the tax burden to the workers and the middle class. Hoover may not be the next president but Hoover is making haste to serve the imperialists and beat down the workers further before he turns the job over to Roosevelt and the Democrats.

Hoover dealt primarily with the internal difficulties of the capitalists. In the main he kept in the background the equally vital international questions confronting American imperialism. This is primarily due to the fact that if Wall Street can keep Congress busy with the internal problems (that must be answered), Wall Street will see to it that the president and the cabinet take care of the international problems.

The international problems can be handled to the best interest of the imperialists if the facts are kept in the files and archives. Further, the American state structure has a carry-over from the past stage that is cumbersome and must be eliminated if the state is to function with speed for the imperialists. There is still too much middle class weight of the old school. The new flunkies must be lined up to support imperialism and, in the mean time, the "reorganization of the government through the grouping and consolidating of more than fifty executives and independent agencies" must be put through.

Smith's proposal for New York bears the same stamp. The imperialist must centralize the government for economy but then also use the economy argument as a smoke screen to extend its grip over the whole state at the expense of the other sections of the exploiters.

After this is accomplished they will be able to take up the international questions as free and above board as they do the internal measures for the bankers and against the workers.

The major international questions confronting the imperialists that the government departments are handling are: war debts, the economic conference, the disarmament conference, the position of the dollar and a relations with the USSR. The question of the USSR falls into three subdivisions: to obtain markets; the possibility of a change in the form of the economic war being waged against the Soviet Union; and prevention of the extension of the October revolution. Around the other questions, this question of the October revolution and the relation to the other imperialists, such as England, France, Japan and Germany are interwoven. America must find a way to gain a position of advantage in the coming

(Continued on page 3)

Save the Militant!

This issue appears a week late. That means that we have been forced to skip an issue. This is a retreat from the weekly Militant. It was made necessary by the increasing depth of our financial crisis which placed insuperable obstacles in the way of getting out last week's issue.

There is no point in detailing here all the debts and consequent technical difficulties which forced us to this retreat. More eloquent than this is the loss of an issue.

The loss of this issue is a warning to all of us comrades, that unless we come to the aid of the Militant now we may not be able to avoid skipping issues again. We may even be forced to return to a semi-monthly basis. As a matter of fact, at the present moment, we have no way of telling whether we will be able to get out next week's issue.

The life of the weekly Militant is at stake. The issue is squarely up to us. We alone can decide that it will appear regularly as a weekly. We must make the decision and make it promptly.

This blow comes at a critical moment. The League has been making forward strides in Pittsburgh. New Castle, Davenport, Des Moines and Montreal. Branches have been organized in these cities. We have held aloft the banner of Communism in the Illinois coal fields. The recent developments in the A. F. of L. have confirmed our program on unemployment.

In all of these activities the Militant has played an outstanding part. It has consistently and tirelessly hammered out the Leninist line of the Left Opposition. Now we stand on the threshold of further advances new and greater

possibilities to put forward, the ideas of Leninism are opening up new avenues. We must assure the regular appearance of the Militant. If our central organizer is forced to retreat all our other activities will be forced to retreat to a slower tempo.

Against this perspective we are sounding a serious note of alarm. This dark perspective must be realized. We must make a determined struggle against it.

At the present moment this must take the form of donations. First of all we must dig into our own pockets. The Militant comes first. Then we must scurry around to every sympathizer and friend, put the plight of the Militant squarely before him and ask him for help.

Large donations will accomplish more than small ones. But no amount is too small. And every penny counts. All funds must be raised in the shortest possible time and rushed to the Militant at 126 East 16 Street, N. Y.

It is up to us to save the Militant. Let us pull it through this crisis. It is our paper; it is the organ of the international proletarian revolution in the United States; it is the voice of Marxism; the banner bearer of the ideas of the October Revolution, of the International Left Opposition. To have it retreat would be to strike a blow at the entire international movement. This must not be allowed to happen.

The movement and its friends must avert this catastrophe. It must respond with help at once. Funds must be raised and rushed. Will you do you share?

L. Trotsky: BONAPARTISM IN GERMANY

The elections to the Reichstag put the "presidential" government to a new critical test. It is useful, therefore to remind of its social and political nature. It is precisely through the analysis of such concrete, and at first glance "sudden" political phenomena, as the government of Papen-Schleicher, that the Marxian method reveals its invaluable advantages.

At one time we defined the "presidential" government as a species of bonapartism. It would be incorrect to see in this definition the chance outcome of a desire to find a familiar name for an unfamiliar phenomena. The decline of capitalist society places again bonapartism together with Fascism and in connection with it on the order of the day. Previously we have characterized the government of Brüning as a bonapartist one. Then, in retrospect we narrowed its definition to a half, or pre-bonapartist one.

What did other Communists and in general 'left' groups say in this connection? To await an attempt at a scientific definition of a new political phenomena from the present leadership of the Comintern would, of course, be naïve, not to say foolish. The Stalinists simply place Papen in the Fascist camp. If Wells and Hitler are "twins" then such a trifle as Papen is altogether not worth breaking ones head about. This is the same political literature which Marx called vulgarian and which he taught us to despise. In reality Fascism represents one of the two main camps of civil war. Stretching his arm to power, Hitler first of all demanded the relinquishing of the street to him for 72 hours. Hindenburg refused this. The task of Papen-Schleicher—to avoid civil war by disciplining amicably the national-socialists and chaining the proletariat to police fetters. The very possibility of such a regime is determined by the relative weakness of the proletariat.

The SAP itself of the question of the Papen government as well as of other questions by means of general phrases. The Brandlerists preserved silence on our definition as long as the matter concerned Brüning, that means the incubation period of bonapartism. When, however, the Marxian characteristic of Bonapartism confirmed itself fully by theory and practice of the presidential government the Brandlerites came out with their criticism: the wise owl of Thälheimer takes flight in the late hours of the night.

The Stuttgart "Workers Tribune" teaches us that bonapartism raising the military-police apparatus over the bourgeoisie in order to defend its class domination against its own political parties, must be supported by the peasantry and must use methods of social democracy. Papen is not supported by the peasantry and does not introduce a pseudo-radical program. Therefore, our attempt to define the government of Papen as bonapartism "does not fit at all". This is severe but carries no weight.

How do the Brandlerites themselves define the government of Papen? In the same issue of the "Tribune" there are very timely announcements of the lecture of Brandler on the subject: "Junker-monarchical, Fascist or proletarian dictatorship?" In this triad the regime of Papen is presented as a Junker-monarchist dictatorship. This is most worthy of the "Forward" and of vulgar democrats in general. That titled German bonapartists make some sort of little presents to the Junker is obvious. That these gentlemen are inclined to a monarchistic trend of thoughts is also known. But it is purest liberal nonsense that the essence of the presidential regime is Junker monarchism.

Such terms as liberalism, bonapartism, fascism have the character of generalizations. Historical phenomena never repeat themselves completely. It would not have been difficult to prove that even the government of Napoleon III, compared with the regime of Napoleon the first, carried no weight.

(Continued on page 4)

A.F.L. and 6-Hour Day

Cincinnati Convention Shows Left Wing Opportunities

The present storm and stress of the capitalist economic system begins to leave an indelible imprint upon the American Federation of Labor. It has produced a new view, which is advanced under pressure and solely for the record. In this respect the four years from the end of bourgeois prosperity to the present day widespread destitution and starvation, record a change of front on the key problem of unemployment. It is graphically illustrated in the last four annual conventions.

At the Toronto convention, in 1929, there gathered a galaxy of labor skates

gaily partaking of the coveted liquid stream which flows so freely across the border. Their main subject of conversation, outside of the monotonous convention routine, was the latest quotations on the stock exchange. At Boston in 1930, some rumblings of dissatisfaction were audible; but the gathering denounced any schemes of unemployment insurance in customary reactionary terms. At Vancouver, in 1931, the rumblings became almost a storm; but the gathering remained adamant and only the phrase became radicalized. At Cincinnati, during the last couple of weeks, the delegates were compelled to debate serious issue and the convention adopted a policy of favoring unemployment insurance.

This change, of course, is not so sweeping when we consider the acuteness of the present crisis and the millions out of work. Moreover the view of the A. F. of L. leadership of the (Continued on page 4)

OPEN FORUM

The A. F. of L. Convention

Speaker: ARNE SWABECK
Friday, December 16, 1932
126 East 16 Street,
ADMISSION: 15c
Auspices:
N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

NEW YEAR'S EVE
DANCE AND
ENTERTAINMENT
JAZZ BAND - SKITS - SOLOS
SATURDAY DECEMBER 31, 1932
at 126 East 16th Street
ADMISSION: 35 CENTS
Auspices: N. Y. Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

CONCERT AND DANCE
with a program of
MUSIC - RECITATIONS - IMPROVIZATIONS
Also Fine Dance Music
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1932
at 126 East 16th Street
Admission in Advance 25c at door 35c
Auspices: Unser Kampf Arbeiter Club

Gov't. Answers Hunger Marchers With Force

Militants Surrounded by 5000 Armed Police

WASHINGTON, D. C.—

While we are parked on a street on the outskirts of this city with police on all sides I can take this opportunity to write an account of the most striking events in the Hunger March up to this point.

It was in Wilmington, Delaware, that we suffered the first attack of the police. When we reached the outskirts of Wilmington, Friday night about 5:30 P. M., we left our trucks, formed into lines and marched through the streets with our banners despite the announcement in the press that we would not be allowed to march nor to stay overnight.

We marched through side streets. I suppose we were not allowed on the main streets. The crowds were by far the largest that we had seen since leaving New York, except in Philly. This must have been due to the expectation that the police would make trouble. However we reached our destination, a large, empty, barn-like structure, without encountering any violent developments. These came later.

Shortly after the meeting started the police, reinforced by firemen and various home-guard elements broke up the meeting with their clubs and billys and drove the marchers to the church and scattered the crowd. The marchers barricaded the doors and fought off the police until gas bombs were hurled through the windows.

The delegates numbering 300, of whom almost 200, were women were forced to leave the church. The men were mercilessly beaten by the hulkers who outnumbered them. The marchers were scattered; many were arrested; numbers of them required medical attention and some were taken to the hospital. Ben Gold, who is with us on the march, is in the hospital. Anne Burlak is arrested. The men, though outnumbered, put up a good fight, and several cops had to be taken away to quieter places.

Many comrades are missing, mostly women. At the present it is impossible to check up. The 23 arrested are held on various charges and the IRLD is looking after them. A delegation went to the police station to demand their release. We don't know the result yet.

En Route Again

Saturday morning under heavy police guard we left for Baltimore arriving there late in the afternoon. Food, and shelter had been provided for some of us in an armory by seven citizens after aid had been refused by the mayor. This was the first time on the trip that we received aid other than that given by the WIR and workers' organizations. A meeting was held later in the armory.

Sunday noon we left for Washington under guard of the state police. The police led us into a sort of blind alley at the dead end of a cross street. A large squad of cops with tear gas was posted on the hill above us on our left. This location is such that it was a little matter for the police to control the situation.

In Washington the district and federal

officials put every obstacle in the way of the committee in their efforts to rent a hall for a convention which was to take place today, Monday. The committee finally succeeded in renting a small hall that holds 800. Whether 800 of us will be permitted to enter the city proper is another matter. At present the situation is deadlocked; we are waiting here and so are the police. The plan of the police seems to be to keep us here until we become discouraged.

The Convention

The convention was finally held out here. Three resolutions were adopted. One scored the refusal of the authorities to grant a permit to parade in Washington; the second endorsed the demands of the Hunger March. Amter and Benjamin spoke. Benjamin said that if we were not allowed to parade, a committee which would be selected would present our demands to Congress. His speech also contained a vague threat to march in any event. He concluded by saying that when we return home we should attempt to draw the broad masses into the next march. But he didn't say how!

Just another word about the camp. Conditions here are very unsanitary and most of us have severe colds due to exposure. Although lodgings for the women and sick had been secured in Washington many of the men were refused admission to Washington by the police. Provocateurs also made several attempts to start trouble.

We have here about 3000 marchers including 350 women. And a large number of Negro comrades. That special efforts were made to get Negro delegates I learned from conversation with delegates from all sections of the country. The only organizations represented are party organizations. There are a few delegates elected by Left wing groups in the A. F. of L. This is the sum and substance of the United front from below. Recognition of Soviet Russia was demanded only in the slogans carried by the summer.

The marchers displayed considerable militancy, evidenced by their actions in various cities where, in spite of police terror, they succeeded in parading and holding meetings. The organizational side of the march was fairly well handled when you consider the difficulties connected with handling so many people.

I. P. M.

We have just returned from our march to the Capitol where a delegation presented our demands to Congress. The spirit of the marchers, despite their exhaustion and the double lines of police that flanked us on both sides, was excellent. This was all the more remarkable in face of the unsympathetic attitude of the large crowds that lined the streets to watch us.

Our march in face of the determination of the authorities to prevent us from even entering Washington can be considered only as a victory. This proof of the power of mass pressure brings to mind the possibilities in a genuine united front movement.

—BILL KITT.

Opposition at Anti-War Meet in New York

Over six hundred delegates attended the United Youth Conference Against War held in New York City, November 25 to 27. The conference was called by a provisional committee strongly dominated by the socialists, and composed of the leading pacifist and socialist youth organizations and the Lovestonite youth. At the conference itself, in addition to the sponsoring organizations, the student groups of the National Student League, the NSL itself, the YCL, the National Youth Committee of the Communist League (Opposition) and the New York Spartacus Youth Club participated.

The entire conference proceedings were controlled by the socialist and pacifist initiators. Previous to its opening, a caucus meeting of these groups decided to bar the Communist and Left wing representatives from all committees and posts. A well-oiled, steam-rolling machine was organized to prevent the Communist viewpoint from being adequately presented to the delegates. The election to a credential committee—an elementary procedure at conferences—was substituted for the appointed registration committee of the provisional groups!

The keynote speech of A. Fenner Borckway, the chairman of the British Independent Labour Party, gave a left socialist teneur to the conference. He spoke of the inadequacy of the tactics of the socialist parties on war, the need to mobilize the youth to refuse to fight; the development of a 'new technique'—to achieve revolution without bloodshed,—which he refused to explain on the ground

that a counter-technique would thus be facilitated!

Steam Rolling Tactics of the Socialists
The most important phase of the conference was the report of the resolutions committee. The latter consisted of seven socialists and pacifists. The committee rejected, out-of-hand, not merely the resolution presented by the Left Opposition youth, the resolution of the YCL endorsing the Barbusse Amsterdam manifesto, but even the innocent ones of Left wing student groups on student fees, student rights and for participation in the coming Chicago anti-war conference.

In view of the steam-rolling tactics of the Conference, the monopoly of the pacifists and the socialists on the resolutions committee and the organized plan to prevent Communist and dissenting resolutions from being submitted to the delegates, a number of student groups presented a statement, condemning these tactics and calling for the reading of all resolutions from the floor. This procedure was ruled out of order by the chair.

Discussion on the Resolutions
Resolutions on the cancellation of international debts and reparations, recognition of the Soviet Union, etc., were carried. The Committee introduced a resolution which greeted the Soviet Union's disarmament proposal, condemned the United States for not accepting it, and called upon the American youth to support the slogan. The second part of the resolution called upon the American government to disarm by example. The

delegates from the Left Opposition spoke against this resolution. The Lovestonites favored the resolution on the grounds that it calls for the disarmament of the capitalist government!

One of the NSL delegates moved to divide the two sections of the resolution and then spoke against the second part in line with the speeches of the Left Opposition delegation. The socialists replied that they did not expect the American government to disarm but that the demand for disarmament would expose the government before the people. The Young Communist League delegates did not participate in the discussion. All groups with the exception of the Left Opposition voted for the first part of the resolution; a number of NSL delegates joined in the voting against

(Continued on page 2)

Second School Term to Open

With a number of successful courses already held during the first season of its existence, plans are now already under way for a series of courses that will make up the second season of the International Workers' School, organized under the auspices of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

The first season had only three courses and it is now planned to enlarge that number to five. The instructors will include comrades Martin Abern, James P. Cannon, Hugo Oehler, Max Shachtman and Jack Weber, and the courses will cover a wide range of subjects dealing with some of the most important questions before the revolutionary movement today. The school board has proceeded with the idea in mind of making it possible for workers of varying degrees of proletarian instruction to make their choice of one of more of the five courses.

ENROLL NOW!

8 P. M.

The History of the American Labor Movement . . . James P. Cannon

A Series of Eight Lectures
Starts Sunday, January 22nd

Elementary Communism . . . Martin Abern
Starts Monday, January 2nd

Marxian Economics . . . Hugo Oehler
Starts Monday, January 2nd

American History . . . J. Weber
Starts Wednesday, January 4th

Program of the Left Opposition . . . Max Shachtman
Starts Wednesday, January 4th

Registration one dollar per course.

J. WEBER, Administrator
126 East 16th Street,
New York City

MASS MEETING
DEC. 21, 1932

Soviet Economy in Danger

STUYVESANT CASINO
9th Street and 2nd Avenue

ADMISSION: 10 Cents
Auspices: New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

Speakers:
MAX SHACHTMAN
ARNE SWABECK

Letters from Militants

Pittsburgh Opposition and the Hunger March

PITTSBURGH—

A successful meeting in support of the Hunger March to Washington was held here last night by the local branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). The crowd was of good proletarian character, including a group of the most victimized workers in Pittsburgh who came up from the wretched charity soup-house down town (the so-called "Helping Hand"), to attend the meeting which occupied the Miller School auditorium, near Centre Avenue.

Comrade Jim Sifakis opened in the name of the Left Opposition and after a short introductory address, gave the floor to Phil Frankfeld, local party leader and representative of the Unemployed Council. This is the first time to our knowledge that a leading member of the official party has spoken from the platform of a meeting called by the Left Opposition. The Stalinist representative took this step as a consequence of the persistent and successful attempt of the local branch of the League to bring about a measure of united action in the present Hunger March.

Frankfeld gave a well illustrated version of the general line pursued by the Stalinists in the unemployed movement all over the states. He spoke of the possibilities in the budget of the capitalist city government to grant relief; said that the workers could force through this relief only by struggle and then went on to paint the hunger march demonstration in Washington as a general panacea for the sufferings of the working class in this crisis. At no time did he even mention the broader aspects of the hunger march and the struggle of the unemployed in a revolutionary sense. Nor did he link up this struggle with the main aim of overthrowing capitalism.

But he made up for these reformist shortcomings in policy, in the last few minutes of his talk by a terribly revolutionary attack upon the Left Opposition and comrade Trotsky, full of the usual Daily Worker lies and slanders against us. He called us disrupters, people who want to undermine the work of the hunger march to bolster up their own political position. This is apparently the Stalinist idea of carrying out the Leninist united front.

The chairman, comrade Sifakis, made a brief but telling reply to this attack and introduced comrade Gordon who spoke on the Communists and the Hunger March. Comrade Gordon answered Frankfeld's slanderous attack on the Left Opposition, ridiculing Frankfeld's lies and his charges against us as disrupters, underminers, etc., by pointing to our loyal cooperation with the united front committee, of which this meeting, held under the auspices of the League, to which we had invited a representative of the U. F. C.—going even so far as to tolerate his vicious personal attack against us—was in itself sufficient evidence. He then went on to explain the real Leninist reasons for the Opposition's participation in the united front as an inseparable part of revolutionary policy, namely, to foster working class unity in action no matter on how small a scale, and to raise this unity in action up to the level of the overthrow of the capitalist system.

The League speaker outlined the means by which the capitalists suppress the working class and attempt to divide it to prevent common action in its struggle. In the unemployment situation especially, the capitalists attempt to create division in the working class, trying to pit the Negro workers against the white workers, the employed against the unemployed, and, on an international scale, the American workers against their brothers abroad. If the hunger march is to be more than a furry, comrade Gordon said, it is to be a durable achievement for the working class, then it must rally the working class against the attempts of the bosses to divide it. It must adopt slogans that unite the workers. In addition to immediate Relief and Unemployment Insurance, it should inscribe on its banner the six-hour-day, five-day-week, without reduction in pay, to tighten the bonds between the unemployed workers who would thereby get some jobs and the employed workers who would be relieved to some extent of the fear of scabbing by the unemployed. The six-hour-day, conceived in this spirit, would also serve as a practical means of getting the workers on the job to support the jobless in their fight for relief.

While imperialist war is threatening Workers' Russia an economic war against the Soviet Union, fierce and intense, has been going on for fifteen years. This economic war has the greatest share in the creation of those tremendous difficulties which the U. S. S. R. encounters in its Five Year Plan, which are due to the fact that the Soviet State has to sell a great part of its exports at low prices in the world market in order to buy machinery for which the imperialist

countries refuse to grant them loans. The American unemployed have a great practical stake in the Socialist construction of Soviet Russia. Long term credits for the Soviet Union would produce orders for American factories and give jobs to thousands of our unemployed. The slogan of Defend the Soviet Union must be concretized in the Hunger March with the demand for Long Term Credit for the USSR, as a form of international solidarity with the Russian workers and as a means of practical self-aid for the American unemployed.

The speaker asked whether this unemployed program could not serve as a practical basis for broad working class action? It undoubtedly can. The Unemployed Councils with such a program could approach the widest strata of the masses for common action. By challenging the labor fakers in the A. F. of L. and the Socialist party to join in a united front on this basis, they could help to put these seasoned betrayers of the toilers to the test before the workers following them and expose them for what they really are. The Hunger March will be a real success if it serves as the starting point for such an action and on this basis. All class conscious workers were called upon by the speaker to join with the Communist League in supporting the march and in helping to make it a real demonstration of mass power, the opening of an era of genuine and solid united front action on the part of the American working class in this crisis.

With this the representative of the Communist League (Opposition) closed his address. The chairman then announced the arrival of the Hunger Marchers in Pittsburgh and asked the workers present to join in greeting them at West Park the following Thursday. The meeting was then adjourned amid interested discussions between Left Oppositionists and party members or sympathizers as well as other workers present.

—S. H.

Opposition Active in Smokey City

PITTSBURGH—

The Marxist Study Class organized by the League some time ago, has been plugging forward constantly, every new session bringing new forces and increasing the intensity of the discussions. Although the classes are already rather advanced, it is not yet too late to join up. One study group meets on Sunday afternoons, at 2:30 P. M., and has for its subject: The History of the Three Internationals. The next few lectures will deal with the development of the Second International; the Struggles between the Revisionists and the Marxists; the Betrayal of 1914 and the Collapse of the Second International; the Rise of the Third International and the Present Role of the Second (Socialist) International. The other study group meets on Wednesday evenings at 8:30 and has for its subject: The Communist Manifesto. If enough interested newcomers show up, it is planned to start another group on Fundamentals of Communism. All revolutionary workers are invited to attend and to participate in the discussions. The classes meet at 15 Granville Street, near the Wylie Avenue Branch of the Carnegie Library and at present constitute the only Communist educational activities in the city of Pittsburgh. No sincere revolutionist can fail to take advantage.

Work for the United Front Hunger March
In accordance with its participation in the Hunger March United Front Conference, the local group of the League is actively engaged in the preparations for its success. One collection of funds has already been made at the 15th anniversary celebration of the Russian Revolution (held under the auspices of the Marxist Study Class) and turned over to the United Front Committee. From the Committee also, the group has obtained leaflets and collection list and the Pittsburgh comrades are on the go putting these to work. In the very near future, the League intends to hold a couple of mass meetings to rally support for the March and has already obtained leaflets for this purpose. The United Front Committee has promised its cooperation by sending down a speaker to represent it at these meetings.

Greek Workers Educational Circle
The Greek Workers Educational Circle, organized by the League recently, has been holding a class in the Principles of Communism with comrade Sifakis as the instructor. Party members and sympathizers have been attending regularly and discussing together in a comradely manner so as to be able to come to a common understanding of the tasks of the Communists and to prepare the ground for a united effort for revolutionary work among the Greek-speaking workers.

The Stalinists, alarmed at this evidence of a desire for Communist unity between

workers belonging to the Left Opposition and members of the party, have launched a campaign of terror against the party comrades, threatening to expel them for discussing with Left Oppositionists and even going so far as to accuse them of being stool pigeons. But the party members not allowing the bureaucrats to prevent them from getting a Leninist education with this terror. The Marxist ideas of the Communist League will not be stopped from making themselves clear to the party members. No amount of bureaucratic terror will suffice for that.

Stalinist Attacks All Along the Line

The recent increase in the activities of the Left Opposition in Pittsburgh and the formidable progress achieved cannot, of course, help but burn up the Stalinists and their lackeys locally. Not only is the Opposition attacked and slandered right on the spot, as in the Progressive Youth Club and at the United Front Unemployed Committee, but far more so behind its back. Party members and sympathizers are warned not to buy the Militant, not to attend our classes and affairs, attempts are made to blacken the name of workers in any way connected with the Left Opposition. But in spite of everything, the Communist League hurdles the obstacles of the bureaucracy and entrenches itself more and more every day. The Stalinists are forced to the lowest sort of lies and to direct intimidations.

One particularly headless participant in this campaign to defame the Opposition is the local court-jester of the bureaucracy, a certain Jenkins. Jenkins is a well-known pie-cake whose chief argument against the Left Opposition is that it is a minority. His terrible record in the course of twenty years has taught him one paramount principle: namely, that the majority is always right. We will not burden Jenkins with an apt quotation from Engels on the question of majorities and minorities in the revolutionary movement. Engels did not live on the "Hill", and he died before Jenkins's time. Besides—he was a German and never wrote for the Freiheit. Since Jenkins knows only what he reads in the Freiheit, it would hardly be fair of us to tax him with the words of Marx's comrade and co-founder of the proletarian revolutionary movement.

But we do have a right to pose the question as to whether this perennial majorityite speaks in the name of Com-

munist or in the name of some new sort of "proletarian" Zionism? In his unsigned articles in the Freiheit and in his slanderous dribble among the Jewish workers of the "Hill", he constantly harps on the Greek comrades of the Left Opposition, particularly comrades Sifakis and Vomvas, and calls upon the "Jewish workers" to drive these "Greek young (!) gentlemen" away from the "Jewish workers' Street"! In his headless anxiety to besmirch the Opposition and to prevent its irresistible progress, Stalinism has driven this pitiful fool to resort to the arguments of a chauvinist, and a Jewish chauvinist at that!

This very dangerous manifestation of chauvinism in the ranks of the party is only amplified by the fact that the chauvinistic utterances of Genosse Jenkins do not restrict themselves to the Left Opposition alone. The Left Opposition, especially through its Jewish comrades on the "Hill" will mercilessly combat this dangerous sign of Stalinist degeneracy, it will arouse the workers of Pittsburgh to watchfulness in the preservation of the internationalist character of the proletarian revolutionary movement. We will not allow Stalinist corruption, in this chauvinistic form or in any other form to poison the well of our Leninist party. And to Jenkins we can say with confidence, that the few petty bourgeois elements in the "Icor" with whom his shady antics against the Leninist Opposition make a very curious bit, will be a poor consolation to him. The revolutionary workers will learn to judge such tactics and to call them by their proper name.

Other Activities of the Left Opposition

Within the near future the Communist League here intends to hold a number of public meetings and affairs. Preparations are already in process. At these meetings the Left Opposition will strive to make the Pittsburgh workers acquainted with its position, in principles, as well as in the every day class struggle. Dates and places will be announced in forthcoming issues.

Among our comrades here, there are a number active in the trade union movement. Their contacts are increasing and they report that Left wing sympathies within the unions are growing daily. The League is attempting to gauge the possibilities for work in this important field as well, and to help in utilizing them. A start has already been made in the form of a small trade union group.

Opposition at Anti-War Meet in N. Y.

(Continued from page 1)

the second part—the voting of the Lovestonite youth and the YCL on the second part is uncertain although it appears that they did not vote against.

The Chicago Anti-War Conference

Another resolution which aroused dispute was one supporting a number of student anti-war conferences to be held in the coming few months. It included the conference to be held during Christmas at Chicago as an outgrowth of the Barbusse-Amsterdam Conference. The intent of the resolution was to avoid the direct endorsement of the Chicago conference called-for in a resolution submitted to the committee by the National Students League. An amendment was introduced by Donald Henderson, of the NSL, calling upon the delegates to get the students on the campus to send representatives to Chicago. Comrade Carter of the National Youth Committee, Left Opposition, amended Henderson's proposal by adding that the conference call upon working class youth organizations as well as students to participate at Chicago. In the ensuing discussion he explained that it was a mistake to limit the conference call to students; that only under the leadership of working class youth organizations could the students effectively struggle against war; that the Communists should play a leading role in this movement. The Young Communist League delegates kept quiet. On the vote, both the amendment of the NSL and that of the Left Opposition were defeated—the latter being supported by a number of NSL members, a few Socialists and the Lovestonites. The conference to send a delegation to Chicago.

A Continuities Committee was elected. The Communist and Left wing delegates opposed this step until a concrete program of action was arrived at. The important resolutions of the committee were to be referred to this Continuities Committee without being acted upon by the Conference delegates. The objections were overruled. The Young Communist League, the NSL and the Left Opposition Youth declined to accept on this committee because of the steam-rolling, undemocratic character of the Conference, the absence of any concrete discussion on combating war or agreement on a program of action. The Lovestonites, who had participated in the Left wing protest against the steam-rolling tactics, accepted on the Continuities Committee. Their actions and speeches towards the end of the Conference brought forth the enthusiastic applause of the steering committee itself!

The Young Communist League introduced a motion condemning the procedure of the Conference and calling for the support of the Barbusse manifesto. The motion was overwhelmingly defeated. The fraudulent character of the so-called united front conference was obvious to all.

The December issue of the Young Spartacus will carry a detailed report of the Conference and a criticism of the various groups participating.

Lewit-Bleeker Tour Extends Basis of «Unser Kampf» Workers Clubs

From Toronto we proceeded to Cleveland. One of the most striking features of party life in the provinces, is the fact that there is no attempt made to carry on any educational work. The Stalinists have no use for revolutionary theory. This despite the fact that the turnover in the membership is so great and that not alone the ranks, but the leading cadres as well, are ignorant of the basic principles of Communism. When the Left Oppositionists were expelled in the Cleveland district in 1928, it meant the expulsion of the entire educational department from the party, comrade Brahtin was the agit-prop director conducting a circuit school, and Gleisser was the principal instructor. Since then, this entire highly industrial district was found to be on a sufficiently high theoretical level not to require any more education.

Our comrades, on the other hand, failed to continue under Opposition auspices the educational work they had been carrying on for many years in the party, thus filling this gap in the work of the party. Had our comrades done this, we would now have a flourishing branch in Cleveland. We realized this immediately upon our arrival and in the meetings with the comrades, decided to proceed with the immediate organization of classes in Marxism. All our other efforts during our stay in Cleveland were spent on procuring subs for Unser Kampf, and the broadening of the circle of our readers and laying the base for future organization work. On our return trip from the tour, we will stop off in Cleveland and Youngstown to hold lectures on the Opposition viewpoint, for which our comrades are now making the necessary preparations.

Youngstown was visited by us for an overnight stay and we met with the

PAID SUB CARDS FOR THE MINERS

Our campaign for subs for the miners isn't over yet. It is true that we haven't realized the number of subs that we expected. To date we have received only twenty-one subs. That must be an incentive to push on.

The Paid Sub Cards can be used very easily for this purpose. All you have to do is to raise units of two dollars and send them in, specifying that they are for subs for the miners.

Or, to recapitulate our former approach: take a Club Plan blank; see what you can do in the way of getting two half year subs at the regular rate of a dollar and apply the reduction that is given on a Club Plan blank to two subs for the miners. Either method will place the Militant in the hands of the miners.

NEW YORK AND MONTREAL

Two cities continue to move upward. They are New York and Montreal. New York is continuing its spurt upward and has now reached the leaders creating a tie for first place. That is only a momentary condition. At this rate, by next week it will be away out in front. Watch it!

Montreal too is climbing. As a result H. Nash is now in third place. And there's no telling what he'll do next.

New York achieves its results through the application of the Paid Sub Card. Montreal gets its results by the use of the Club Plan blank. There is no contradiction between these two phases of the plan. But swing around the idea of a reduction of fifty per cent in the price of a half year sub provided four of these subs are sent in at one time.

THE PAID SUB CARD IDEA

The Paid Sub Card is a special application of this idea. It is really a division of the Club Plan blank into four separate cards, each one for one of the provisions on the Club Plan blank. But it has this additional feature. On the Club Plan blank the subs accompany the money. With the Paid Sub Card we get the money before the sub. That is an advantage to the Militant.

There is another angle to the Paid Sub Card. Because it is, as to speak, a division of the Club Plan blank into

four component parts it has greater flexibility and greater range. Whereas with the Club Plan Blank you are more or less limited in space and time with these Paid Sub Cards these limitations do not apply. Once you have paid for your four cards you dispose of them over as wide an area as you can and within whatever time you can. The first one may be shot in right away; the others at much later dates; one may come from your home town; the others from distant parts of the United States. Watch these weekly records for results.

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It's growing apace but it's not fast enough yet. There are several cities that have not scored yet. How about it Cleveland, New Haven, Youngstown, Kansas City? What about the West coast? The Militant is read on there, let's get started.

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established a number of contacts for Unser Kampf, securing subs.

In Minneapolis we stayed for nine days, because our field here is so much broader. The time was well spent. We delivered three lectures: one by comrade Bleeker on the trade union question in the English language, one by Lewit on the Left Opposition, and the third one was under the auspices of the Labor Lyceum open forum, where comrade Lewit was to speak on the duties of revolutionists in trade unions and fraternal organizations; both of them in Jewish. When we discovered that comrade Trotsky was to broadcast over the radio in the morning the lecture at the Labor Temple was to take place, we made a hurried change in the plans, brought a radio to the lyceum, listened to the broadcast, after which we had it translated and explained, with a general discussion following. The total attendance at our meetings in Minneapolis was over 200. Our Minneapolis comrades treated us to an excellent spirited banquet where we raised 25 dollars for Unser Kampf. Here too we organized an Unser Kampf Club. This is the third club that is now definitely organized and is functioning as a result of the tour, with one in the process of formation in Boston.

Our Des Moines branch, which we visited next, inspired us greatly by the activities it is carrying on. It holds a regular weekly open forum, a class, participates in the unemployed work, and is even branching out into near-by cities. The lecture the comrades arranged for us had an attendance of 50. The local Stalinists came to take issue with us, but they only helped us by revealing their bankruptcy in broad relief. They even brought with them a national figure, a certain Green from New York, who announced himself to be a member of the national committee of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League. In his opening remarks he stated apologetically, to the amusement of the audience,—that in view of the fact that we "spoke revolution", he is compelled to use the same terms, although he is under instructions not to talk about revolution in the West and in the South! This smugness merely revealed to us that the faith of the Stalinists in the "third period" has shaken, and that this official emissary from New York brought the message to the local comrades to be "practical", and when Stalinists become "practical", there is no telling where they will stop. We have had enough of that experience in the so called "second period" of opportunistic crimes.

—SYLVIA BLEEKER.

—MORRIS LEWIT.

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New Expulsions in the Comintern

The much-vaunted "ideological consolidation" imposed upon the Communist International by the Stalinist apparatus had for years been of a kind that went hand in hand with an organizational disintegration. The "consolidation" never took place around a straight central shaft of cohesive doctrine. Such a consolidation, absolutely necessary in the Communist movement, would have permitted the attraction of homogeneous elements in increasing number. What passes for revolutionary doctrine in the Stalinist camp, however, has formed a disjointed, eccentric, badly geared axis, put together out of odd scraps borrowed from every conceivable tendency in the working class movement. This is what accounts for the bumpy voyage on which the Stalinists have taken the Communist International, zig-zagging through the class struggle in accordance with the momentary effectiveness—not of the axis as a whole, but of this or that joint in it.

At each turn in the road, the Centrist apparatus has had to cast out elements now from the right, now from the left. As its ideological baggage diminished, so also did those who carried it. The base of the bureaucracy in the International has steadily narrowed, so that nobody can say today who will be the representative spokesman of the apparatus tomorrow. The foreknowledge of their precarious position has not always helped the Stalinist functionaries to remain stable in their loyalties. In some cases, they have anticipated the inevitable and hastened the break with the apparatus, before the apparatus consummated its break (plus the attendant humiliations and petty preliminary persecutions) with them. This category includes a wide range of people—from Besedovsky and Agabekov to J. T. Murphy of England and Paul Marion of France.

In the last few months alone, expulsions and near-expulsions have taken place in several countries. The official party press has either passed them over in silence or commented upon them with the maximum of obscurity. Each instance, however, sheds its own share of light upon the state of affairs in the Stalinist camp, the policies it has pursued and the manner in which it has pursued. Almost a year ago, we commented extensively in the *Militant* upon the campaign begun in the French party against

the so-called "Group" of Celor, Barbe, Loxeray and others, who had only the day before been the leaders of the party. In this campaign to find a scapegoat for the stagnation and retrogression of the French party, the "Group" served admirably, for its spokesmen humbly acknowledged the justice of all the terrible accusations made against them. In one case at least, it now appears that there was method in this servility. The case is that of the principal leader of the "Group" himself, Celor. During the campaign a year ago, it was revealed that this group of leaders had associated itself without the slightest pretense of a platform, and had systematically and successfully occupied itself with taking over the whole party apparatus. It was further evident that Celor, who was a member of the ECCI, had been appointed leader of the party by none other than the central Stalin faction itself, which found in this clique (as it did in the Neumann clique in Germany) a

thoroughly reliable agency. This gang of political bandits was uncovered by other, similarly virtuous bureaucrats, only when a sacrificial offering had to be thrown to the party ranks in order to put the quietus on the mounting discontentment.

A few weeks ago, it was suddenly discovered that M. Celor was a police provocateur all the time! To our knowledge, this is the first police spy who ever penetrated as high as the Executive Committee of the Communist International. That the police send their agents into the Communist movement is a tribute to the fear which Bolshevism inspires in the hearts of the bourgeois. But that such agents can so easily reach the highest instances of the International, is not a tribute, but a striking commentary, on the internal regime established by the Stalinists. Celor came, so to speak, out of nowhere, like most of the figures who now adorn the Centrist household. The elementary tests to

which a Communist is—rather, should be—submitted, were never put before him. He was given only one test for leadership: Was he sufficiently lacking in integrity, independence and knowledge to qualify him for the post of ever-ready servility and obedience to command from above? This test he passed with superb ease. As leader ex-machina, he had no concern about being checked up or controlled by that constant democratic interrelation between ranks and leadership. He could go his own way arbitrarily, with no fear from the "sheep" below, and none from the masters above—his support was automatic so long as his servility was unexhausted.

Need it be added that Celor fought intemperately against "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism"? It goes without saying. He probably did it with more real conviction than most bureaucrats, for his hatred of Trotsky and the Left Opposition sprang from the deep wells of a class antagonism: the bourgeoisie which employed him versus the revolutionary proletarian wing of Communism. But this too is no tribute to the Stalinists and their regime.

(To be continued)

Hoover's Last Message to Congress

(Continued from page 1)
struggle for the redification of the earth. Congress and the House are busy with their "Beer Bill". The Hunger Marchers answered this democratic bunk with the slogan of "bread before beer".

The approach of the president and congress to the most vital problem of unemployment and the crisis has but one

aim! to strengthen the position of the bankers and further to beat down the disorganized and badly directed energy of the working class.

The attempt to balance the budget is forcing drastic inroads into the working class and the middle class. The series of proposals from wage cuts, the cut in veteran's relief, less public building, to the sales tax are all aimed at the classes below the leading capitalists in America.

The demand for the reorganizing of the banking system and the advocating of the branch system is the most fundamental and far-reaching reform in the interest of the imperialists to be taken internally. Once they obtain this, and everything points in this direction, it will strengthen their position not only against the other classes within the country but will give them a stronger home base of operation against the contending imperialists of other nations.

After all, Congress has just opened and is getting down to business. There will be lots of steam and talk about helping the workers and farmers—and a demand for beer, but under it all they

will be ironing out the problems, not of the workers, who have no representatives, who cannot carry out their program through the capitalist state, but the problems of the capitalists in general and the imperialists in particular whom they represent.

The editorial comment of the "New York Times" on the Hoover message again gives Congress a warning. It ends the editorial with the following words, "The country will be lucky if Congress takes to heart and does as well in action as Mr. Hoover has done in recommendations." As usual, this is a warning for Congress to carry out the imperialists' needs.

HUGO OEHLER

The Philadelphia Branch held its regular Thurs. Forum of Dec. 8 with Hugo Oehler speaking on the American Negro and the Class Struggle. An audience of about thirty five was present with a good number of party members, white and black, and some young socialist workers.

The discussion hinged mainly around the Scottsboro case and the Stalinist slogan of "Self-Determination in the Black Belt." Not one of the party functionaries or members present took the floor to disagree with the position of the speaker.

In the main, the questions and discussion were of the character of information in order to further study the problem.

The speaker called upon the party to proceed at once to the mobilizing of the masses through a united front to save the Scottsboro boys. Now that the Supreme Court verdict is a victory for the Communists, it is at the same time a decision clearing the road for the legal murder of the innocent boys. The Supreme Court does not object to the burning of these boys in the electric chair. It only objects to the crude methods and technical blunders with which the southern bourgeois went about the job.

Greek Stalinists Meet Arguments of Left Opposition With Slandering Attacks

In all Communist literature not a single line of slander or lies can be found as an argument for the fight against the exploiting class and its multicolored agents within and outside the labor movement. From the highest theoretical works down to the propaganda leaflets, the Communists always present clearly the true nature of the capitalist system before the eyes of the masses. Upon this correct presentation, the Communists formulate a scientific program of organization for immediate action and for the final overthrow of the capitalist system.

In contradistinction to this, the Stalinists, in their fight against the Left Opposition, always and unfailingly misrepresent and falsify the views of the "Trotskyists". They categorically declare everywhere that we are counter-revolutionaries, enemies of the working class, and agents of the international bourgeoisie.

When comrade Trotsky, before the increasing danger of Fascism, criticizes the wrong policies of the C P G, and proposes a Leninist united front of all working class organizations as an urgent necessity to combat and destroy Fascism, he is accused of "helping the social democracy". When he analyzes the events in Manchuria and points out that Japan cannot attack the Soviet Union due to its weak position before the powerful Red army, and that the immediate danger is in Germany, he is again accused of being an agent in the service of Japanese imperialism. When he criticizes the errors of the Five Year Plan, similar accusations are made.

The Greek functionaries, loyal servants of their masters, no less than they were faithful to Lovestone in his time, in their fight against the Greek comrades of the Left Opposition. Time and again could not but apply the same methods through the pages of *Empros*, the party paper, slanders describing us as enemies of the working class, co-workers of the National Herald, a capitalist sheet. The issues raised by our organ, *Kommunistis*, are thus avoided.

Empros of November 26, after a repetition of the usual slanders, announced in effect that the character of the five or six Greek Trotskyists has already been exposed in the past with the exception of Sebastian Pappas, this "New hero of the National Herald" who wanted to enlighten the German Communist Party. They therefore leave it to the Greek "Political Bureau and the Food Workers Union" to expose and denounce his disruptive activities.

The *Empros* editors know that in the statement to the party for which I was expelled without even a hearing, I did not formulate any new ideas of mine to enlighten the C P G, and that I only proposed a discussion of the views of the Left Opposition in Germany. The remark of *Empros* that I wanted to enlighten the C P G therefore means to say: "Rank and file: do not question the infallibility of the line of the leadership; carry out orders the way I, the functionary, do." How is it that the Greek Bureau, which reprinted in the *Empros*, the statement of the District Committee on my expulsion, made no comment at that time about my alleged un-Communist conduct in the Greek field? and only now

four months later they undertake to expose me? It is simply a maneuver to avoid the arguments raised in my article on the language sections and the trade unions, published in the October *Kommunistis*.

As to the Food Workers Industrial Union. Immediately after my expulsion, when the D. C. avoided the issue I raised in the statement, and instead brought out that I was always a "disruptive element" in the fraction and the union, I addressed a letter to the C. P. fraction pointing out that I was ready to discuss my conduct openly with the membership of the union, and for the benefit of the party, I challenged them to a debate before the union on Trotskyism. Up till now I have not received a reply. However, the following facts should be sufficient to explain my conduct in the union.

Since the inception of the union, I was always in its leading committees. And also for years, I was a member of the leading fraction of the union till April 1931, when my health broke down and I was forced to withdraw from all activities. In the summer of 1931, the cafeteria section voluntarily collected \$324 for the purpose of sending me to the Soviet Union for recovery. On December of the same year, the convention of the union unanimously decided that I should be sent to the S. U. immediately at the unions' expenses until I recovered completely. John Steuben, of the TUUC, and member of the D. C. of the C P District 2, in addressing the convention said: "Your decision in sending comrade Pappas to the S. U. whose health is undermined due to his activities in the union is the highest example of your class solidarity". Steuben knew that I was for years sympathetic to the ideas of the Left Opposition. For two days before the convention, this same Steuben criticized severely some comrades who dared to propose the Trotskyist Pappas as secretary of the union. Why, then, did he not expose me as a counter-revolutionist before the convention instead of speaking very highly and enthusiastically about me? Do these facts show that I was "always a disruptive element in the union"?

I repeat the arguments of *Kommunistis*. The *National Herald*, in its efforts to combat the accusations of the *Empros*, so as to appear whitewashed before the masses, exploits our differences in our criticism against the *Empros*, by pretending to favor the Opposition. The *National Herald* is a bourgeois paper, the same as *Atlantis*, and in their competition for business on the one hand, and their desire to win over Greek workers, on the other, will resort to any methods to accomplish their goal. The duty of the *Empros* is to reveal the reactionary character of both papers. Instead the silence with respect to the *Atlantis* which lately poses as a workers' friend strengthens its influence among the Greek workers. On the other hand, the articles written in the *Empros* by Alex Mikros, for an entire period against the *National Herald*, in some cases was harmful to the Greek workers in that they spread illusions as to the justice of the capitalist courts, etc. Time and again, the Greek bureau quoted Lenin and Lassalle in the *Empros* to the effect that when the bourgeoisie appraise the position of some revolutionist in a favorable light, he, the revolutionist, must be dangerous to the working class. This is true. Does it follow, therefore that when a dissatisfied petit-bourgeois writer speaks in favor of the Soviet Union, or when a theatrical company imports Russian film for business purposes, are shown to the masses and consequently benefits the Soviet State—does it mean that the Soviet State ceases to be the Fatherland of the working class? Far from it. The politically headless petit-bourgeoisie will take almost any position that is of some profit to themselves. To make the above point clearer to the Greek bureau, let us take up the question of Vassardakis, with which they are very well acquainted. Didn't he shift his position towards the *Empros* when he clashed with the *National Herald* clique and is extremely friendly with you? Does not this indicate the character of this petit-bourgeois? The character of Vassardakis was permitted to use the pages of the *Empros* for his own satisfaction.

However, the quotations from Lenin and Lassalle apply fully to Stalin and his policies. For the official press of the bourgeoisie, like the *N. Y. Times*, through its foreign representative Duranty, is in agreement with Stalinist policies against Trotsky; while the leader of the Left Opposition, comrade Trotsky, exiled in Prinkipo by secret agreement between Kemal Pasha and Stalin, is refused a visa to all bourgeois countries. This fact alone shows the violent hostility of the bourgeoisie against the Left Opposition. If Trotsky is what the Stalinists call him, then it would be a simple matter to convince the workers by a public debate in which both sides would have the opportunity to present their respective standpoints. But this is something the Stalinists dare not undertake.

They lie when they say that Trotsky's views have been settled and that they will not debate those who "have no masses behind them." Then why this incessant, increasing campaign in the party press against the Left Opposition. The Greek militants can no longer allow Vassardakis to use the *Empros* for their satisfaction. *Empros* must become a genuine Communist paper. In the organization of the unorganized, as well as in all the other great tasks facing the revolutionary movement, *Empros* must take the initiative. This is the role of a Communist paper.

(To Be Continued)

—SEBASTIAN PAPPAS.

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JAPAN

Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism
and the Development of the Proletariat
By Jack Weber

The Agrarian Problem
"The foundation of all highly developed division of labor that is brought about by the exchange of commodities is the cleavage between town and country. We may say that the whole economic history of society is summarized in the development of this cleavage between town and country." (Marx, "Capital"). In the development of capitalism this cleavage occurs by the increasing subjection of the system of agriculture to the intensive exploitation of the town industrialists through the capitalist market. The utter hypocrisy of Japanese "planned" economy is revealed in the indescribable living conditions of peasant and worker resulting from the "blind" play of capitalist economic forces.

Status of Japanese Farming

Half the population of Japan is still dependent on farming for its livelihood, a proportion equalled only in Italy and Russia. Considering the arable land only the density of population reaches the extreme figure of 1375 per square mile. Necessarily the land is cultivated by the most intensive methods to feed this overcrowded population. But these methods are still crude hand methods, human labor being the cheapest of all commodities. It has been figured that whereas it requires 2 days of labor for the southern U. S. farmer, with the aid of a team of horses, to grow an acre of rice, the Japanese peasant gives 110 days of labor to this most important crop. Every Japanese peasant uses electric light but the mechanical farming methods of the West make slow headway against the poverty and the cheap labor and, above all, the small size of peasant holding.

When, after the Restoration, the Japanese "enclosures" occurred, the feudal lords retained over half of the cultivated land. Today the large landowners own 54 percent of the arable land with their portion ever growing. The "petty owners" of land, forming 70 percent of the rural population, hold 2 1/2 percent on the average. In 1928 only 70,000 families out of 5 1/2 million cultivated more than 12 acres. In its 1-2 acre per member of

each rural family, Japan is worst off of all modern countries.

Just as the tenant system with crop sharing grew out of slavery in the South, so this same system grew out of feudalism in Japan. In the course of the first twenty years of this century, the number of tenant farmers increased by 30 percent. The present crisis accelerates the process at great speed, the area cultivated by tenants is constantly increasing, the tenantry already represents more than 30 percent of the farm workers.

Bankrupt Rural Economy

What with the scarcity of land in terms of demand, land rents are extremely high. Tenants are forced to hand over 50 to 60 percent of the crop in kind, a fact which gives complete control of the market to the capitalist-landowner, permitting him to rig the market with ease against the small farmer. At least 13 percent of the crop goes to pay for fertilizer, the rest being ineffectual to support the rural family. To make up the deficit created under these conditions, the farmer is forced to resort to extra work. Two million peasant families engage in the extremely underpaid silkwork industry, thereby doubling their income. They resort also to weaving, spinning, etc., the rural family being the unit of domestic economy, notoriously a sweatshop system. Furthermore to secure a little ready cash the peasant hires out his daughter to the textile mills or even sells her to the city brothels. Nearly half a million persons migrate from country to town each year, half of them women. However, just as in pre-revolutionary Russia, there is a constant migration back to the village. Official statistics show that a quarter of those who return home have tuberculosis, the terrible scourge of modern Japan.

Mortgages

The process of land concentration and peasant exploitation occurs here as elsewhere through the mortgaging of the land. The peasantry owes over 2 1/2 billion yen to the banks. As in America during the present crisis, the banks find it more economic, and less fraught

with danger, to await "better times" before foreclosing on the bankrupt farmers. The capitalist economic system permits the industrialists to fasten the burden of the crisis on worker and peasant. With the silk market completely shattered, the peasant's labor goes begging and his conditions of living become indescribable. He eats the food intended for his animals, the seed for planting, the few cattle remaining—and then he starves miserably.

The Solution

"The (Japanese) peasantry in its entirety represents an elementary rebellion." This rebellion manifests itself ordinarily in Japan through tenant unions which fight first of all for rent reduction. These tenant unions grew from 130 in 1917 to 4,065 in 1928 with a membership of 368,000. The tenant unions have the sympathy and support (sometimes the leadership) of the workers' unions in the cities.

It was his analysis of the revolutionary significance of the Russian peasants that led Lenin to his concept of the role of the proletariat in a democratic agrarian revolt. The peasants can be put at the service of the revolution only by the force that takes over the state power. The seizing of the land and the democratic aspirations of the agrarians can be fulfilled only through the leadership of the proletariat which, however, does not stop short at this goal but establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat for the transition from capitalism to socialism. Starting from these same premises, Trotsky generalized and broadened the ideas involved, ideas primarily applicable to backward countries, and formulated in greater detail and more precisely than previously the idea of permanent revolution, applicable to world economy in such manner that a successful proletarian victory in one country becomes the starting point for the consolidation of proletarian victory in all countries.

Japan and Russia

It is a peculiarity of Japanese economy that in no other country has agriculture remained so backward with industry so advanced. Unlike Czarist Russia, Japan has a more powerful capitalist class in close alliance, as yet, with the feudal landed aristocracy. This renders it more difficult for the relatively weak proletariat to assume the leadership and to seize power in a revolution. Nevertheless its role in relation to the peasantry must follow the broad outlines set by the Russian example. It is possible that

Japan's evolution may follow a different course, but only if the vanguard of the working class does not organize into a strong Communist party ready to lead workers and peasants. There are forces at work already to shunt the peasant revolt over to pseudo-Fascist rule, Tachibana, assassin of Premier Inukai, peculiar combination of social revolutionary terrorist turned fascist, reveals clearly the attempts of the military bureaucracy to place itself at the head of any incipient movement of revolt on the part of the peasants so as to render it abortive. The Russian example must be the beacon for our Japanese comrades, showing the way to the only real solution!

FEUDAL REMNANTS IN CAPITALISM

The appearance of nation-wide unemployment during the prolonged crisis in Japanese capitalism marks a distinct turning-point in its development as well as in that of the working class. In 1930 there appeared for the first time in Japan the American type of hobo, symbol of the end of a period of labor shortage in industry and the beginning of the new epoch of permanent unemployment, for an increasing section of the proletariat. Japan's rising labor costs, in the face of low labor productivity, act increasingly to force rationalization,—in essence the use of more productive machines and less labor. Japan reaches the heights of modernity!

Despite this up-to-dateness the relationship between master and man, boss and worker, is permeated with feudal remnants in unique fashion. Prior to the present crisis, despite the extreme poverty of the villages, the peasantry avoided factory labor, thus creating a continual shortage of industrial workers. The employers were forced to send recruiting agents to the farms, these agents luring young girls to the city by glowing accounts of city life, presents, payment of badly needed cash in advance to the parents and advance of transportation money. Every year 200,000 girls were thus lured to the textile mills, there to be kept behind locked gates in factory dormitories.

Over eight percent of the textile workers are women. The present Japanese factory laws permit children of 12 to work in factories and there are over a quarter of a million girls from 12 to 16 at work. The exploitation of these women and children can be duplicated only by England in the early 19th century. Half the factories have dormitor-

ies which "imprison" 1-5 of the men and over half of the women hands. The factory act permits a nominal workday of 11 hours for women and children but this is honored only in the breach. The dormitory permit the prolonging of the work-day with ease. The dormitories are also the breeding-place of prostitution fostered by the bosses. The food provided by the companies at a "nominal sum" (in reality part of the low wages) means slow starvation for the victims. Japanese workers do not sleep in beds but on mats, covered by quilts. A mat occupies a space three feet by six, this space being allotted in the dormitories to two or three workers. Overcrowding, poor food, bad sanitation, confinement—no wonder tuberculosis is the scourge of Japan! All unions make the demand that the dormitories be abolished or, more immediately, that food and sanitary conditions be improved.

Not only in the dormitories is there overcrowding. It is common for two families, each of five persons, with boards as well, to occupy three mats in workers' homes. The infant mortality rate among workers' families is extremely high. Mothers, after long hours of toil, cannot nurse their babies. Here we have the "normal" conditions under Japanese "planned" economy.

WAGES AND DISCHARGE ALLOWANCES

The wages of men in the silk-reeling and cotton spinning mills average from 1.20 to 1.60 yen a day, women receiving .90 to 1.00 yen per day. This meagre wage is augmented by bonuses (deferred wages) granted at the pleasure of the boss and constituting an excellent means of defrauding workers. However, the remnants of feudal psychology have, up till recently, led to a recognition of the duty of the employer to continue the worker in employment. Thus if a worker is discharged he is granted an allowance amounting to a considerable sum in many cases. Not only does this apply in case of discharge but even in strikes the bosses are obliged to pay the returning strikers for the time lost. In the famous Noda Shoya Brewing Co. strike lasting for 217 days in 1927-28, the strike was lost but the company paid \$100,000 to the strikers dismissed, each one receiving over \$200 and, despite the company's refusal to recognize the union, \$40,000 going to the strike fund. Latterly these allowances have become a cheap means of avoiding any unemployment dole.

(To Be Continued)

A.F.L. and 6-Hour Day

(Continued from page 1)
measure is purely a parliamentary legislative one. It is not so much its proposed scheme of insurance upon a state basis, although it absolves the federal government from responsibility, which is important. No, it is rather the fact that these officials can now foresee the possibility of capitalism actually being compelled to accede to a measure of unemployment insurance. They therefore found it necessary to give allegiance, at least in words. And what with the traditional A. F. of L. "non-partisan" political policy—which objectively is partisan to capitalism—as a legislative proposal only it can mean nothing but a continuation of begging capitalist politicians for favors. The working class, however, from a long range perspective, is confronted not only with the question of the necessity of obtaining this measure, it is confronted much more definitely with the question of strengthening its class position in the struggle for this immediate objective.

Toward Social Reformism

That the official A. F. of L. direction is making a bend toward social reformism is only further substantiated by the fact that the Cincinnati convention also went on record against the sales tax. It was branded as a device to soak the poor and then for good measure the convention went on record to soak the rich by a proposal for increased income and inheritance taxation. But that this bend is essentially with the objective of more effective opposition to the advance of communism was very well attested to in the unanimous greeting of the remarks of the American Legion national commander before the convention. He proclaimed that the Legion and the A. F. of L. would have to do the bulk of the fighting against Communism.

In this connection it is necessary again to examine the approach of the official party leadership to the trade unions on the question of relief measures for the unemployed. In that respect, the same as in regard to the general working class problems, it has proven true to its Centrist position. It has sown confusion and harm, combining the adventurist policy of isolation from the unions with a lagging behind, dragged at the rear of events. The party leadership did not approach the unions as living organisms, subject to changes dictated by the economic structure within which they function. The party leadership did not at all press forward endeavoring to take its part in determining and speeding the direction of the change. When it should have been pressing relentlessly upon the A. F. of L. and its leadership for a united struggle for unemployment relief it continued the opposite course of seeking to withdraw these activities from the unions. Today when the party should be in the midst of building up strong Left wing groups within the A. F. of L. in preparation for the coming serious battles, it is still way behind, agitating from the outside in a manner which widens the separation of the vanguard from the trade unions. Meanwhile, this has facilitated the efforts of the A. F. of L. officialdom to again reinforce its position of domination over the rank and file membership by giving paper allegiance to progressive measures.

Are there Signs of Coming Struggles?

Outstanding today is the fact of the general trade union retreat in face of wage cuts, all along the line. Practically throughout, the officials have been the most active sponsors for acceptance on the general plea of hard times for industry and easy replacement of labor. But within the general retreat there are sufficient indications of what is coming. It is established by the fact of union membership refusal to accept wage cuts and strikes despite the easy

conditions of labor replacement, as well as by the fact of oppositions crystallizing against attempted official sell-outs. Throughout the southern textile fields there have been during the recent months a wave of strikes against the inhuman conditions under which unskilled workers reach as low as \$5.00 weekly wages. Thus while labor is still cheap in the south, the additional bourgeois' boats of it being contented definitely belongs to the past.

Undoubtedly the officialdom considers as a bad omen certain rumblings of revolt amongst unions of the skilled crafts. Therefore they feel the necessity of stepping a little livelier. In the New York Typographical local, the "Big Six," very strong opposition developed to the international president Howard's proposal to accept a wage cut. In the big electricians' local number refused to accept a wage cut sponsored by the officials. And to register their opposition further they carried through to victory their fight against the reactionary local machine of president Frank Wilson, despite its support from the international office. But largest of all is looming on the horizon of future indications the revolt of the Illinois coal miners.

These manifestations are small but they point to much more serious clashes with the continuing wage cuts and the ever more persistent demands from the employers for new and additional cuts. The large centralized banking corporations not only make these demands in more definite terms upon the interlocking industrial concerns but they also press the government into action, from the federal down to the municipalities. Hoover has already responded, setting an example in his message to congress, advocating a wage cut for all federal employees down to the lowest brackets, where it hits the hardest, to those earning \$1,000 yearly.

The Six Hour Day Slogan

We have often repeated the contention that as a means of issuing out of the crisis the American capitalists will resort to further lowering of living. This proof of this contention is at hand. This proof forms a part of our conclusion of coming serious struggles. And it is important to remember, that, though yet in retreat, the American workers have not been defeated. On the contrary. They can fully be depended upon to put their strength to the test in battle. It is in this connection that real attention must be paid to the proposal adopted by the A. F. of L. convention for the six hour day, the five day week, without reduction of pay.

As already mentioned, the resolutions adopted are only a paper allegiance as far as the reactionary leaders are concerned. Towards them it is necessary to be more vigilant and more watchful than ever. Not only to watch their resolutions but also to watch their fingers. Yet the resolution is of enormous importance both in respect to the condition which called for its adoption and in respect to the opportunity it offers. There is the possibility of making it a real live slogan, of making it a central slogan which will help to turn the workers' retreat into its opposite, into the direction of the offensive. From this we can begin to perceive the enormous significance of this slogan from the standpoint of class relations, that is when this slogan is really taken up seriously and actively and pressed forward by the revolutionists and militants.

Even in what is indicated by the acceptance of the six hour day at Cincinnati, and despite how little it is taken seriously by its sponsors, there is nevertheless a powerful substantiation of the correctness of the Left Opposition in proposing it as a central slogan. But what will it mean to the Stalinist leaders of the official party? Will they insist that the A. F. of L. bureaucrats should make a little step backward and give lip service instead

to a proposal for the seven hour day? It would be inconceivable to think that the party leaders should not want to have the trade unions adopt their slogans. The chief "theoretician," Browder, last year, in arguing against our advocacy of the six hour day slogan, said that as against the slogan for the seven hour day leads in the direction of the "revolutionary working class solution" of the unemployment problem. But why there is such a distinction, he failed entirely to make clear. And the reason is because it cannot be made clear. It cannot be defended any more than the general false Stalinist views of policy for the revolutionary and working class movement can be defended.

But the Stalinist party leaders have made the additional mistake of obscuring the shorter workday proposal in its present program of immediate demands. Is that accidental, or is that a part of their general failure to pursue a strategy in which the slogans of today become preparations for the struggles of tomorrow? Are they content to leave that field entirely to the whims of reactionary trade union leaders and the social reformists? Are they content to let that slogan rest in Green's hands? That that would mean leaving it in the hands of the agents of the class enemy.

Green spoke strong words in its favor at the Cincinnati convention. He spoke for strikes to secure this measure. Other worthies seconded him. Is it then not time now to begin to call them to the test in action before the working class whom they are supposed to lead? The method by which to do this is through the building of a Left wing movement within the A. F. of L. The very least that this A. F. of L. convention action should call for from the Communists is to undertake now and in earnest the task of arousing the labor movement as a whole to an actual struggle for the six hour day, the five day week, with no reduction of pay.

—ARNE SAWBECK

PAMPHLETS WANTED

We are now completely out of the Bound Volumes of comrade Trotsky's pamphlets. But the demand still continues. This leaves us no choice but to make another attempt to bind some more. This is where the difficulty comes in. As you remember we advertised the Bound Volumes as containing some pamphlets that were out of print and unobtainable except in these Bound Volumes. That was true. But now that the Bound Volumes are all gone, these pamphlets are unobtainable anywhere, even by us.

In order to bind additional sets we need the following pamphlets: *The Draft Program; The Turn in the C. I. Germany—The Key to the International Situation; and World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan.* If our comrades will send these pamphlets to us we will be able to go ahead with the binding. We need lots of them. The more we receive the more we will be able to bind.

We ask for these pamphlets on the following terms. We are absolutely unable to pay for them with money. We can issue credit slips for the amount of the pamphlets against any accompanying or future order that the comrade may make. But these orders must be for literature. We are strongly against applying them to sub extensions and renewals. And the pamphlets must be in good condition.

LEON TROTSKY

Soviet Economy in Danger

The Situation on the Eve of the Second Five Year Plan

(Continued from last issue)

But one of the most important disproportions consists in the fact that the availability of money. In the language of monetary circulation, this is what is called inflation. In the language of planned economy this signifies exaggerated plans, incorrect division of forces and means, in particular, between the production of objects for consumption and the production of means for production. From that time when the correlation of prices began to turn against the city, the latter safe-guarded itself by "freezing" the goods, i. e., they were simply not put into circulation, but kept in hand to be distributed bureaucratically. This signified that only the perfunctory shadow of the scissors had closed its blades, while their material disproportion still remained. But the peasant is little interested in shadows. The absence of commodities has pushed him and continues to push him in the direction of a strike in breadstuffs: he does not want to part with his grain for money.

Not having become a matter of simple and profitable exchange for both sides, the provision of foodstuffs and agricultural raw material has remained as hitherto "a political campaign," "militant drive," requiring each time the mobilization of the State and party apparatus. "Many kolkhozes," Pravda cautiously reports (September 26), "resist the collection of grain, hiding their stocks." We know what the word "many" signifies in such a context. If the exchange between the village and the city were advantageous, then the peasants would have no cause whatever to "hide their stocks"; but if the exchange is not advantageous, i. e., if it takes the form of compulsory transfer, then all the kolkhozes, and not "many" as well as the individual proprietors. The duties of the peasants in supplying meat provisions are officially invested at present with the character of a natural tax in kind, with all the ensuing repressive consequences. The economic results of the 100 percent collectivization are designated much more correctly by these facts than by the bald statistics of collectivized hectares.

The fact that severe laws were passed

L. Trotsky---Bonapartism in Germany

(Continued from page 1)

First, was not a "bonapartist" one, not only because Napoleon himself was a doubtful Bonapart by blood, but also because his relations to classes, especially to the peasantry and to the lumpen-proletariat was not at all the same as that of Napoleon the First. Moreover, classical bonapartism grew out of the epoch of gigantic war victories, which the second Empire did not know at all. But if we should look for the repetition of all the traits of bonapartism, we will find that bonapartism is a one-time unrepeatable occurrence, that means that in general bonapartism does not exist but that there once was a general Bonapart, born in Corsica. The matter stands no different with liberalism and with all other generalized terms of history. When one speaks by analogy of bonapartism, it is necessary to state precisely which of its traits found their fullest expression under present historical conditions.

Present-day German bonapartism has a very complex and so to say combined character. The government of Papen would have been impossible without Fascism. But Fascism is not in power. And the government of Papen is not Fascism. On the other hand, the government of Papen, at any rate in its present form, would have been impossible without Hindenburg, who inspite of the final prostration of Germany in the war, signifies in the memory of wide masses great victories of Germany and symbolizes the army. The second election of Hindenburg had all the characteristics of a "plebiscite". Many millions of workers, petty bourgeois and peasants (Social-democracy and Centre) voted for Hindenburg. They did not see in him any one political program. They wanted first of all to avoid civil war and raised Hindenburg on their shoulders as a super-arbiter, as an arbitration judge of the nation. But precisely this is the

most important function of bonapartism: raising itself over the two struggling camps in order to preserve property and order, it suppresses civil war, or precludes it, or does not allow it to rekindle. Speaking of Papen we cannot forget Hindenburg on whom rests the sanction of the social democracy. The combined character of German bonapartism expressed itself in the fact that the demagogic work of catching the masses for Hindenburg was performed by two big independent parties: the social democracy and national socialism. If they are both astonished at the results of their work this does not change the matter one whit.

The social democracy asserts that Fascism is the product of communism. This is correct in so far as there would have been no necessity at all in Fascism without the sharpening of the class struggle, without the revolutionary proletariat, without the crisis of capitalist society. The hunkish theory of Wells-Gifford-Otto Bauer has no other meaning. Yes, Fascism is a reaction of bourgeois society to the threat of proletarian revolution. But precisely because this threat is not an imminent one today, that the ruling classes make an attempt to get along without a civil war by the medium of a bonapartist dictatorship.

Objecting to our characterization of the

government of Hindenburg-Papen-Schleicher, the Brandenburger refer to Marx and express thereby an ironic hope that his authority may also have weight with us. It is difficult to be made fools of in a more flagrant manner (?). The fact is that Marx and Engels wrote not only of bonapartism of the two Bonaparts but also of other species thereof. Beginning, it seems, with the year 1864, they have likened not once the "national" regime of Bismark to French bonapartism. And this in spite of the fact that Bismark was not a pseudo-radical demagogue and so far as we know, was not supported by the peasantry. The Iron Chancellor was not raised to power as a result of a plebiscite, but was duly appointed by his legitimate and hereditary king. And never-the-less Marx and Engels are right. Bismark made us in a bonapartist fashion of the antagonism between the propertied classes, and the rising proletariat, overcoming in this way the antagonism within the two propertied classes, between the Junkerdom and the bourgeoisie, and raised a military-police apparatus over the nation. The policy of Bismark is that very tradition to which the "theoreticians" of present German bonapartism refer. True, Bismark solved in his fashion the problem of German unity, of the external greatness of Germany. Papen however so far only promises to obtain for Germany "equality" on the international arena. Not a small difference! But we were not trying to prove that the bonapartism of Papen is of the same calibre as the bonapartism of Bismark. Napoleon the Third was also only a parody of his pretended uncle.

The reference to Marx as seen has a slovenly character. That Thalheimer does not understand the dialectics of Marxism we suspected long ago. But, we must admit, we thought that at least he knew the texts of Marx and Engels. We take this opportunity to correct our mistake.

Our characteristic of the presidential government rejected by the Brandenburger received a very brilliant confirmation from a very unexpected and in its way "authoritative" source. With regard to the dissolution of the "five-day" Reichstag DAZ (Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung—organ of heavy industry) quoted on August 28th in a long article the work of Marx "The 18th Brumaire"—for what purpose? No more and no less than in support of the historical and political rights of the president to put his boot on the neck of people's representation. The organ of heavy industry risked at a difficult moment drinking from the poisoned wells of Marxism. With a remarkable adroitness the paper takes from the immortal pamphlet a long quotation explaining how and why the French president as the incarnation of the "nation" obtained a preponderance over the split up parliament. The same article of the DAZ reminds very apropos how in the spring of 1890 Bismark developed a plan for a most suitable governmental change. Napoleon the Third and Bismark as forerunners of presidential government are called by the right name by the Berlin newspaper which in August, at least played the role of an official organ.

To quote "The 18th Brumaire of Louis Napoleon" in reference to the "July 20th

of von Papen" is of course very risky since Marx characterized the regime of Napoleon in the most acid terms as the regime of adventurers, crooks and pimps. Actually DAZ could be brought to punishment for a malicious slander of the government. But if we should leave aside this indirect inconvenience, there remains nevertheless the doubtless fact that the historic instinct brought DAZ to the proper place. Unfortunately one can not say the same of the theoretical wisdom of Thalheimer.

Bonapartism of the era of the decline of capitalism differs widely from bonapartism of the era of ascension of bourgeois society. German bonapartism is not supported directly by the petty bourgeoisie of the country and village, and this is not accidental. Precisely therefore we wrote at one time of the weakness of the government of Papen which holds on only by the neutralization of two camps: the proletariat and the fascists.

But behind Papen stand the great landowners, finance capital, generals—so to speak other "Marxists". Do not the propertied classes in itself present a great force? This argument proves once more that it is much easier to understand class relations in their general sociological outline than in a concrete historical form. Yes, immediately behind Papen stand the propertied heights and they only; precisely therein is contained the cause of his weakness.

Under the conditions of present-day capitalism a government which would not be the agency of finance capital is in general impossible. But of all possible agencies the government of Papen is the least stable one. If the ruling classes could rule directly, they would have no need either of parliamentarism, or of social democracy, or of Fascism. The government of Papen reveals too clearly finance capital, leaving it even without the sanctified order by the Prussian commissar Brakht. Just because the extra-party, "national" government is in fact able to speak only in the name of the social heights, capital is ever more careful not to identify itself with the government of Papen. DAZ wants to find for the presidential government support in the national-socialist masses and in the language of ultimatums demands of Papen a bloc with Hitler which means capitulation to him.

In evaluating the "strength" of the presidential government we must not forget the circumstance, that if finance capital stand behind Papen, this does not at all mean that it falls together with him. Finance capital has innumerable more possibilities than Hindenburg-Papen-Schleicher. In case of the sharpening of contradictions there remains the reserve of pure Fascism. In case of the lowering of contradictions one will maneuver until the time when the proletariat puts its knee on its chest. For how long Papen will maneuver the near future will show. Those lines will appear in the press when the new elections to the Reichstag will have already passed. The bonapartist nature of the "anti-French" government of Papen will inevitably reveal itself with a new force, but also its weakness. We will take this up again in due time.

Prinkipo, October 30, 1932.

—L. TROTSKY.

Weisbord and the Hunger March

In the struggle between the Stalinist faction of the party and the Left Opposition on the question of correct policy in the Hunger March, the Left Opposition has carried on a fight in the most important large cities as reported in the *Militant*. Weisbord issued a leaflet to the New York Ratification Conference and signed the leaflet, "Communist League of Struggle, (Adhering to the International (Trotsky) Opposition)". The position of Weisbord is false and has nothing in common with the position of the Left Opposition.

Many workers confused this leaflet and the insane policy advocated with that of the Communist League of America. The bureaucrats knew the difference but, cleverly utilized the leaflet to "expose" the program of the Left Opposition. If this leaflet represented the program of our American section we would deserve condemnation.

The following are several of the outstanding mistakes of the leaflet. More mistakes in a one page leaflet are difficult to conceive of.

According to Weisbord, "The present March cannot merely be an 'exposure' of the government. To a considerable extent this has already been done." The "considerable extent" to which "the government has been exposed", in Weisbord's mind, will be best seen from the infantile Leftism of the "concrete" proposals he makes later on.

Weisbord makes the astonishing "demand for the nationalization of the key industries, for the opening of factories under workers control so that the necessary products can be turned over to unemployed and starving workers." This

demand at this stage of class relations in the United States falls outside the bounds of Communist demands and plays into the hands of class collaborationism. Anyone who advocates the nationalization of industry and workers control of industries in the present condition of the United States has forgotten, or did not know the most elementary education of the Communists, let alone that of the Left Opposition.

The leaflet demands "A great demonstration in Washington threatening drastic action by the masses should the demands be turned down." Weisbord wants us to threaten drastic action. Good. But what action? He answers by saying that "A call for a national general strike to take place on the date set for Congress to act to put pressure on Congress and to support the Hunger March, should be issued by the Hunger Marchers in Washington." A general strike, a national general strike to be called, not by organized unions or mass movement or by the party but by the Hunger Marchers! A general strike is a class weapon of first importance but when played with, as it is by Weisbord, it becomes a mistake of first magnitude—an adventurist piece of ultra-Leftism proposed out of all relationship to the actual situation and the state of mind and organization of the masses.

This leaflet and these ideas are part of the program and base upon which Weisbord wants to base his "mass work". Stalinism has its brand of "mass work". The American section of the International Left Opposition will continue its activity toward greater class activity, but always upon the basis of Marxian policies.

The Conditions and Methods of Planned Economy

Of what sort are the organs of constructing and applying the plan? What are the methods of checking and regulating it? What are the conditions for its success?

Three systems must be subjected in this connection to a brief analysis: (1) special state organs, i. e., the hierarchical system of plan commissions, in the center, as well as locally; (2) trade, as a system of market regulation; (3) Soviet democracy, as a system of living reaction of the masses upon the structure of economy.

If there existed the universal mind, that projected itself into the scientific fancy of Laplace; a mind that would register simultaneously all the processes of nature and of society, that could measure the dynamics of their motion, that could forecast the results of their inter-reactions, such a mind, of course, could a priori draw up a faultless and an exhaustive economic plan, beginning with the number of hectares of wheat and down to the last button for a vest. In truth, the bureaucracy often conceives that just such a mind is at its disposal; that is why it so easily frees itself from the control of the market and of Soviet democracy. But, in reality, the bureaucracy errs frightfully in its appraisal of its spiritual resources. In its creative force, it is obliged perforce, in actual performance, to defend upon the proportions (and with equal justice one may say, the disproportions) it has inherited from capitalist Russia: upon the data of the economic structure of contemporary capitalist nations; and finally, upon the experience of successes and mistakes of the Soviet economy itself. But even the most correct combination of all these elements will allow only of constructing a most imperfect wire skeleton of a plan, and not more.

The innumerable living participants of economy, State as well as private, collective as well as individual, must give notice of their needs and of their relative strength not only through the statistical determinations of plan commissions but by the direct pressure of supply and demand. The plan is checked and, to a considerable measure, realized through the market. The regulation of the market itself must depend upon the

tendencies that are brought out through its medium. The blueprints produced by the offices must demonstrate their economic expediency through commercial calculation. The system of transitional economy is unthinkable without the control of the rouble. This presupposes, in its turn, that the rouble equals itself. Without a firm monetary unit, commercial accounting can only increase the chaos.

The processes of economic construction are not as yet taking place within a classless society. The questions relating to the allotment of the national income compose the central shaft of the plan. It shifts with the direct development of the class-struggle and that of social groups, and among them, the various strata of the proletariat itself. These are the most important social and economic questions: the link between the city and the village, i. e., the balance between that which industry obtains from rural economy and that which it supplies to it; the interrelation between accumulation and consumption, between the fund for capital construction and the fund for labor wages; the regulation of wages for various categories of labor (skilled and unskilled workers, government employees, specialists the managing bureaucracy); and finally, the allotment of that share of national income which falls to the village, between the various strata of the peasantry—all these questions by their very nature do not allow of the a priori decisions of the bureaucracy, that has fenced itself off from the interference of interested millions.

The struggle between living interests, as the fundamental factor of planning, leads us into the domain of politics, which is concentrated economics. The instrument of the social groups of Soviet society are (should be): the Soviets, the trade unions, the co-operatives, and first of all the ruling party. Only through the inter-reaction of the three elements, State planning, the market, and Soviet democracy, can be realized the correct management of the economy of the transitional epoch, and only thus can be assured—not the complete surmounting of contradictions and disproportions within a few years (this is Utopia)—but their mitigation, and, through just that, the strengthening of the material bases of the dictatorship of the proletariat until the moment when a new and victorious revolution will widen the arena of socialist planning and will reconstruct the system.

(To be continued)

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



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A Million to Be Expelled!

The New Stalinist Plan for "Purging" the Russian Party Ranks

The New York Times of December 27, informs us in Moscow dispatch from Walter Duranty, the correspondent whose services it commands in partnership with the Stalinist apparatus, of a new event impending in the Soviet Union.

"Nearly a million members of the Communist party may be deprived of their membership rights in the coming months, when Joseph Stalin follows the example set by Lenin and purges the organization of undesirable elements. The party itself has a little more than 3,000,000 members. The party has grown too fast, and many of its members, though loyal, are undisciplined. Many, though loyal and disciplined, are ignorant and unfit for the leadership to which Lenin destined them. Some are not even loyal and have broken discipline. Only today the newspaper Pravda reports the expulsion and arrest of nine Communists, Ukrainian district leaders, who had made common cause with the kulak enemy, and there are similar cases from the Caucasus to Siberia. In 1921, when Lenin purged the party, wolves in sheep's clothing, the blind leading the blind, he called them, and Stalin will follow his hard example."

The gratuitous reference to Lenin was, undoubtedly furnished Duranty by the liaison officer in the Stalinist Agit-Prop department. For in reality, there is no natural connection between the purging of the party carried through in Lenin's day and the one being planned today, in which an estimated third of the party membership is to be expelled.

An Involuntary Admission

The mere observation that in the sixteenth year of the Bolshevik revolution, one third of the party membership must be turned out, is itself a crushing indictment of the whole system introduced into the party by the Stalinist apparatus.

How did Lenin carry through the cleansing of the party during his period of leadership? The key to the situation at that time as well as to Lenin's approach to the problem is indicated by his famous proposal that nine-tenths of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists who joined the Bolshevik party after the revolution, should be expelled forthwith! The difference now is that Stalin has been carrying through the purgings at the other end.

Under the Centrist regime, the bureaucracy has been swelled to enormous proportions. Into its ranks have been injected all the Menshevik elements who "discovered" the Bolshevik revolution after it was already firmly established and consequently "respectable", whereas the organizers and leaders of the revolution and the Comintern have been simultaneously ejected from the party. For the Trotskyists, Rakovskys, Muralovs and Sosnovskys who were expelled from the party, the Stalin machine substituted such organic anti-Bolsheviks as Chubar, Martinov, Saslavsky, Rafes—to say nothing of the bourgeois saboteurs like Rumzin, Gromau, Kondratiev and Co.

Coincidental with this process and inseparable from it, the party has been systematically dissolved into the class as a whole, reduced to an amorphous, inert mass. When the Opposition demanded from 1924 onwards that the proletarian composition of the party be decisively strengthened, the bureaucracy raised a hue and cry against it on the grounds that the party would be swelled into a huge membership. This did not

prevent it from stuffing the party in a promiscuous and indiscriminate manner as to burst its firmness, its mobility, its vanguard character. Particularly in recent years, this plebeian decomposition of the party has taken on the most disastrous forms. The working force of whole factories—composed in large part of backward workers whom 17-18 years of world war and two revolutions did not impel to join the party!—was obliged to enter the party by purely administrative means. In this whole job of eliminating the vanguard character of the party, i. e., of eliminating that feature which makes it the party of the proletariat, the Stalinist apparatus has been careful to strengthen its own bureaucratic position. For to the same degree that the party was dissolved into the class, the upper stratum of the party dissolved the bonds which connected it with the party ranks, and raised itself above and beyond them.

Dissolving the Party

For all of this the proletarian dictatorship is paying a heavy price today. The idea conceived in the distorted mind of the bureaucrat that a socialistically planned economy could be carried out by purely administrative means, by command, and without the direct and genuine participation, the real control, the real initiative of the masses—which can be assured only under a regime of workers' democracy—has proved to be false to the roots and pernicious in its consequences. This necessary workers' democracy must start in the party, which leads the class. But that is precisely where the trouble lies. The party, shot through with alien elements, is hacked to bits. Its restoration as a party, pulsing, breathing, thinking, acting and controlling its executives, is the burning need of the moment.

A letter from Moscow, written towards the end of November, will serve to give an insight into the real situation: "Yes, many things have changed in recent weeks. The dominant feature of the situation remains the shaking of the personal position of Stalin. The 'general secretary' has lost all standing among his own supporters. On the other hand, we are happy to observe how the standing of L. D. Trotsky is growing in the political circles and among the advanced proletarian strata. Those who were once his most embittered critics are becoming, in many instances, his warmest partisans. We could cite many examples in the capitals. Many of those who fought him, who approved of his exile, admit today that a great future is opening up to him, his ideas and his companions. Others are disturbed without end over his new works, his viewpoints, etc.... Believe us, this tells more than all the official panegyrics for Stalin."

The "purging" proposed by Stalin is aimed at consolidating his own badly shaken position. Which does not mean that the party does not require a cleansing. It does, and it must be a cleansing. It must run from top to bottom. It must commence with the fulfillment of Lenin's last advice to the party, the advice that it should find ways of removing from the post of party secretaryship the man whom he qualified as rude and distasteful.

The party must be purged indeed. And the purging must commence with the removal of Stalin and the bureaucratic crust which has strangled the party!

THE MILITANT MUST BE SAVED!

An Appeal of the National Committee of the League

To all Members of the League,
To all Friends and Comrades of the MILITANT!

Our weekly organ THE MILITANT, is now in the greatest danger it has experienced for more than a year. Unless drastic measures are taken immediately, the success we have had thus far in maintaining the weekly will end with its collapse. Throughout the country our friends have continued to make brave and generous efforts to sustain us in the work of publishing our paper regularly. But the unrelieved crisis has had telling effects. The regular income of THE MILITANT is today too low to make possible its unhampered appearance. What is required for this purpose is a number of special contributions which we can obtain only from our comrades and sympathizers.

The seriousness of our position should be obvious to all. For the first time this year we have been compelled to omit two of the regular issues of THE MILITANT, as well as to print a half-size edition of two other numbers. THE MILITANT is the principal weapon in our fight and whenever it is weakened, the effectiveness of the whole Opposition in the United States is weakened. This blow has already been felt throughout the country and we are confident that all energies will now be bent to make impossible a repetition of the setback.

THE MILITANT has fixed a distinct place for itself in the revolutionary labor movement. It is today the only paper in the United States which fights unrelentingly for those fundamental principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky which lead the Russian Bolsheviks to the proletarian to power, which were embodied in the foundation and building up of the Communist International, in restoring the goal of the international social revolution to its rightful place of pre-eminence in the working class movement. THE MILITANT alone is in a position to speak out what is in reality, to tell the truth to the workers so that they may be able to emancipate them-

selves from the bourgeoisie, to tell the truth to the Communist so that they may be able to liberate themselves from the physical and intellectual strangulation of Stalinist Centralism. If the voice of THE MILITANT, which never compromises with unprincipledness, fraud and revisionism, with the bureaucracy, and adventurism—is silenced even for a week, a wide gap is left in the continuity of the revolutionary struggle we are carrying on for international Bolshevism.

That is why no stone must be left unturned in the campaign we have launched to save THE MILITANT! The National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) has set aside the next two months for a concentrated national campaign to collect a special fund of \$1,000.00, apart from the regular income of the organization, to guarantee the regular weekly appearance of THE MILITANT. For the whole period of the campaign, this question must remain Point One at the top of the agenda of every unit of the organization. It must be kept in mind as the matter of paramount importance by every friend of the Left Opposition. And above all, action taken now, with speed, is doubly important! Our need at the present moment is most acute, and every measure must be taken with this in mind.

We look forward to two months of systematic, organized activity to put the campaign over the top, to raise the thousand dollar fund, and thereby to make THE MILITANT independent of the crisis which has struck it with such violence.

We express the common opinion of every Oppositionist when we declare: THE MILITANT is in danger! The MILITANT must be saved! Shoulders to the wheel, Left Oppositionists!

—National Committee,
Communist League of
America (Opposition).

All funds should be sent immediately to the Militant, 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

Ala. Negro Croppers Resist White Terror

Pitched Battle Between Posse & Negroes

The attempt to seize the mule and cow of a Negro share-cropper in Nottulsa, Tallapoosa County, Alabama, and the armed conflict between the harrassed croppers and the legally armed mob that attacked them, brings to the forefront all the horrors and misery of the Negro throughout the notorious "Black Belt" in the South. At least three of the band of Negro croppers who gathered in the home of Clifford James to defend him from the mob of armed deputies, are known to be dead; several are wounded. As was the case in the Camp Hill, Alabama, affair a year and a half ago, the attack was courageously resisted by the assembled Negroes, who were finally compelled to submit in the presence of an overwhelming hostile force recruited from the entire country for miles around and even outside the county limits.

As a sequel to the Nottulsa battle, the International Labor Defense office in Birmingham raided and its equipment practically destroyed; while Alice Burke, the wife of the I. L. D.'s Southern organizer, was arrested a short time afterward in the home of a white worker of East Lake, Alabama, where a protest meeting was being held.

The Bourbon System

The fact that the Negroes invoked did not meekly submit to the arrogant demands of the white landlords and their armed posse, is of tremendous significance. Ever since the end of the Civil War, the bourgeoisie of the South has put at the very spearhead of its policy the determination to keep the Negro submerged as far as possible, to inculcate in him the spirit of subservience and non-resistance, to impress him with the absurd, unfounded, reactionary theory of "Negro inferiority". The whole social and political system erected around these ideas has been bolstered up by "Jim Crowing," the Negro, disfranchising him in every conceivable manner, keeping him on the lowest rung of the economic ladder, and, to impress him with the advisability of not resist-

ing, by torturing and murdering him in accordance with the principles of Judge Lynch. The unrelenting persistence in preserving this barbaric system of virtual enslavement of the Negro, is accounted for by the fact that the emancipation of the millions of colored toilers in the South is equivalent to the end of white capitalist domination.

Suffering most acutely from the nightmare of Southern capitalist democracy, are the Negroes engaged in "share-cropping". The leasing of land, and sometimes also of mechanical equipment or livestock, to the croppers, is paid for by them in the form of a portion of the crop they garner. The system is strongly reminiscent of the dark feudal ages. It places the cropper at the mercy of the white landlord from whom he can scarcely ever liberate himself. The living conditions of the croppers, lowest in the scale of tenant farmers, are indescribable. They are constantly, and more often than not, increasingly indebted to the landlord, who robs them of their already scanty income not only by the "cropper's contract" which puts the Negro in the hands of the landowner, but also by the fantastic prices charged at the latter's bar and clothing commissary.

The Negro Stand Their Ground

When there is added to this the fact that cotton, the principal cash money crop in the "Black Belt" has been hit terrific blows by the crisis, the desperation of the Negro share-cropper may be easily imagined. No wonder that in spite of the tremendous forces the landlords have at their disposal, the Negroes in the South are beginning, for the first time in years, to stand their ground against the arbitrary, tyrannical encroachments upon their already sufficiently miserable living conditions.

Camp Hill and Nottulsa of symbolic significance. No longer does there exist a progressive bourgeoisie in the North which is compelled to grant at least formal recognition to the rights of the Negroes, in the interests of their own fight for liberation from the hampering fetters of a slave-owning aristocracy. The union of the Southern Bourbons and the Northern republicans into a reactionary financial oligarchy, has long ago been accomplished. From that source, the Negro can look for anything but support or comfort. But not much more support will the cruelly exploited Negro get from the petty bourgeoisie, his own not excepted. The Negro petty bourgeoisie is in that precarious position where it actually thrives on the segregation and Jim Crowing of the black toiler! That is why its interests are so intimately associated with those of the ruling bourgeoisie. That is why it continuously counsels the Negro masses to wear the "Uncle Tom handkerchief" on its head, the symbol of the fawning slave who never fights back.

This leaves the Negro of town and country only one way out of the purgatory in which they are confined. The Negro tenant and cropper of the South cannot lead and organize the movement for liberation; they can, however, contribute (as they have) all the passion of the wronged, the strength at their command, the heroism they have already displayed. But at the head of the columns marching to victory must stand the class conscious, machine-organized, urban proletariat, white and black. Eventually, it will stand there. When it has reached the consciousness of its task, it will cut the Southern Negroes wanting. Camp Hill and Nottulsa are signs of the vast inflammable material in the South which can be ignited to burn to the roots the bestial rule of oppression.

—Sa.

OPEN FORUM

Will Social Reformism
Grow in the U.S.?

Speaker:

HUGO OEHLER

December 30, 1932

126 East 16 Street,
ADMISSION: 15c

Auspices:
N. Y. Br. Communist League of A
(Opposition)

Canadian Organ Issued

Left Opposition Launches 'Vanguard' as Monthly in Toronto

A new achievement for the International Left Opposition is represented by the launching of its own organ in Canada, *The Vanguard*. For several years the Canadian Communist movement was more or less isolated from the world-wide party and the struggle begun around the problems raised by the Left Opposition did not find immediate echo in Canada. It was only after the publication in favor of the Opposition issued by the chairman and co-founder of the party, comrade Maurice Spector, that the Left wing received its first organized form. In recent times, the preliminary ground work done with the aid furnished by the Militant and the distribution of comrade Trotsky's works has borne fruit in the forward spirit that the Canadian Opposition has experienced. Several months ago, the movement was strengthened by the addition of comrade Jack MacDonald who was for years secretary of the party and most prominent spokesman for Communism in the country. Since then, the Opposition in Toronto has gained considerably in membership and prestige, and extended the sphere of its activities in the trade union movement and among the unemployed workers who have created a fairly elaborate movement in

that region. In addition, the Left Opposition is engaged in work among the revolutionary students who have already published the second number of their magazine, *The Spark*.

The first issue of the *Vanguard* (which can be obtained at 5 cents a copy from P. O. Box 63, Toronto, Ont., Canada), is devoted largely to the Russian revolution anniversary. Besides the usual timely articles from the recent writings of comrade Trotsky, there are contributions and editorials on the most important questions of the Canadian labor and revolutionary movement. Of heartening significance is the article by comrade Bill Matheson, former head of the American Unemployed movement and active Communist party militant in the minefields of two countries. In it he submits the party trade union policy to searching criticism and shows how telling has been the view of the Left Opposition. We have every reason to believe that our Canadian comrades have only made a beginning which augurs well for the future. We look forward with confidence to encouraging progress that will carry our revolutionary banner to every working class militant in Canada.

Our heartiest wishes go to our Canadian comrades-in-arms!

Unite to Smash the Trade Union Racketeers!

The shots fired by a member of the Waiters' Union, Local 1 of New York, which sent to the hospital two of its business agents, brings sensationally to the forefront one of these ranning sores which has made the American labor movement unique in the entire world. The publicity attendant upon the shooting brought to public view the following facts:

It has been the custom in this union for the business agents to charge workers anywhere from \$100.00 up to be "placed" on a job, in agreement with the petty bosses who received from the labor racketeers a portion of the tax imposed illicitly upon the worker desperate for a job. A short time after the worker had parted with his money, and obtained the job, he found himself discharged by the boss, in cahoots with the labor officials, who promptly proceeded to start the game all over again with some other worker. While the jobs were "rotated" in this ingenious manner, the workers were being separated from vast sums of money which found their way into the bank accounts of the union skates.

The sufferings of the union members under this atrocious system may be judged from the fact that one of them felt impelled to vent his desperation by shooting at the two most notorious profiteers.

The class conscious worker is not the partisan of methods of individual terrorism. While we do not go into fits of hysterical horror—we leave that to the "liberal" friends of the labor movement—we are aware that the incubus of labor racketeering, like all the manifestations of class rule and labor exploitation, cannot be solved by individual attacks. They are at best the futile act of desperation which ignores (and sometimes evades) the imperative need of setting into motion the masses of those who suffer injury and injustice. The assassination of this or that king of Europe never brought about the abolition of monarchism. It was abolished, however, when the masses rose in a social revolutionary movement against that decadent system, as happened in 1917 in Russia, in 1918 in Germany and in 1931 in Spain. On a smaller scale, the same rule applies to the petty monarchs of the American trade union movement, who have fixed themselves to it like leeches exercising at times a power

The Meaning of the Shooting in Waiters Local, No. 1

beyond the dreams of many present-day kings.

The Sam Kaplans, the Frank Commerfords, the Big Tim Murphys, the Mike Boyles and all the rest of the underworld gangster crew who have bullied their way to the top of whole sections of the labor movement with the aid of strong-arm men, blackjacks and pistols, can be thrown back into the gutters whence they came only if the masses of the workers affected are organized to put them out. While the struggle is no easy one, as has been demonstrated on more than one occasion, it is the only way out. The establishment of trade

union democracy and the conversion of the unions into class struggle organizations instead of class collaborationism which invites racketeering—these are the sticks of dynamite which blow the underworld leeches out of the labor movement. A quintessential prerequisite for this is the restoration of the Left wing in the unions, where it was once a growing force, commanding respect and making for progress.

The fact is that the so-called socialist unions are not very greatly distinguished in this respect for many others. To rid them all of the poisonous hydra which is devouring their vitals is a task which every worker can join in carrying out.

SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTORS TO
SAVE THE MILITANT

A. F. L. and Union Unity

The Stalinist Policies Fail to Meet the Test of the Situation

In viewing the relationship of the revolutionary party to the trade union movement in the light of the events at the recent American Federation of Labor Convention, one specific feature stands out strikingly. And for the thinking worker there should be little difficulty in drawing a conclusion. We have, for some time, been faced with an unemployment situation pressing so acutely upon the working class that the Green bureaucracy found itself compelled to execute a change of front. The A. F. of L. became committed, though so far only on paper, to the important measures of unemployment insurance and the six-hour work day without reduction of pay. Yet the revolutionary party had no direct influence in producing this change.

The best proof of this fact is furnished by the party's own actions. There assembled in Cincinnati, at the same time as the A. F. of L. gathering, a rank and file convention for unemployment insurance. It was sponsored by the official party, but, of course, without any apparent formal connection. It had up to 200 delegates in attendance, a few of them officially elected by A. F. of L. union locals. Its purpose was, as indicated by its name, to fight for unem-

ployment insurance, to focus attention upon this issue alongside of the A. F. of L. convention, to expose the A. F. of L. stand and to serve as the true expression of the trade unions on this issue. Yes, the party leadership had actually come down from its lofty perch of the third period dogma, from the "revolutionary upsurge of the American workers"—to speak to the A. F. of L. about unemployment insurance. From an adventurist position which had no foundation in reality to dragging entirely at the rear of events. This is the sum and substance of its recent course. But before the rank and file convention had even gathered, the hidebound reactionaries of the A. F. of L. had already framed their insurance policy and, in addition, made ready for the six-hour day proposal. The rank and file convention therefore became entirely overshadowed by the A. F. of L. action. It exposed primarily its own backwardness.

There is on the other hand, at least, the compensating feature in the fact that the A. F. of L. convention action has already served to influence the party views somewhat. Party speakers are beginning to use the term class collaboration (Continued on page 8)

New Year's Eve

DANCE AND ENTERTAINMENT

SATURDAY DECEMBER 31, 1932
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The Hunger March to Wash.

Now that the Washington Hunger Marchers have returned home with instructions to organize the class for immediate relief and unemployment insurance it is time to follow up our report of last week and to draw some lessons from the march. We can say that the spirit of the marchers on the way to Washington was excellent and that native-born workers, white and Negro constituted the majority of the marchers. It showed that the largest percent of the marchers were from the new layers of the class shifted forward by the crisis.

But overbalancing these good points, as well as the publicity obtained, are a whole series of negative points that can be traced back to the wrong Stalinist policies which we criticized in issues of the *Militant* previous to the Hunger March.

The 3000 delegates represented directly about 200,000 of the millions of unemployed American workers. The organizations represented were: the unemployed councils, TUUL unions, Left wing groups of AFL unions, the ILLD, the IWO and workers fraternal organizations and at most, a few A F of L locals, some of the delegates were elected at mass meetings held by the U. C. All in all, it was a "united front" of the party and its close sympathizers with special delegates from the Councils who could give the movement a real "American face". In other words, so far as a Leninist united front is concerned the Washington Hunger March was a failure. The other working class organizations, with their reactionary and reformist misleaders, were not represented. And the absence of delegates from these other organizations was not due to their elimination because the misleaders would not unite. Their absence as organizations was due to the fact that the party and the unemployed councils did not apply the united front to win the rank and file for the march and to expose the leadership in ACTION.

The Communist party was in complete control, it dominated every fibre of the movement, and yet not once during the march did it show its face officially. No political parties were represented, not even the Communist party. To have one hundred percent control and not to be officially represented is to hide the face of the revolutionary vanguard of the class. Everybody knew the Communists held the leadership of the movement. Why fear to be officially represented and speak to the marchers as the Communist party?

The Workers' Congress held in Washington, supposed to be rudimentary and first steps toward educating the class to the idea of the American Soviets were mechanical gatherings where "leaders" made reports and delegates listened; where resolutions were carried unanimously but no conclusions or lessons drawn. Such is the way to alienate the American workers from the idea of Workers' Congresses.

On the way to Washington some attention and some results were obtained in a demonstrative way, but in Washington we were practically held as prisoners under arrest. The Washington watchers of the parade were far from friendly, in fact in the main they could be catalogued as hostile. On the way home from Washington things were different. In the main it resulted in a rush for home. The spirit was low and confusion seemed to reign in the minds of a great number of delegates. They seemed bewildered as to what had been accomplished.

It was not the police and hostile capitalists we met all the way to and in Washington that changed the attitude of the delegates. It was internal factors of our own weakness. One critical stage where the change could be noticed was at the Second session of the Workers' Congress after the march, when comrade Benjamin was making a report and said we knew Congress would not give us any relief but he did not explain what we did go to Washington for and substituted for this analysis the advice to go back home and organize the workers to carry on the struggle for the same demands. The reaction to these remarks was bewilderment and confusion, as if the delegates, at least a large section of those who made up the new layers into our ranks, came to Washington with the idea that they were coming to get some results and winter relief. From this point on the spirit lagged and sank to a low point.

The Stalinists can be blamed for this because the method of their propaganda, divorcing the immediate demands from the revolutionary goal and posing the immediate demands isolated and apart from the end, invites such a conclusion. To aim at Congress without this correct base for the program, with an extra-parliamentary form (mass pressure) but in reality resulting in the direction of creating parliamentary illusions within the class. At least this is what happened to many of the delegates. They came there expecting results from the "pressure" on Congress and when they found that this did not materialize they went away bewildered. They were not disillusioned. They came with illusions and went away confused.

We warned the Stalinists of this danger before. A movement of demonstrations without the base, without mass pressure, a top without a bottom, results in creating a shell without content. Without this class content, without Communist class directives of the party, it shifts into opportunist channels.

The New York and New England delegation rushed back home. A difficult spirit hung over the return. Returned delegates were instructed to make the report but the delegation as a whole failed to make reports along the way, until protests from the ranks forced a meeting in Newark.

In New York, for the first time, at a meeting to welcome the delegates at Cooper Union, Hathaway officially spoke for the party. By this time the pressure from the Left Opposition and the ranks itself forced the party to speak. Hathaway said the Communist party was proud of its part in making the Hunger March a success and giving it the issues of immediate relief and unemployment insurance. Weisman, at this meeting said, the party at no time concealed the fact that it supported the march.

Instead of correcting a mistake, this belated explanation made things worse. Delegates in the hall asked each other, why say this now? Why was this not said at the beginning? Some of the Western delegates did not know what the role of the party in the march was. They knew it played a part but just what part they could not make out.

The party again failed to carry out a united front and again isolated the advanced layers from the class.

Benjamin made a speech on Monday when the question of a march was under discussion. The vague threat that we would march regardless of the authorities refusal, was picked up by the capitalist yellow sheets and flamed into

a direct revolutionary threat against the state. Of course Benjamin was only throwing a sop to the delegates. The C. I. picked up this story in the capitalist press and on the enemies' slander sent a cable asking if this was so. The alarm of Moscow can be understood when we turn to the fact that Stalinism has control. They are for demonstrations, "peaceful demonstrations", providing the activity of the American party in no way upsets the anxious plans of "the builders of socialism in one country". They want to obtain United States recognition. The leaders of the world revolution are so concerned over reports in the lying capitalist press because they subordinate the world revolution to maintain peaceful relations with the capitalist powers in order to... build socialism in one country.

—BILL KITT.

THE MILITANT

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«Unser Kampf» Tour Concludes with the Launching of Worker's Clubs

(Continued from previous issue)

In Kansas City we did not succeed in establishing contacts with the Jewish movement prior to our arrival but a lecture was arranged for us by "Shorty" Buehler who issued an English leaflet announcing that we were to speak in Jewish on the Left Opposition. In response to this leaflet came a number of English-speaking workers who requested us to hold a lecture in English. We readily consented and had a very spirited meeting. The few Stalinists in the audience by their arguments only helped us bring out in sharper relief the viewpoint of the Left Opposition. As a result of our short stay in Kansas City we now have a number of subscribers to *Unser Kampf* and a comrade in charge of the work who will try to broaden the circle of our readers.

In St. Louis we spent three days. Our activity was concentrated primarily upon laying a foundation for an *Unser Kampf* Club, since our circle of readers in this city makes the building of a club possible. Unfortunately, we could not stay much longer and we only succeeded in bringing together a group of people who constituted themselves as a provisional committee for the building of a club. Our lecture in St. Louis was attended by a small but attentive and responsive audience.

Our branch in St. Louis is concentrating its activities among the unemployed workers. They are under fire from two directions: the Stalinists are trying to isolate them, and the Citizens Unemployed League, under control of reactionaries and in which the Musteltes have a hand, is likewise combatting them. The Stalinists use all kinds of trickery and abuse in trying to keep our comrades out of the situation. For example, comrade Payer was elected by his branch of the ILLD as a delegate to the Hunger March. When he appeared with his bundle ready to leave for Washington he was promptly informed by the local Stalinist bureaucrats that a meeting of his branch was held in

the meantime, cancelling his election for the Hunger March. When workers in his branch heard of this outrageous act, they protested vehemently. But it was too late. The marchers had already left and Payer was not permitted to go with them. Comrade Goldberg applied for membership to one of the branches of the Citizens Unemployed League. At the very meeting he was accepted, he moved that this branch send delegates to the Hunger March United Front Conference. This carried and comrade Goldberg was elected, participating very actively in the preparations for Hunger March. This act of the branch in sending a delegate to the "Communist" Hunger March terrified the officials at the head of the Citizens Unemployed League. Their primary concern is to get on the good side of the Chamber of Commerce and the police officials. They do not believe in struggle; their method is that of ingratiating themselves with the bosses and collecting a few crumbs. We had the occasion to be present at the meeting where the venom of the officials was directed against comrade Goldberg. They saw in him the danger of the organization being radicalized from within. A long letter of the Central Committee was read off to the branch in which it was condemned for participating in the Hunger March. When comrade Goldberg asked for the floor he was told by the president of the organization, Frank Wall, a renegade Communist, that he is not a member, that his membership was not approved by the membership committee consisting of three individuals who have the sole right of accepting or expelling members. The whole structure of the organization, according to the constitution Frank Wall read off, is that of a company union. To our amazement we found that Carl Lore, a Mustelte organizer, is one of the three on the membership committee. Apparently, they consider this "progressive" labor action.

—SYLVIA BLEEKER.

—MORRIS LEWITT.

New Expulsions in the Comintern

(Continued from last issue)

In Germany, another pillar of the apparatus has—if not fallen, then at least been rudely disturbed. Out of a clear blue sky, the official party press in Germany has announced that Heinz Neumann was all along engaged in clandestine factional work against the Leninist Central Committee, its line and its leadership. What is more, the shortcomings, defects and errors made in the past (it appears that, after all, there were some made!), are to be ascribed to the work of Neumann.

The usual offensive has been opened up all along the line, not only in the German but in the international party press. The current issue of the *Communist International* (No. 17-18) contains an article by Piatnitsky which gives some idea of how heavy is the burden which the infallible bureaucracy is now shifting on to the shoulders of the latest scapegoat. The "line" in Germany for the last three or more years was held to be irreproachably "Leninist", as were the leaders who conceived it and those who carried it into effect. The criticisms directed against the party policy in Germany by the Left Opposition—criticisms which each new day confirmed with telling accuracy—were denounced in unmeasured terms as "counter-revolutionary". The theory of "social Fascism" ruled supreme, in all its worst aspects. But the accumulation of the terrific consequences of this policy has reached a height that can no longer be ignored. We now learn, therefore, that while the "general line" was correct, it was carried out in practice erroneously, from start to finish, and that the fault lies exclusively with yesterday's aide-de-camp of Stalin, Heinz Neumann.

Who Is Heinz Neumann?

Neumann occupies a rather sinister place in the history of the last decade of the Comintern. He not only adjusted himself with bland ease to every leadership chosen by or imposed upon the party—Brandler, Fischer, Ewert, Thaelmann—but was himself the actual political leader of the German party since the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern. An adventurer out of nowhere, of that peculiar stripe represented by John Pepper, he was known in informed circles as the direct representative of Stalin in Western Europe. In fact, he was, together with Lominadze, the principal organizer of that notorious "Corridor Congress" during the Sixth C. I. Congress in 1928 which corralled the majority of the delegates for Stalin from under the very nose of the official leader, Bucharin.

A few weeks ago, without the faintest preliminary warning, Neumann—a Neumann group, in fact!—was suddenly attacked in the open by the central organ of the German party. It is discovered at a single blow that the "Bolshevik Central Committee" has had differences of opinion with Neumann on a series of fundamental questions for a period of close to four years now.

The "differences" concern no small questions. Neumann, reads the bill of particulars, sought to replace the slogan of the "Red United Front" with that of the "Red workers' front"—although the indictment skips over the interesting question of wherein lay the distinction between the two. Further, Neumann is accused of "a lack of understanding of the importance of inner-trade union opposition work"—with the implication (entirely unwarranted, to be sure!) that the rest of the party leaders were not lacking in such an understanding. Moreover, he "coined the false formulation back in December 1930 concerning the Bruening government, according to which the Fascist dictatorship was already here". That it was the Left Opposition which first ridiculed this preposterous identification of Bruening with Fascism, is of course not even whispered by the Central Committee which has all the time been engaged in denouncing (together with Neumann!) the Opposition as "social Fascist" for its standpoint. That Neumann's contentions were idiotic

«Traitors» and Scapegoats In the Bureaucracy

is perfectly obvious—today, apparently, even to the Central Committee. But does the fact that the latter advanced the identical contentions in every one of its pronouncements, exempt it from the same charge?

Finally, Neumann is taxed with having sought to "replace the main strategic slogan of the conquest of the majority of the working class with the slogan of the people's revolution". Unluckily for the Central Committee and its Stalinist commanders, it is impossible to burn up the mountain of documents on this score which have been written in the last two years. The nationalist degeneration of the party was the common work of Neumann, Thaelmann, Manuilsky and Stalin. They jointly demanded the "national emancipation of Germany"; they jointly participated in the infamous Fascist referendum in Prussia; they were jointly responsible for the nationalist-anti-Semitic fraternization with the Lieutenant Scheringers, and more of the same.

The simple, incontestable fact is that Neumann is being made the goat for the second time: it happened once in 1927-1928, when he was made responsible for the made-to-order-in-Moscow putsch in Canton. The second time is now, when his narrow shoulders are being weighed down with all the crimes, blunders and stupidities of the central Stalinist apparatus in Germany which have set back the revolutionary movement in so dreadful a manner.

Whole Spanish Leadership Expelled

Neumann was given a comparatively light sentence. His character, or rather lack of it, makes it possible for him to adapt himself to the new circumstances. A shrug of the shoulders, a cynical grin, a statement of guilt—and a place is opened for him again in the apparatus. But the Neumanns of the Spanish party have not been let off so easily. No mere denunciation here. In this case we have the out-of-hand expulsion of nothing less than the whole party leadership!

The whole group in charge of the Spanish party from the days before the republican uprising down to yesterday, has been summarily expelled. In the text of the excommunication from Moscow, the ECCI declares that all four of the party's most prominent leaders, Bullejos, Adame, Trilla and Vega, are "traitors to the Spanish revolution, to the Spanish Communist Party and to the Communist International". As may be seen from these choice terms, it is a trifling matter....

The whys and wherefores of the case, the Stalinist center contemptuously refrains from specifying. That Bullejos and Co. are guilty of many things is beyond dispute. But in our eyes, their greatest crime consists in having followed slavishly and without dissent the disastrous instructions of Stalin, Manuilsky, Kuu and Co. At every stage in the development of the Spanish revolution, the Comintern laid the basis for the tragedy of errors of Communism in Spain. In this sense the loyalty of Bullejos cannot be questioned.

(By the way, the "traitor" Bullejos, like Celor in France, Neumann in Germany, Varski in Poland, was in the forefront of the struggle against the Left Opposition. He not only wrote a pamphlet several months ago to prove that the "Trotskyists" were the agents of counter-revolution, but on more than one occasion he threatened to exterminate the Spanish Opposition center with the aid of "strong" and "piercing" arguments....)

If there is any doubt that the newly expelled are simply scapegoats for Stalin, who must find some explanation for the calamity in Spain, it is enough to read the resolution of the Comintern published last May in the central theoretical organ of the Spanish party: "This leadership (i. e., the "traitors" Bullejos

and Trilla) which has given numerous proofs of heroism in the revolutionary struggle, holds our confidence." And again, in a resolution against the Right wing Maurin group, the Comintern expressed itself with regards to the Bullejos leadership in the following unmistakable terms: "The ECCI unreservedly approves the policy followed by the leadership of the Communist Party of Spain." Unreservedly! Ah, what a supreme contempt the bureaucrats have for the mental faculties of the workers in the ranks, of their powers of memory, that they can denounce today as traitors whom they have fought all along, those very people whom they supported without reservations only yesterday!

The fate of Bullejos is shared by a product of that stinking swamp which bears the name of Communism in Austria and from which so many thousands of Austrian workers have recoiled into the arms of Austro-Marxism. The victim in this instance is none other than the party leader of yesterday, Karl Toman. Unfortunately, we know very little about his case, even less than about Bullejos', but the reports inform us that while in Moscow, Toman was also expelled as a traitor. The thick wall of obscurity behind which these apparatus machinations take place is part and parcel of the whole Stalinist system.

«Traitors» and Scapegoats

In the best days of the Comintern, there were many traitors and turncoats to the revolution in the leadership of various parties. There was even the case of Dr. Paul Levi, for whom Lenin had such a high respect when he stood at the head of the German Communist Party. During the "March Action" in 1921, Levi stabbed the party and the embattled workers in the back. His action caused surprise and confusion to most of the Communists, although he had been slipping away from the Comintern prior to that event. But the settlement of accounts with Levi took place in the open, before the eyes of all, with the material available for study and decision. Levi parted with the Comintern because his views did not harmonize with those of the latter, because he refused to follow the path of Lenin with regard to Centrism in Italy or the situation in Germany.

Nowadays, the Stalinist system consists in finding "traitors" to serve as scapegoats for its own crimes and errors. It is not so much because they disagreed with Stalin that they are expelled or removed, but usually because they did not agree with the policy, did execute it as best those policies can be executed, or else because the confusion sowed in their own minds by the fantastic theories of Stalinism, disabled them from a sufficiently speedy re-orientation along a suddenly presented "new general line".

The latter is the case, on the whole, with Varski, Kostrzeva, Brand and their group who have just been expelled from the leadership of the Polish party and constituted a Right wing opposition. Varski felt more than at home during the whole period of the Right-Center bloc in the Comintern, the rule of Stalin-Bucharin from 1923 to 1928. He was the political genius who in 1927 greeted the reactionary Pilsudski coup d'Etat in Poland as the beginnings of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry"! The Stalinist swing to ultra-Leftism in 1929 left this Right wing group quite disoriented. It continued to cling for some time to the apparatus. The constant turns of the apparatus wheel finally threw it off at an angle, in the direction to which it was always inclined: the Right opposition.

At the same time, if we are to believe the report of the Warsaw organ of the Bund, a Left Opposition group has been formed with considerable support (throughout the industrial centers of Poland and with strong roots in the Left wing trade union movement. The lateness of the appearance of an Opposition group in Poland may serve to bring it on the political scene in much stronger form than in many other countries. But on this score, we must await more authoritative details from our comrades abroad.

The recent expulsions in the Comintern are inseparably associated with the just concluded 12th Plenum. In virtually every case, those removed were most prominently associated with yesterday's ultra-Leftist and sectarian course. Their removal symbolizes the half-hearted turn to the Right which the 12th Plenum foreshadowed. We are apparently on the eve of one of those prolonged zig-zags to the Right which will make more ludicrous than ever the superficial Brandlerist standpoint that the essence of Stalin is "Leftism". It is neither that nor is it "Rightism" as such. As the sum of its two principal periods—from 1923 to 1928 and from 1929 to date—indicate, Stalinism represents the politically parasitic faction of bureaucratic Centrism, with a system of inner-party management all its own. The recent expulsions are eloquent in their significance.

—MARSH.

We cannot refrain from adding a note on the recent expulsions in the Italian party over questions of policy which are clothed in total darkness, so far as the Stalinist press is concerned. Six comrades, Brightenti, Barioni, Drago, Sansone, La Camera and Glioli, have been expelled from the party. In the Stalinist press, the names of the comrades are printed, together with the city each lives in and his home address! If this unprecedented act has any significance at all, it means that the comrades are being delivered into the hands of the police. That too is not in contradiction to the Stalinist system....

Negotiations with Weisbord Suspended

This is the reply of the National Committee to the statement of comrade Weisbord:

COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (Opposition)
126 East 16th Street, N. Y. C.
October 31, 1932.

Dear comrade Weisbord:

In the *Militant* of October 1 and 8, the National Committee made public a statement of its views on the letter sent by the Communist League of Struggle in reply to the letter of comrade Trotsky. Our statement was aimed at facilitating the fusion of the Communist League of Struggle with the American section of the International Left Opposition on the basis of a clearly and honestly established agreement in principle, and without permitting matters of secondary importance to constitute an insurmountable obstacle. The National Committee must regretfully establish that the reply to its statement made by the Weisbord group, even less than its first letter, meets with the requirements which we consider necessary for a solution of the question. Instead of a clear statement of its point of view in the sense we indicated, the reply of the Weisbord group takes a step backward in this respect and attempts to defend the errors which have separated it from us. This is carried out behind a barrage of minor issues, real and alleged, with which is combined that petty, false and outrageously exaggerated criticism of our League, against which Weisbord has been cautioned before, especially in comrade Trotsky's letter. Finally the

whole tone of the reply in no way indicates a desire or intention to engage in a loyal and comradely collaboration with the Communist League of America. On the contrary. For these reasons the National Committee is compelled to suspend any further negotiations with the Weisbord group until such a time as the latter shall have established its position in a manner, as laid down in our statement of October 1 and 8, which we consider a minimum for the fusion of the two groups and the future discussion inside of the united organization of any serious differences of a secondary character which may have arisen or will arise.

National Committee,
Communist League of America,
Secretary.

(Copy of letter from Trotsky to Weisbord dated Oct. 13, 1932.)
Dear comrade Weisbord,

This is an answer to your letter, and through your mediation to the letter of your group. My delay in answering was due to my assurance that the *Militant*, contrary to our premature assumption, would answer your request. And, in point of fact, I find in the last issues my letter to you and your answer published integrally and even without any criticism in the same issues.

This procedure is very accommodating, perhaps a little too much so. If you still remember our discussion about the possibilities and methods of fusion, you will understand without any comment from me that I cannot find your steps

very happily chosen for the purpose, if the purpose remains that of fusion.

It is scarcely necessary to go into the details of your letter, I feel obliged to emphasize the fact that your treatment of the question of Centrism appears to me absolutely unsatisfactory. It is not a question of name, but of the political content of the Stalinist faction.

It is superfluous to repeat that I would be glad to observe a real coming-together between your group and our American section, but it is evident that in the present stage this procedure cannot be seriously influenced from abroad. It is a task between yourself and the League.

Prinkipo, Oct. 13, 1932.

With Communist greetings,
L. TROTSKY.

(Excerpt of letter from Trotsky to the National Committee dated Oct. 22, 1932, and regard to the above.)

It appears that you were not sent a copy of my reply to comrade Weisbord. This reply I wrote before I had the opportunity to become acquainted with your comprehensive reply to the Weisbord group. You will notice, however, that our parallel actions quite well supplement one another.

L. TROTSKY.

Pressure of space compels us to omit from this issue the continuation of Jack Weber's series of articles on Japan. It will appear in the forthcoming number.

Perspectives Of Marxism

Open Letter by Leon Trotsky to V. F. Calverton on the Revolutionary Intellectuals

Dear Comrade Calverton:—
I have received your pamphlet, "For Revolution", and read it with interest, as well as advantage to myself. Your arguments against the American "knights of pure reform" are very convincing, certain of them are really splendid. But, so far as I understand your inquiry, what you wanted from me was, not literary compliments, but a political evaluation. I shall be all the more willing to grant your request since the problems of American Marxism have acquired at the present time an extraordinary importance.

By its character and structure, your pamphlet was most appropriate for the thinking representatives of the academic youth. To ignore this group would, in any case, be out of the question; on the contrary, it is necessary to know it and talk to it in its language. However, you yourself have frequently emphasized in this study those thoughts which are elementary to a Marxist that the overthrow of capitalism can be effected only by the proletariat. The revolutionary education of its vanguard, you rightly proclaim as the chief task. But in your pamphlet, I do not find the bridge to that task, nor any indication of the direction in which it must be sought.

CALVERTON OMITTS

REVOLUTIONARY REALITIES

Is this a reproach on my part? Both yes and no. In its essence your little book represents an answer to that kind of petty bourgeois radical (in America they seem to be wearing out the threadbare name of liberals) who is ready to accept the boldest social conclusion on condition that they involve no political obligation. Socialism? Communism? Anarchism? All very good but in no other way than that of reform. To transform from top to bottom society, morality, the family? Splendid! but by all means with the permission of the White House and of Tammany. Against these pretensions and fruitless tendencies you develop as said before, a victorious argumentation. But this dispute thereby inevitably takes on the character of a domestic debate in an intellectual club where there is a reformist and a Marxist wing. So thirty and forty years ago in Petersburg and Moscow the academic Marxist disputed with academic Populist: must Russia pass through the stage of capitalism or not? How much water has flowed over the dam since that time! The very necessity of taking the question as you do in your pamphlet throws a glaring light on the political backwardness of the United States, technologically the most advanced country in the world. Insofar as you neither can nor have the right to tear yourself out of the American background, there is no reproach in my words.

Yet at the same time there is a reproach, since, beside pamphlets and clubs where academic discussions for and against revolution are carried on, in the ranks of the American proletariat, with all the backwardness of its movement, there are different political, and among them, revolutionary groupings. You say nothing about them. Your pamphlet does not mention a word about the so-called Socialist party, nor the Communists, nor the transitional formations, not to speak of the struggling factions within Communism. This means that you are talking to nobody in particular and calling them to nowhere in particular. You explain the inevitability of the revolution, but the intellectual who is convinced by you can quietly smoke his cigarette to the end and go on to the order of the day. Insofar there is in my words an element of reproach.

I would not put this circumstance in the first place if it did not seem to me that your political position as I conceive it from your articles is typical of a quite numerous and theoretically very valuable stratum of left intelligentsia in the United States.

INTELLECTUALS FEAR

CONSEQUENCES OF CLARITY

To talk of the Hillquit-Thomas party as a tool of the proletarian revolution is evidently out of the question. Without having achieved in the slightest degree the power of European reformism, American Social-Democracy has appropriated all its vices, and barely passed childhood, has already fallen into what the Russians call "dog-sleep". I hope that you will agree with this evaluation and perhaps explain these considerations on many future occasions. But in the pamphlet "For Revolution" you did not speak a word about Social-Democracy. Why? It seems to me because, after speaking of Social-Democracy, you would have had to give an evaluation of the Communist party too and this is not only a delicate but also an exceedingly responsible question, which imposes obligations and leads to consequences. Perhaps I may be mistaken in thinking so with respect to you personally but many American Marxists obviously and ostentatiously avoid fixing their position with respect to the Party. They consider themselves friends of the Soviet Union, sympathize with Communism, write articles about Hegel and the inevitability of the revolution and that is all. Still that is not enough, since the instrument of the revolution is the party, is it not?

I would not like to be misunderstood. Under the tendency to avoid the practical consequences of a clear position, I am far from understanding the concern for personal well-being. Admittedly, there are many well-Marxists who the Communist party repels by its aim of bringing the revolution out of the dis-

cussion club into the street. But to dispute about a revolutionary party with such snobs is a waste of time. What we are talking about are the other, more serious Marxists, who are in no way inclined to be scared by revolutionary action, but whom the present Communist party disquiets by its low theoretical level, bureaucracy and lack of genuine revolutionary initiative. At the same time, they say to themselves, that is the party which stands furthest to the Left, which is bound up with the Soviet Union and which represents it in a certain sense. Is it right to attack it, is it permissible to criticize it?

STALINISM DRIVES

INTELLECTUALS TO QUANDARY

The opportunist and adventurist vices of the present leadership of the Communist International and of its American section are too evident to require emphasis. In any case, it is impossible and useless to repeat within the framework of this letter what is said on this theme in a series of independent works.* All questions of theory, strategy, tactics and organization end by becoming the object of deep divergences within Communism. Three fundamental factions have been formed, which have succeeded in demonstrating their character in the course of the great events and problems of recent years. The struggles among them have taken on all the sharper character since in the Soviet Union every difference with the current ruling group leads to immediate expulsion from the party and to State repressions. The Marxist intelligentsia in the United States as well as in other countries is placed before an alternative: either tacitly and obediently to support the Communist International as it is, or to be included in the camp of the counter-revolution and the "social-Fascists". A part of the intelligentsia chooses the first way; with closed or half-closed eyes, it follows the official Party. Another part wanders without a party home, defends where it can the Soviet Union from slander, and occupies itself with abstract sermons in favor of the revolution without indicating through which gate they can go to meet it. The difference between these two groups, however, is not so great. On both sides it is an abdication from the creation of an independent opinion and from the courageous struggle for it, which is precisely where the revolutionary begins. On both sides we have a type of fellow-traveler and not an active builder of the proletarian party. Certainly, a fellow-traveler is better than an enemy. But a Marxist cannot be a fellow-traveler of the revolution, and besides, the experience of history bears witness that in the most decisive moments the storm of the struggle hurls the majority of the intellectual fellow-travelers into the enemy's camp. If they still return, it is only after the victory has been consolidated. Maxim Gorky is the most colorful but not the only example. In the present Soviet apparatus, incidentally, clear up to the top a very important percentage of people stood fifteen years ago openly on the other side of the barricades.

MARXISM NO DOGMA—

GUIDE TO ACTION

It is necessary to remember that Marxism both interprets the world and teaches how to change it. The will is the moving element in the domain of knowledge, too. If Marxism loses its will to transform political reality, it loses the ability to understand it. The Marxist who, for one secondary consideration or another, does not carry his conclusion to the end, betrays Marxism. To overlook the different Communist factions, so as not to engage and compromise oneself, signifies to ignore the activity which through all its contradictions, forms the vanguard of the class; it signifies to cover oneself with the abstraction of the revolution, as with a shield, from the blows and bruises of the real revolutionary process.

When the Left bourgeois journalists summarily defend the Soviet Republic as it is, they accomplish a progressive and praiseworthy work. For a Marxist revolutionary, it is absolutely insufficient. The task of the October revolution, do not forget, has not yet been accomplished. Only a parrot can find satisfaction in the repetition of the words, "the victory is assured". No, it is not assured! The victory is a problem of strategy. There is no book which indicates in advance the correct orbit for the first workers' State. The head does not and cannot exist which can contain the complete formula for Socialist society. The roads of economy and politics must still be determined through experience and created collectively, that is, in permanent conflicts of ideas. A Marxist who limits himself to a summary sympathy, without taking part in the struggle on questions of collectivization, industrialization, the regime of the Party, etc., stands no higher than the progressive bourgeois of the type of Duranty, Louis Fischer, etc., but on the contrary, lower because he misses the name of revolutionary.

To avoid direct answers, to play blind man's buff with great problems, to remain diplomatically silent and wait, or still worse, to quiet oneself with the thought that the present struggle within Bolshevism is a question of personal am-

* I permit myself to refer you to a New York weekly paper, *The Militant*, and a series of books and leaflets issued by the Pioneer Publishers. The paper as well as the publishing house belongs to the Communist League of America (126 E. 16th Street, New York City).

bitions, means to protect mental laziness, to yield to the worst Philistine prejudice, and to be doomed to demoralization. On this subject, I hope we shall not have any differences with you.

The policy of the proletariat has a great theoretical tradition and that is one of the sources of its power. A trained Marxist studies the differences between Engels and Lassalle with regard to the European war of 1899. It is necessary to do so. But if he is not a bookworm but a proletarian revolutionary, it is a thousand times more important and urgent for him to elaborate for himself an independent opinion about the revolutionary strategy in China from 1925 to 1932. It was precisely on that question that the struggle within Bolshevism first reached the state of an explosion. Impossible to be a Marxist without taking a position in a question on which depends the fate of the Chinese revolution and of the Indian, too, that is, the future of almost half of humanity!

AMERICAN MARXISM

AT CROSS ROADS

It is very useful to study, let us say, the old differences among Russian Marxists on the character of the future Russian revolution; naturally, according to first hand authorities, and not the ignorant and disloyal compilations of the epigones. But incomparably more important is it to elaborate for oneself a clear understanding of the theory and practice of the Anglo-Russian committee, of the "third period", of "social-Fascism", of the "democratic dictatorship" in Spain, and the policy of the united front. The study of the past is in the last analysis justified by the fact that it helps one to orientate himself in the present.

Impermissible for Marxist theoretician to pass by the congresses of the First International. But a thousand times more urgent is the study of the living differences concerning the Amsterdam anti-war congress of 1932. What is the value, in effect, of the sincerest and warmest sympathy for the Soviet Union if it is accompanied by indifference to the methods of its defense?

Is there now a theme more important for a revolutionary, more gripping, more burning, than the struggle and the fate of the German proletariat? Is it possible, on the other hand, to fix one's relations to the problems of the German revolution while passing by the differences in the camp of German and international Communism? A revolutionary who has no opinion on the policies of Stalin, Thaelmann is not a Marxist. A Marxist who has an opinion but remains silent is not a revolutionary.

It is not enough to preach the utility of technology; it is necessary to build bridges. What would be thought of a young doctor who, instead of working in the operating room, would satisfy himself with reading the biographies of great surgeons of the past? What would Marx have said about a theory which, instead of deepening revolutionary practice, would serve to separate one from it? Most probably he would repeat his sarcastic sentence, "No, I am not a Marxist".

All the evidence is that the present crisis will be a great milestone in the political road of the United States. The self-sufficient American provincialism is in any case nearing its end. Those commonplaces which invariably nourished American political thought in all its ramifications are completely worn out. All classes need a new orientation. A radical renewal, not only of the circulating but also of the fixed capital of political ideology, is imminent. If the Americans

persist in their backwardness in the domain of Socialist theory, it does not mean that they will remain backward always. It is possible to venture without much risk a contrary prophecy: the longer the Yankees are satisfied with the ideological old clothes of the past, the more powerful will be the impetus of their revolutionary thought when its hour will strike. And it is near. The elevation of revolutionary theory to new heights can be looked for in the next few decades from two sources: the Asiatic East and America.

The proletarian movement has displaced in the course of the last hundred-odd years its national center of gravity several times. England, France, Germany, Russia—this was the historical sequence of the home of Socialism and Marxism. The present revolutionary hegemony of Russia can least of all claim a durable character. The fact itself of the existence of a Soviet Union, especially before the proletarian victory in one of the advanced States, has naturally an immeasurable importance for the workers' movement of all countries. But the immediate influence of the Moscow ruling faction upon the Communist International has already become a brake on the development of the world proletariat. The fertilizing ideology of Bolshevism has been replaced by the stifling pressure of the apparatus. It is not necessary to prove the disastrous consequences of this regime; it suffices to point to the leadership of the American Communist Party. The liberation from the witless bureaucratic command has become a question of life and death for the revolution and for Marxism.

You are totally right; the vanguard of the American proletariat must come to base itself on the revolutionary traditions of its own country too. In a certain sense we can admit the slogan, "Americanize Marxism!" It does not mean, certainly, to submit its foundations and methods to revision. The attempt of Max Eastman to throw overboard the materialistic dialectic in the interests of the "engineering art of revolution" represents an obviously hopeless and in its possible consequences retrograde adventure. The system of Marxism has completely passed the test of history. Especially now, in the epoch of capitalist decline—of wars and revolutions, storms and shocks—the materialistic dialectic fully reveals its indestructible force. To Americanize Marxism signifies to root it in American soil, to verify it against the events of American history, to explore by its methods the problems of American economy and politics, to assimilate the world revolutionary experience under the viewpoint of the tasks of the American revolution. A great work! It is time to approach it with the shirt-sleeves rolled up.

NEW VISTAS BEFORE

U. S. COMMUNISTS

On the occasion of strikes in the United States, where the decomposing center of the First International was transferred, Marx wrote, on July 25, 1877 to Engels: "The porridge is beginning to boil, and the transfer of the center of the International to the United States will yet be justified finally". Several days later, Engels answered him: "Only twelve years after the abolition of bond slavery, and the movement has already achieved such acuteness!" They both, Marx and Engels, were wrong. But as in the other cases, they were wrong as to tempo, but not as to direction. The great porridge from the other side of the ocean begins to boil; the turn in the development of American capitalism will inevitably provoke a blossoming of critical and generalizing thought, and perhaps in not so long a time as from the transfer of the theoretical center of the International to New York.

Before the American Marxist open virtually grandiose, breath-taking perspectives!

With sincere greetings,
Prinkipo, Nov. 4, 1932 L. TROTSKY.

Pioneer Publishers Notes

HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Volumes two and three of the *History of the Russian Revolution* by comrade Trotsky will be out in January. The price of a boxed set of all three is \$10.00. They may be bought singly or in sets of two at a time.

We know that a great many of our comrades and readers are anxious to read and study these books but are unable to pay for them at one blow. For them we offer the following arrangement: they may begin now to pay for them on an installment plan; when they have paid up we will ship them copies of the volumes they want. We would like to ship the books on credit but we are unable to do so. Our very bad financial situation makes it impossible to invest any money in this. We will keep accurate records and issue receipts as we go along. There will be no errors from this end.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT PAMPHLET

The raging financial crisis has made it necessary to postpone for a while the publication of the two popular Marxist pamphlets we announced a short time ago. From the enthusiasm which greeted our announcement we know that many will be keenly disappointed by this delay. But it could not be helped.

We are getting around to the first one, *Unemployment and the American Working Class* by comrade Swaback. If we are able to keep anywhere near our schedule it should be out toward the end of January. It will be about twenty-four pages, printed on newsprint, and will sell for five cents. We will sell them from New York in lots of not less

than five. Postage will be extra. In lots of ten and more we will give a reduction of two cents on a pamphlet. A lot of ten will sell for thirty cents. Plus postage if ordered from us at one time. Comrades who order a lot of five or more can sell them one at a time, of course. The idea behind the lot requirement is to cut down the excessive cost of postage which is terrific.

THE PUBLISHING FUND

Comrades may order now. It will help considerably. The funds raised for this purpose will be used exclusively for getting out the pamphlet. It is too early to speak of a publishing fund. But that is the direction in which we are headed. This can very well be the beginning of it. The idea is to raise a fund to be used only for the publication of literature.

OUR SCHEDULE

This fund will be devoted in the next period to getting out the following works: after the unemployment pamphlet will come *What the Left Opposition Stands For* by comrade Shachtman; *Soviet Economy* by comrade Trotsky; *The Only Road* by comrade Trotsky; and a reprint of the *Draft Program and the Strategy* as one work, which they really are.

We are unable to assign dates now for these. The financial crisis plays ducks and drakes with our plans. But the publishing fund is the key to the problem. We will return to this theme again.

USE THE CLUB PLAN. GET SUBS FOR THE MINERS.

The A. F. L. and Union Unity

The Stalinist Policies Fail to Meet the Test of the Situation

(Continued from page 1)

In general the whole question of trade union policy, and in particular, the question of independent unions by splitting off minorities versus the issue of trade union unity is due for some serious attention by the Comintern and the various parties. That is not only indicated in the compelling force of developments of the class struggle but also in the shifting winds within the Comintern.

Will There Be a Change of Policy

In Germany, for example, the official party has attained a mass basis. But it has, of course, pursued the Comintern policy of splitting the trade unions. The independent, "revolutionary" unions failed to attract the masses. Consequently the German delegation went to the fifth RILU congress with the slogan to "conquer Lozovsky but not to annihilate him". They counted on the support of Piatnitzky. But that was before Stalin intervened. After that the idea of splitting and creating independent unions all along the line won out completely. One of the German delegates reproached Piatnitzky: "But comrade Piatnitzky you spoke yesterday in an entirely different vein." Whereupon the latter answered laconically: "Yes, that was yesterday."

But within the Comintern the turn toward the Right has since become more unmistakable. Many of the lesser bureaucrats, who want an end to the policy of trade union splits, are therefore again turning upon Lozovsky, not merely to conquer him, but also to annihilate him. The formula, by which he won them over in the past; that just as the revolutionary unions are schools for Communism so are the reformist unions schools for capitalism; that formula is now used as the noose with which to hang him and his policy. But such methods of change, of course, can not serve at all to educate the revolutionary cadres.

Should these shifting winds not fully succeed in affecting a change at this moment we may expect that the actual forces of class relations will soon exert a sufficiently strong pressure in that direction. We will not contend that the question of these independent, "revolutionary" unions and the liquidation of that kind of splitting policy is posed as acutely here as, for example, in Germany. Not at all. Nor do we attempt to draw a direct analogy. But we do contend that the increased speed of the class relations in motion compels much more serious consideration of this question than heretofore.

The Unorganized and the A. F. of L.

Such consideration involves primarily the question of attitude toward the two main problems: the organization of the unorganized and activity within the A. F. of L. Essentially the policy of organization of the unorganized adopted by the party in 1928, in the shaping of which we, who are today in the Left Opposition, had a considerable part, still remains correct. The potentialities in this field have not grown less today but have rather increased. That will be even more the case in the future period of rising struggles and therefore becomes decisive for our orientation. But this question cannot entirely await a future settlement; it demands a correct preparation today.

Today the only trade union base resembling a mass character is the A. F. of L. and the kindred unions of the railroad brotherhoods. It would be foolish to contend that things will always remain so. As a matter of fact, as the A. F. of L. has constantly become narrower down toward embracing skilled trades exclusively, it is well to pay attention to the possibilities of organization within the basic and unorganized industries arising entirely as a new movement. That should also mean possibilities for a new militant base. But even that gives no reason whatever to assume that the A. F. of L. will pass out of existence. Nor should the revolutionary policy be predicated upon that. On the contrary, even the most favorably variant of future possibilities would still not eliminate the question of trade union unity. If the revolutionists are able to build up some strength within the unions they will also be able to participate in determining conditions for unity.

These, in general, were our views when we participated in shaping the correct party policy. But, subsequently, following our expulsion, the policy became completely emasculated. Instead of organization of the unorganized we had the withdrawal of the militant minority sections from the A. F. of L. unions. The TUEL was taken off its path as the center of the Left wing within the mass unions. It was transformed into a revolutionary center to organize "revolutionary" unions from the top down which all remained numerically small, sectarian and kept in leading strings. This could serve only the A. F. of L. bureaucracy leaving it in undisputed control. Generally speaking the reactionaries gained at the expense of the revolutionists. In the South, whatever unionism is left is in the hands of the A. F. of L. in the mine fields new independent unions have replaced the TUEL. And to complete the picture practically the same conditions obtain throughout the union field.

The Question of Trade Union Unity

This is the picture of devastation

wrought by a false trade union policy. And it is from this that the Left Opposition proceeds with the slogan of trade union unity fully cognizant of the fact that the forces of class relations are in constant motion. Hence the process of unity cannot remain the same at every stage or in every sphere. While revolutionists have the general road to their goal definitely marked out, the method of making the curves encountered depends entirely upon the nature of the curves and territory traversed. We are not bound in advance, nor can we lay down in advance, any specific form or formula which will fit the various situation which arise. Our slogans, our tactics and our methods while fitting into a general strategy must also be so molded and applied that they harmonize with each specific stage of development.

Two years ago the Left Opposition advanced the unity slogan for the needle trades unions in the form of proposing a united front leading to a merger between the party directed industrial union and the ILGWU. Today we propose, as a step toward unity, that the industrial union should declare its readiness to re-enter in a body into the ILGWU on the condition of trade union democratic rights being guaranteed. In this there is no change of general policy; only the formula for realization of unity has changed and, of necessity, so as to correspond to the relation of forces which have become more favorable to the Right wing. The proposal of two years ago did not attempt to define in a direct sense the relations to the A. F. of L. while the present directly implies inclusion within it. Such questions, of course, must also be determined primarily upon the basis of the relation of forces in each specific instance.

In the minefields today, on the other hand, we have a situation of a different character. In the soft coal fields the UMW of A broke down, the rebel forces within became the majority and found no alternative but the formation of a new, independent union. Nevertheless the unity issue is posed there and has been advanced correctly by the Left Opposition. But it is an issue of unity not with the UMW of A but of the various new miners unions against it, and in this sense also against the A. F. of L. In this field, as elsewhere, the formula for the realization of unity must correspond to the existing conditions, because it is primarily determined by the relation of forces. But while the formula is quite different from that of the needle trades it is still essentially the same general policy.

To the party leadership these questions are still anathema. Can they remain so very long? Obviously not. It will also be compelled to take cognizance of the development of the relation of forces within the trade union field. In the future, the question of trade union policy will have more far-reaching implications.

If the revolutionary party is to have any influence upon the future course of the trade union movement it must, first of all, return to the policy of active work within this movement. It should now be in a position to draw a balance from its period of creation of new, "revolutionary" unions. The result will, of course, appear quite negative! but it can and should become a starting point for a new orientation, an orientation toward trade union unity. Within that general orientation should be coordinated the efforts of a correct policy of organization of the unorganized together with active work in building a Left wing within the existing mass unions.

—ARNE SWABECK.

PARTY MILITANT SPEAKS FROM PLATFORM OF OPPOSITION IN NEWARK, N. J.

A very interesting lecture was arranged by our Newark branch on Sunday, December 4, at the Hungarian Workers' Home. The lecture was delivered by comrade Basky on the subject of the world crisis and the immediate tasks of the Communist parties. An unusually large crowd turned out, among them many party members and sympathizers. Before the floor was turned over to the speaker, a party comrade, representing the Unemployed Council of Newark requested the floor to speak on outrageous brutalities the Hunger Marchers received at the hands of the authorities. He called upon the meeting to register its protest. Comrade Basky supported his call and suggested the adoption of a resolution of protest, to be sent by the meeting to president Hoover, demanding the right of the Hunger Marchers to present their petition to Congress. A resolution to this effect was drawn up, adopted by the meeting and sent by wire.

The lecture of comrade Basky, presenting the position of the Left Opposition on the world crisis and counterposing the Marxian-Leninist policies of the Left Opposition to those of the Stalinist leadership of the party, was followed by the audience with the greatest attention.

After the lecture comrade Nagy, chairman, called upon comrade Leitner, a well known functionary of the party, to present the position of the party on the same subject, offering him the floor for whatever time he deemed necessary for an adequate discussion of the question. Comrade Leitner spoke for forty minutes, quite objectively. He made a very sincere, but unsuccessful attempt to defend the Stalinist policies of the party. After his speech the floor was thrown open for questions which were answered by comrade Basky.

—L. B.

The Death of the Father of Revisionism

Eduard Bernstein's 'Triumph' Over Militant Marxism

There are few figures left in the international social democracy today who ever exercised so pronounced an influence upon it as did Eduard Bernstein, the "Father of revisionism" who just died in Berlin. With his name is inseparably associated the current which finally won the day in the socialist movement, gaining favorable recognition even from many of those who originally fought it. One of those who never reconciled herself with it, Rosa Luxemburg, summed it up more than three decades ago: "The opportunist current in the party theoretically formulated by Bernstein is nothing but an unconscious endeavor to assure the upper hand to the petty bourgeois elements who have come over to the party, to remodel the practice and the aims of the party in their spirit. The question of social reform and revolution, of final goal and movement is on the other hand the question of the petty bourgeois or the proletarian character of the labor movement."

Bernstein came to prominence in the German social democracy during its heroic days. At the head of the party stood the popular tribunes, Bebel and Liebknecht. The movement had been strengthened by the unity of the two factions—Lassalleans and "orthodox" Eisenachers—even if at a sacrifice of clarity which provoked the classical polemic of Marx against the Gotha program. Not even the exceptional laws of the Bismarck regime were able to prevent the party from forging ahead.

Friendship with Engels

It was during this period that Bernstein was entrusted with the editorship of the central party organ, *Der Sozialdemokrat*, which was published in Switzerland (later in London) for illegal distribution in Germany. The confused views he expressed in its columns at the outset did not bring him much praise from Marx and Engels who, from England, followed the continental movement with unflagging attention. But the young editor finally managed to establish closer relations with the founders of the movement, particularly with Engels, after meeting with them in London.

From that time on, Engels was able to maintain much more intimate contact with the Sozialdemokrat. Under his tutelage, Bernstein guided the paper in a manner so true to the ideas of the two London exiles as to cement a firm and almost unbroken friendship with Engels. The latter energetically supported Bernstein's views in Zurich against the dubious conduct, criticized in the Sozialdemokrat, of the social democratic Reichstag fraction—even when a split threatened the party. In 1885, engrossed in the work of completing the unfinished manuscript of Marx, he wrote to Bernstein as if in anticipation of the fact that the rising writer was to become his literary executor. For the moment we have a lot against us. Bebel is sick and, as appears, discouraged. I too cannot help as I should like to until I am finished with Marx's manuscript. So the burden of the struggle falls upon you and Kautsky. But do not lose sight of the old rule: because of the present of the movement and the struggle, not to forget the future of the movement. And that belongs to us."

Bernstein proved to be unworthy of the trust placed in him. He seems to have been organically indisposed to maintain a revolutionary standpoint, and the period of Engels' decisive influence turned out to be a fleeting episode in his life. His long exile in England during the Bismarckian epoch had brought him into intimate association with the British labor movement, such as it was. It was then in the process of emerging from the "romanticism" of the militant Chartist days. The might of British imperialism weighed mountain-heavy upon the working class and most particularly upon its leadership. The successful Liberal-Labor politicians, the respectable members of the Fabian Society, the "practical," conservative trade union leaders—all of these created the environment which reawakened all the reformist inclinations dominant in Bernstein when he first joined the social democracy. Upon his return to Germany, he had already shaken off the revolutionary teachings of Marxism. In the interests of his restored convictions, he utilized the first opportunity to pay back Engels in forged coin for the confidence placed in him.

Bernstein's "Fine Trick"

Engels had just then (1895) written a foreword to a German edition of Marx's "Class Struggles in France". It was a bold reaffirmation of the proletarian right to revolution. At the same time it pointed out that under the prevailing conditions the old tactics of barricade by militant minorities were unfavorable for the working class. What was required at the moment was the consolidation of the proletariat under the socialist banner, utilizing the legality which the bourgeoisie was compelled to grant. Bernstein, together with Wilhelm Liebknecht and the other party elders—terrified at the prospect of new exceptional laws with which the bourgeoisie threatened the party—chopped up this foreword in such a manner as to arouse Engels to a fury. His protesting letters were of no avail (he died practically a few days later) and the forged introduction was transmitted to the new socialist generation as proof that Engels had revised his whole revolutionary outlook at the last moment. On this day the reformists have played the falsified words of Engels as their trump card, but fortunately Engels lived just long enough to make clear his views. "X....(Bernstein) has just played me a fine trick," he wrote to Lafargue on April 3, 1895. "He has taken from my introduction of 1848-1850 all that could be of use to him to support the tactic of peacefulness and anti-violence at all costs which he has been pleased to preach for

some time now, especially at the present moment when the coercive laws are being prepared in Berlin. But I advocate this tactic only for the Germany of today, and even then with substantial reservations. For France, Belgium, Italy and Austria this tactic, taken as a whole, cannot be followed and for Germany it may become inapplicable tomorrow."

Engels did not revise his revolutionary conceptions. But it is likely that at the last moment he did revise his judgement of Bernstein. As for the latter the Berlin falsifications were a sort of springboard for the whole revisionist movement which he launched more formally a year and a half later. By that time he was freed from the vigilance of a living Engels, whose injunction "not to lose sight of the old rule" left no trace upon him.

The Father of Revisionism

In October 1896, he commenced a series of articles on the problems of socialism in the theoretical organ of the German party, *Die Neue Zeit*. Towards the end of his then still cautiously worded observations, he wrote the sentences which were to become bywords of the revisionist movement. "I admit openly that I attach extraordinarily little sense and interest to what is commonly understood by the 'goal of socialism'. This goal, whatever it may be, is nothing to me, the movement is everything, and by the movement I understand the general movement of society, that is, social progress, as well as the political and economic agitation and organization for the bringing about of this progress." Although he explained later in his autobiography—when a storm of discussion broke over his head—that by these words he meant only that he had no interest in Utopias, he soon left no doubt in anybody's mind that under the heading of Utopia he meant the social revolution.

Bernstein was more than a child of his epoch: he was the clearest and boldest spokesman for it. He set down the fundamental guiding lines of social reformism in a far more rounded-out manner than even his spiritual and practical predecessor, the former radical and post-Bismarckian apostate, George von Vollmar who first scandalized the party with his patriotic speeches. The situation was as if specially created for the appearance of Bernsteinism on the scene. The Exceptional Laws of Bismarck had not only been badly defeated, but the second attempt to make the social democracy illegal was unsuccessful. The party had grown considerably even during its underground days. It marched ahead from election to election, swelling its legislative representation.

Germany was well launched on her imperialist career and a new stratum of better-situated workers began to break through the social structure. Bismarck's successor, Caprivi, was introducing a number of social reforms, including the reduction of the high customs walls. The conditions of labor, at least of its upper layer, were undergoing a distinct improvement. The trade unions progressed and attracted the interest of the proletarian mass towards the practical daily questions of bread and butter, hours and wages. Even during its illegality, and more so afterwards, the party gained the adherence of countless numbers of petty bourgeois from the middle class and the intelligentsia, who saw in the social democracy the only popular democratic movement. In such an idyllic atmosphere the problem of the proletarian seizure of power seemed remote indeed, and Bernstein's pioneering for reformism did not encounter insuperable obstacles.

The Essence of Bernsteinism

In 1899 he presented his views in a systematic and more outspoken form in a book called "Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie" (The Prerequisites of Socialism and the Tasks of the Social Democracy, published in English as "Evolutionary Socialism"). It left no front of the Marxian system unassailed. The theory of historical materialism, the dialectic method, the conception of the

class struggle, the theory of value, the Marxian crisis theory, the seizure of power—all of them encountered his opposition. He disputed Marx's contention that the capital is concentrated and centralized into even fewer hands, with the concentration of poverty at the other pole of society. The middle class was not disappearing, for there was a growth of those whose income was derived from the possession of small properties or from sharing in the benefits of corporate ownership and management. He was one of the first avowed opponents of the dictatorship of the proletariat; what sense did it have when the party representatives were increasingly active in all the popular legislative bodies in such a practical manner as stripped the term of any meaning?

The party's tactics must not be founded upon the idea of social convulsions or catastrophes; the utopia of a coming revolution must be given up. The evolution of society was moderating all the social antagonisms and class conflicts. The management and ownership of industry was being democratized, and so also—with the granting of suffrage, the legalization of the party and its growth in the Reichstag—was the political management of society. With an audacity which does not seem astounding today, but was then, he concluded by asserting that the social democracy can progress only by having the courage "to emancipate itself from a phrasology which is actually outlived, and be willing to appear as what it is today in reality: a democratic-socialist reform party". (Concluded in Next Issue)

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

Campaign On For Militant Subs

Our campaign for the increase of the Militant circulation is far from being in full swing. The forty subs received between the 10th and 24th of December do not come up to our expectation. Cities like St. Louis, Los Angeles, Kansas City, Cleveland are not represented in the record for these two weeks. A total of ten from New York or five from Chicago, or two from Minneapolis is surely not the best that can be done in these cities with strong branches and numerous connections with militant workers. If we really want the principles and policies of the Left Opposition to penetrate the party, its auxiliary organizations and the trade unions, we must spread the Militant. The spreading of the Militant is a prerequisite for such a penetration. This question should be taken up at once by every branch for discussion and the work should be organized without any delay. Also it should be borne in mind that without a substantial increase of the circulation the financial situation of our paper will remain precarious in spite of continuous contributions from the branches. (Comrades, get busy.)

The record for December 10-24: (Two or more)

CITIES	
New York	10
Chicago	5
Lynn	4
South Bend	4
Philadelphia	3
Minneapolis	2
Montreal	2

MILITANT BUILDERS

C. Ingram	4
A. Friend	4
J. Ritz	4
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M. Sterling	2
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LEON TROTSKY

Soviet Economy in Danger

The Situation on the Eve of the Second Five Year Plan

The Suppression of the Nep, Monetary Inflation, and the Liquidation of Soviet Democracy

The need for introducing the NEP, the restoration of market relationships, was determined in its time first of all by the existence of 25 million independent peasant proprietors. This does not mean, however, that collectivization even in its first stage leads to the liquidation of the market. Collectivization becomes a living factor only to the extent to which it leaves in force the personal interest of the members of kolkhozes, by molding their mutual relations, as well as the relations between the kolkhozes and the outside world, on the foundation of commercial calculation. This means that the correct, and economically sound, collectivization, at the given stage should lead not to the elimination of the NEP, but to a gradual reorganization of its methods.

The bureaucracy, however, went the whole way; at first, it might have appeared to it that it was taking the road of least resistance. The genuine and indubitable successes of the centralized efforts of the proletariat were identified by it with the successes of its a priori planning. Or to put it differently: It identified the socialist revolution with itself. By administrative collectivization it masked the unsolved problem of establishing the link with the village. Bucking up against disproportions through the NEP, it liquidated the NEP. In place of market methods it enlarged the methods of compulsion.

The stable currency unit, in the form of the chervonets, constituted the most important weapon of the NEP. While in its state of dizziness, the bureaucracy decided that it was already standing firmly with both feet on the soil of economic harmony; and that the successes of today automatically guaranteed the progression of subsequent successes; and that the chervonets was not a bridge that checked the sweep of the plan but on the contrary provided an independent source of capital funds. Instead of regulating the material elements of the economic process the bureaucracy began to patch up the holes by means of printing presses. In other words, it took to the road of "optimistic" inflation.

After the administrative suppression of the NEP, the celebrated "six conditions of Stalin"—economic accounting, piecework wages, etc.—became transformed into an empty collection of words. Economic accounting is unthinkable without market relations. The chervonets is the yardstick of the link. Of what possible use for the worker can be a few extra

roubles a month, if he is compelled to purchase in the open market the necessities of life he lacks at ten times their price?

The restoration of open markets came as an admission of the inopportune liquidation of the NEP, but an admission that is empiric, partial, thoughtless and contradictory. To label the open markets as a form of "Soviet" (socialist?) trade, in contrast to private trade and speculation is to practise self-imposture. Open market trading even on the part of the kolkhoz, taken as a whole, turns out to be speculation on the required necessities for the nearest city and by its consequences leads to social differentiation, i. e., to the enrichment of the minority of the more fortunately situated kolkhozes. But the chief place in the open market is occupied not by the kolkhozes, but by individual members of the kolkhozes, along with the independent proprietors. The trading of the members of the kolkhozes, who sell their surplus at speculative prices leads to the differentiation within the kolkhozes. Thus the open market develops centrifugal forces within the "socialist" village.

By eliminating the market and by installing instead Asiatic bazaars the bureaucracy has created, to consummate all else, the conditions for the most barbaric gyrations of prices, and consequently has placed a mine both under the plan and under commercial calculation. As a result, the economic chaos has been redoubled.

Parallel to this, there has gone on the ossification of the trade unions, the Soviets, and the party, which dates back not from yesterday. Bucking up against the friction between the city and the village, against the demands from the side of various sections of the peasantry, and from the side of the proletariat, the bureaucracy ever more decisively forbade any demands, protests and criticism whatsoever. The sole prerogative, which it ultimately left to the workers, was the right to exceed production tasks. Every attempt to influence from below the economic management is immediately assigned to a deviation either to the Right or to the Left, i. e., it is practically made a capital offense. The bureaucratic upper-crust, when all is said and done, has pronounced itself infallible in the sphere of socialist planning (disregarding the fact that its collaborators and inspirers turned out often to be imperial machinators and saboteurs). Thus was liquidated the basic mechanism of socialist construction—the plan and elastic system of Soviet democracy. Face to face with economic reality and its

difficulties the bureaucracy turned out to be armed only with the twisted and rump-tail wire-carross of the plan and with its own administrative will, also considerably rump-tail.

THE CRISIS OF SOVIET ECONOMY

Had the general economic level, set by the first Five Year Plan, been realized only 50 percent, this in itself could have given no cause as yet for alarm. The danger lies not in the slowing down of growth, but in the growing uncomformity between the various branches of economy. Even if all the integral elements of the plan had been fully coordinated a priori, the lowering of the coefficient of growth by 50 percent would have by itself engendered great difficulties because of the consequences; it is one thing to produce one million pairs of shoes instead of two millions; but it is quite another thing to finish building one half of a shoe factory. But reality is much more complex and contradictory than our hypothetical example. Disproportions are inherited from the past. Stipulations which are made by plan include in themselves inevitable mistakes and miscalculations. The fulfillment of the plan does not occur proportionately, due to the particular causes in each individual instance. The average growth of 50 percent in economy may mean that in sphere A the plan is fulfilled 90 percent, whereas in sphere B, only 10 percent; if A depends on B, then in the subsequent cycle of production, the branch A may be reduced below 10 percent.

Consequently the misfortune does not lie in the fact that the impossibility of adventurous tempos has been revealed. The whole trouble is in that the price leaps in industrialization have brought the divers elements of the plan into a dire contradiction with each other. The trouble is that economy functions without material reserves and without calculation. The trouble is that the social and political instruments for the determination of the effectiveness of the plan have been broken or mangled. The trouble is that the accrued disproportions threaten ever bigger and bigger surprises. The trouble is that the uncontrolled bureaucracy has tied up its prestige with the subsequent accumulation of errors. The trouble is that a crisis is impending with a retinue of consequences such as the enforced shutting down of enterprises, and unemployment.

The difference between the socialist and capitalist tempos of industrial development—even if one takes for comparison, the former progressive capitalism—astonishes one by its sweep. But it would be a mistake to consider as final the soviet tempos of the last few years. The average coefficient of capitalist growth results not only from periods of expansion but also of crisis. Matters are otherwise with Soviet economy. In the course of the last 8-9 years it has experienced the period of uninterrupted growth. It has not as yet succeeded in

A Footnote to Browder's Record in the Chinese Revolution

In the *Daily Worker* of October 21, the anonymous (i. e., appointed) leader of the American party, Earl Browder, directed a venomous attack upon our arrested comrade Chen Du-Hsiu, in the course of which he presented a defense of his own record in the 1925-27 Chinese revolution. Our reply to Browder was printed in the *Militant* of October 29, 1932. With numerous quotations from the official party press, we proved that not only had Browder and all the other Stalinists "failed to carry on a resolute struggle against Chiang Kai-Shek" (which Browder insists he did carry on), but quite the contrary. We showed that Chiang was covered up by the Stalin-Bucharin regime up to the day he covered up the streets of Shanghai (for the second time!) with proletarian blood. Further, that the Stalin regime (Browder, of course, included) shifted its reliance to Wang Chin Wei and the Hankow government, which promptly proceeded to play the same treacherous role as Chiang had played before them.

As his defense, Browder referred to "records" which he knew were not easy to obtain. "These show," he declared, "that in April, in the period when Chen Du-Hsiu was actively and bitterly fighting for the disarmament of the workers and peasants, I wrote a statement for the All-China Federation of Labor energetically calling for the further arming of the workers and peasants and the development of seizure of the land. This statement was printed in English in the magazine *Chinese Correspondence* published at that time in Hankow."

Our answer in the *Militant* on this score read as follows: "What Browder wrote in his statement at that time, we do not know. It would be interesting to read it, of that we have no doubt. But it is not needed for an estimation of Browder's position in China during that period, for we have at our disposal fairly adequate material...."

Browder's "Records"

Since that was written, our good English comrade H. S., who was in China during the events of which we write, sent us a copy of the "Chinese Correspondence", issued in Wuhan (Hankow), seat of the Wang Chin Wei government, under date of May 1, 1927. On page 14 and 15, we find eloquent evidence of Browder's "resolute struggle". It is in the form of a "Declaration of the Delegation of the Communist International", composed of Browder, Tom Mann of England and Jacques Doriot of France. The declaration was written in Hankow under date of April 22, 1927, that is, after Chiang Kai-Shek's coup d'Etat in Shanghai and only a short time before the unaccounted treachery of Wang Chin Wei and Co. at Hankow itself.

As for "energetically calling for the further arming of the workers and

peasants"—not a trace, not a hint of it is to be found in the declaration of this august delegation.

As for "the development of seizure of the land"—there simply is not a single word said about it in the statement of these official representatives of the Communist International.

And as for the Communist Party of China—this "trifle" is passed by without so much as the vaguest reference to its existence!

But the "resolute struggle against Chiang Kai-Shek"—what about that? The delegation refers to his counter-revolutionary coup d'Etat of more than a year before (the first one, on March 20, 1926!) and other "previous numerous acts of violation", and adds the following tearful observation, which should be engraved on tablets:

"We watched all these violent actions of Chiang Kai-Shek and his agents with great anxiety, but hoped that he would hesitate to turn a bare-faced traitor to the Nationalist movement. At this critical period of the nationalist revolution, preservation of the united front is so imperative that all crimes of those who fight against imperialism can be temporarily overlooked." (Our emphasis.—S.)

That was "resolute struggle" Number One: overlooking all the crimes of Chiang Kai-Shek who, as we see, not the only one that is....bare-faced.

The statement continues its lament with a reference to the preceding conflict between the Central Committee of the Kuo Min Tang and Chiang, who "appealed to the Communist International to send its delegation in China to visit him." "We immediately telegraphed him...." writes the delegation, and "informed him that should he take our advice we would visit him in order to discuss the way and means of preserving the unity of the revolutionary forces in the face of imperialist attack."

That was "resolute struggle" Number Two: begging the man who was so skillfully preparing his treachery, to remain within the fold, to preserve the "unity of the revolutionary forces."

The Comintern and Hankow

Now what about the petty bourgeois government at Hankow, which succeeded Chiang in the affections of the Comintern, and which was at that very moment laying the basis for its own open shift into the camp of counter-revolution? Did the Comintern Delegation carry on a "resolute struggle" against it? Did it even sound a note of warning? Did it urge the masses to establish their own fighting organs to forestall the consequences of a second calamity? Here is what Browder was "energetically calling for" on April 22, 1927:

"Supported by the united forces of the village and town democracy, that is, the proletariat, peasantry and the middle classes, the Nationalist government (that is, the regime of 'comrade Wang Chin Wei', as Browder so tenderly called him then!) will be able to resist the attack of imperialism and develop the Nationalist revolution in the way which will consolidate its base in the popular masses. Then the nationalist revolution will be free from the danger of betrayal by reactionary elements...." (Bold face in the original.—S.)

The declaration ends with the slogans: "Down with Chiang Kai-Shekism!" ("Very bold slogan, now that Chiang was already massacring the masses!"), "Long live the Nationalist Government! Long live the Kuo Min Tang!"

As the "nationalist revolution" was not "free from the danger of betrayal"—on the contrary, Wang promptly "betrayed" it—we can only conclude that the fault lay not with the Hankow regime but... with the "united forces of village and town democracy". It would appear that Wang "betrayed" because the masses failed to support him, as Browder urged in the course of his resolute struggle.

The whole situation is as clear as crystal. Browder—but enough of Browder; he was only an obscure agent—we mean the Stalin faction. Stalin did indeed fight resolutely against Chiang and Wang chin Wei. But the fight began only after the horse, which Stalin helped these counter-revolutionists to mount, had ridden rough-shod over the prostrate bodies of the Chinese masses.—M. S.

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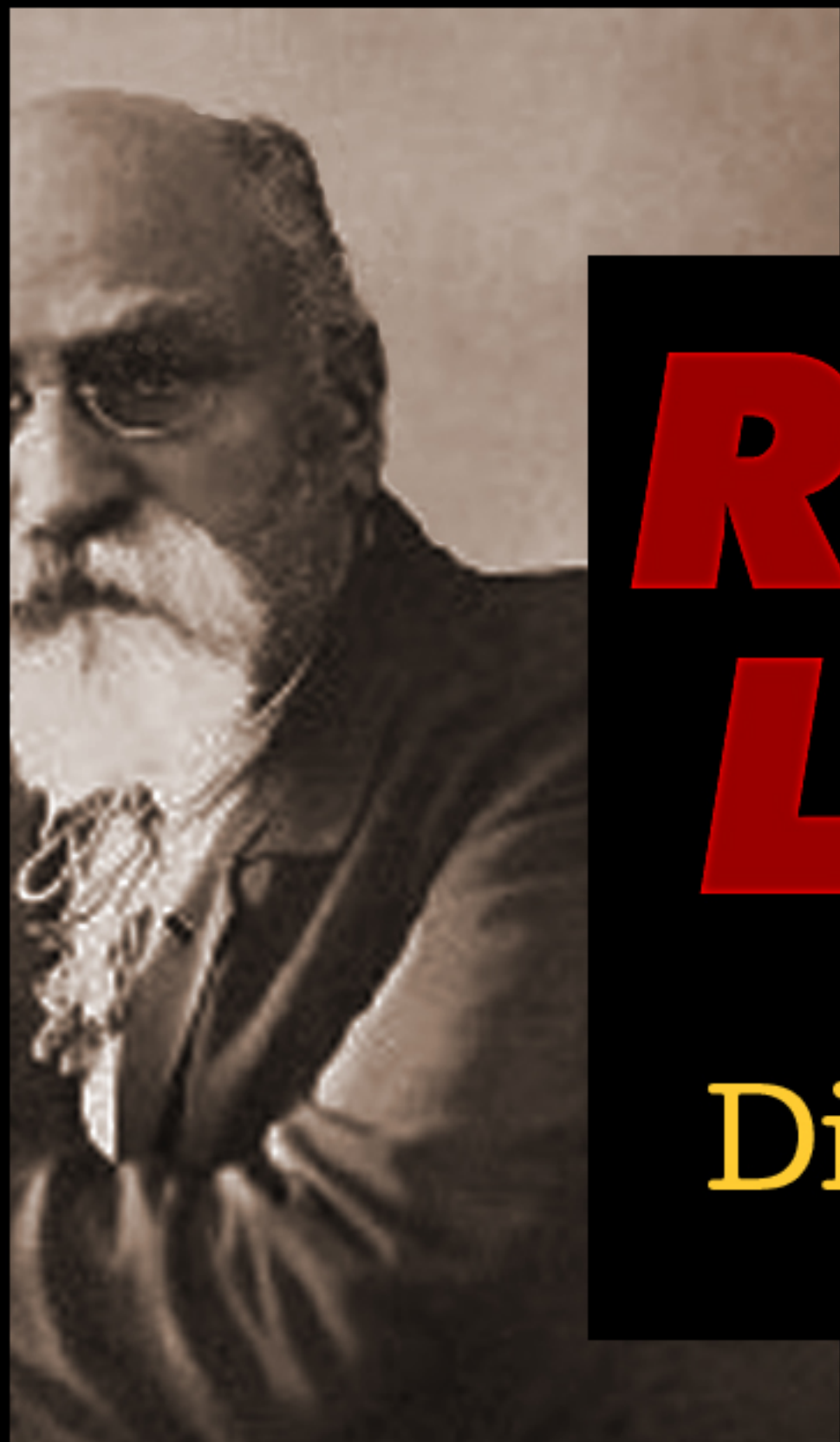
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